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No. 1.—REWAH PLATES OF THE TIME OF TRAILOKYAMALLADEVA: [KALACHURI] YEAR 963.

By N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D., OOTACAMUND.

This set of **two copper-plates** was found in 1929 at **Dhureti**, a village about 7 miles from the Rewah town, by a cultivator while ploughing his field, and is now preserved in the Treasury at Rewah. During my visit to Rewah early in 1936, I came to know of this find and later in the same year the Political Minister of the State very kindly sent me the plates for examination and taking impressions. The record has already been noticed by me in the *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1935-36, pp. 90-91 and I am now editing it in the *Epigraphia Indica* with the kind permission of the Rewah Darbar.

The plates measure $15\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}''$ each and are strung together by means of a ring, passing through a hole pierced about the middle of each plate. They are inscribed on one side only, the obverse of the first and the reverse of the second plate being left blank. They have highly raised rims which have protected the writing beautifully. There is a **seal** attached to the ring, bearing at the top the figure of Gaja-Lakshmi in relief, rather crudely executed. Below the figure is a **legend** in one line which reads *Śrīmat-Trailōkyamalla*. When the plates were received by me the ring was found already cut but there can be no doubt that both the ring and the seal belong to the plates under discussion. The seal measures $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$ and the plates including the ring and the seal weigh 419 *tolas*.

Each plate has 11 lines of writing, the letters being approximately $\frac{1}{4}''$ in height. The engraver appears to have left too much margin between the lines in the second plate and had to engrave the last two lines in slightly smaller characters so that the record could be completed in this face of the plate. The engraving was done rather carelessly. Some of the letters are ill formed and while syllables have been dropped in many places, only in two cases the missing letters have been supplied at the top of the line concerned. The **characters** are Nāgarī, the **language** being Sanskrit. The whole record with the exception of three verses in ll. 1-3 is in prose. Several mistakes in grammar and syntax show that though the record was composed by two Pandits, neither of them was a proficient scholar in Sanskrit. The script does not call for any special remarks but attention may be drawn to the following minor points. The *anuvāsa* has sometimes been represented by a circle above the syllable to which it belongs, e.g., *śiṃha* (l. 8), *Śrīchanda* (l. 9), *paṇḍita* (l. 11), etc., and sometimes it has been written in an ornamental way, e.g., *om* (l. 1), *mantri*, *maṇḍalaka* (l. 8), *śaṇḍhi*° (l. 8), etc. In writing *ś* sometimes a cross bar has been used joining the two limbs of the letter thus making it look like *z*, cf. *Śivāya* (l. 1), *śaraṇyaḥ* (l. 4), *śrī-Maṇḍasimha* (l. 8), *Śaiv-āchārya*° (l. 11), etc. Due to shabbiness in writing it is sometimes hard to distinguish between *z* and *ch*. For the same reason *pra* in *pravarddhamāna* and *pha* in *Jyēṣṭha* (l. 7) look like *vro* and *va* respectively. As

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regards orthography the following points may be noted : (1) The same sign has been used for writing *r* and *b*, e.g., *Kanyakubj*^a (l. 6). (2) While consonants in conjunction with a subscript *r* have never been doubled, those joined with a superscript *r* have sometimes been doubled and sometimes left single, e.g., *sarve*- (ll. 4, 5, etc.), *pravaraddhamāna* (l. 7), *chakracutti*- (l. 11), *Durv-cāśā* (l. 12), etc., as against *samarthō* (l. 3), *Chaturmukha* (l. 4), *dharmā*^a (l. 9), *kārya* (l. 19), etc. (3) *Anusvāra* has invariably been used in place of the nasal of the same class, e.g., *namdanō* (l. 1), *kōmal-āṅgō* (l. 2), *Nilakamṭha* (ll. 2-3), *-āmbhōja* (l. 4), etc. (4) *Rēpha* has been wrongly dropped in *Tīpura* (l. 3) and *visarga* in *Nilakamṭha* (ll. 2-3), *tapa*, *kutala* (l. 11), *Sēvarāja* (l. 14), etc. (5) While *ś* and *s* cannot always be distinguished for reasons stated above, *ś* has been definitely used for *s* in *hamka* (l. 4), *śamdhī*^a (l. 8), *-ākhvāśa* (l. 17) and *vice-versā* in *Sēvarāja* (l. 14) if it stands for *Śivarāja*. (6) *Sandhi* has not been observed in many places, sometimes not even between members forming a compound, e.g., **ra-āśvapati* (l. 5), *Vāhaḍa-arthalēkhi*- (ll. 8-9) and wrong *sandhi* is found in *-suto Śānta*^a (l. 13). In l. 13 though honorific plural has been used in *Śāntakṛta-charaṇāḥ*, all the qualifying epithets have been left in singular. The genitive in *Dharēkasya* (l. 14), however, has been correctly used, as this person was not the recipient of a permanent gift.¹ The term *cittasaḍaḥmḍha* (ll. 13, 19) which I have taken in the sense of 'mortgage, or pledge for money received' is of lexicographic interest. All the errors occurring in the record have been corrected either in the body of the text or in the footnotes accompanying it.

The inscription opens with the sacred syllable *om* and obeisance to Śiva and Gaṇapati which are followed by three invocatory verses. The first two of these verses are in praise of Kṛishṇa and Śiva respectively and the third is a quotation of the verse found at the commencement of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*. A similar instance is found in the Rewah Plates of the Mahārāpaka Kumārāpāla (V. S. 1297) and the Mahārāpaka Harirājadēva (V. S. 1298)² where the last of the three introductory verses is taken from the introduction to Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*.

The record (ll. 5-7) refers itself to 'the prosperous, auspicious and victorious reign of the illustrious Trailōkyamalladēva, who was endowed with all the royal titles commencing with *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (i.e., *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*), who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), who was the lord over three *rājas* (viz.), the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, who was a veritable Vāchaspati in the investigation of the various (branches of) knowledge, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Vāmadēva, (and) who was the lord of Kanyakubja'. In l. 12 he is also called *triśatī-rājy-ādhipati*, an epithet not met with elsewhere.

The date of the record is given in l. 7 as *Saṁhṛma(va)t 963 Jyēshṭha-śudi 7 Sōmē dinam*-(nō), i.e., on Monday the 7th day of the light half of the month of Jyēshṭha in the year 963, which must be referred to the Kalachuri era. The date is, however, irregular, unless *Sōmē* is an error for *Saumyē* in which case it would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 9th May A.D. 1212.

Lines 7-9 mention some of the officers of the king and the offices they held. Malayasimha who bears the titles *Mahāmahattaka* and *Mandulika* was the minister (*mantri*) of the king. The other officers mentioned are : Thakkura Haripāla, the *Sandhicigrahika* or the minister of Foreign Affairs, Vāhaḍa, the city-prefect (*Koṭṭapāla*) and Śrīchariḍa, who was a merchant (*śrēṣṭhīn*), the writer of deeds (*arthalēkhin*). The last three among others appear to have been the members of the *pañchakula* and the *dharmādhiparāṇa*.

¹ Cf. Tattvabōdhīnī on the rule *Karmasā yam-ābhīpraiti sa saṁpradānam* (Pāṇini, I-4-32) : *dānam ch-āpunar-grahēṣya sa-śatā-nirvīṭi-pārukaḥ para-śate-śpādānam*.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 231 ff. and 235 ff. For another inscription where the benedictory stanza of Kālidāsa's *Sakuntalā* is cited as an introductory verse, see above, Vol. XI, p. 65.

The record is interesting in that it is not the usual land-grant but is a *vitta-bandha* or ' deed of mortgage ' for the village **Alirā**, situated in the **Dhōvahaṭṭa-pattana** of the **Dhanavāhi-pattalā**. The village was pledged by the Śaiva teacher **Śāntaśiva**, son of the royal preceptor (*rājaguru*) **Vimalaśiva**, to the Rāpaka **Dharōka**, but no mention is made of the actual amount of money that was taken as loan. The mortgagee, who belonged to the **Vatsa-gōtra**, was a son of **Sēvarāja** (**Śivarāja**) and grandson of **Rāsala**. The document is said to have been issued from a camp in a certain auspicious place, apparently in the city of **Dhōvahaṭṭa** (ll. 10-14). The deed was executed by **Nādaśiva**, another son of **Vimalaśiva**, on the authorisation of his elder brother **Śāntaśiva** (ll. 15-18). The mortgagee was given all the rights of collecting taxes. As far as it can be made out from l. 19, the meaning of which is not quite clear, he also appears to have been given the right of holding the village in pledge as long as he wished, probably meaning thereby till all the dues were cleared. There were seven witnesses to the deed, viz., the **Pattakila Madanē**, **Śilē**, **Thākur Sūpaṭa**, **Thākur Gūṅgē**, **Rapadhavala**, **Gaṅgādēva** and **Kavita** (? ll. 19-20). It appears from the use of punctuation marks in lines 20-21 that **Thākur Gōllana**, probably an additional witness, was also authorised to take possession, evidently on behalf of the mortgagee. The document was drawn up by the Pandits **Viśvēśvara** and **Gaṅgādharma** and engraved by **Śrūka**. As it is not a land-grant, it naturally does not contain any imprecatory and benedictory verses at the end.

In connection with the identification of **Trailōkyamalla** mentioned in the present record we may observe that most of the *birudas* used by this ruler were used by the **Kalachuri** rulers of **Tripurī** and also by the **Gāhaḍavāla** rulers of **Kanauj**. But though places in the neighbourhood of **Rewah** were within the **Kalachuri** territory we do not know of any **Kalachuri** ruler of this name. I would therefore identify this **Trailōkyamalla** with the homonymous ruler mentioned in the **Rewah Plates** of **Harirāja** of V. S. 1298.¹ **Cunningham** and **Kielhorn** have already suggested that he is no other than the **Chandēlla** ruler **Trailōkyavarman** for whom we have records dating from V. S. 1261 to 1298 (A.D. 1205-1241). But while **Trailōkyavarman**, like his predecessors, calls himself *Kōlāṅjarādhipati* in both the sets of **Garrah plates** of V. S. 1261² and *Trikalīṅgādhipati* in the **Rewah plates** of the **Mahārāpaka Kumārapāla** dated V. S. 1297,³ he is called *Kanyakubjādhipati* in the present inscription, a title used by the **Gāhaḍavāla** rulers of **Kanauj**. Though this last-mentioned title is not found in any other **Chandēlla** record, it is not unlikely that with the decline of the **Gāhaḍavāla** power, **Trailōkyamalla** assumed this title, as he did also the title of *Trikalīṅgādhipati* borne by the **Kalachuris** of **Ḍāhala**. Many years ago a hoard of 48 silver coins of the **Chandēlla** **Madanavarman** was found at **Panwar** in the **Teonthar Tahsil** of the **Rewah State**.⁴ This find tends to show, as has been already suggested by **Dr. H. C. Ray**,⁵ that even in the time of this ruler the **Chandēlla** power penetrated into **Bāghelkhand**, north of the **Kaimur range**. But that the country around **Rewah** still continued to be under the **Kalachuris** for several decades is certain. We have two inscriptions of the **Kalachuri Vijayasinhha's** time to support this view. The first is the **Rewah plate** of **Salakshagavarman**, the chief of **Kakarēḍi** (modern **Kakreri** on the border of **Rewah** and **Panna States**) and still a feudatory of

¹ For a deed of mortgage engraved on brick which was found in a village near **Jampur**, see *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 454-56. It is dated *Saṃvat* 1273 *Aśvīnha-śudi* 6 *Ravaṭi* (=Sunday, 11th June, A.D. 1217) and records the loan of 2,250 *drummas* on the pledge of certain fields.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 235 f.

³ Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 274 ff.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 231 ff.

⁵ See *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. X (1914), pp. 199 f.

⁶ See his *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 727 f.

Vijayasinhha in V. S. 1253 (A.D. 1195),¹ the date of the record, and the second, the Rewah inscription of Malayasinhha² dated K. 944 (A.D. 1192-93). Verse 24 of the latter record seems to show that already before K. 944, Salakshana had tried to throw off the yoke of subordination of these rulers, probably by joining hands with the Chandéllas, an attempt in which he was not apparently successful. I have noticed elsewhere a damaged inscription of the reign of Vijayasinhha,³ the date on which seems to read (Chēdi year) 962. Unfortunately the provenance of this record, which was issued from Tripurī, is not known. But as it is now deposited in the Rewah Treasury, it is likely that it did not come from a place far from the Rewah town. If that is so, it is clear that the Kalachuris were still holding sway in this part of Bāghelkhand in K. 962. The record under consideration, however, shows that in K. 963, i.e., only a year later, their territory contiguous to the Rewah town had passed under the Chandéllas.

In the inscription of Vijayasinhha of K. 962 referred to above, we find the name of one Maṇḍalika Malayasinhha mentioned among the officers of this ruler. The Rewah inscription of K. 944 also mentions a Sāmanta Malayasinhha who was responsible for the excavation of a tank and also for the setting up of the record in the reign of the very same Kalachuri ruler. Now there is nothing against our taking Malayasinhha mentioned in these two records as identical. It is quite likely that Malayasinhha, whose ancestors were connected with the Kalachuri rulers as officers for several generations, was himself appointed an officer by Vijayasinhha sometime between K. 944 and K. 962. But what is surprising is that the record under consideration also not only mentions a Malayasinhha bearing the titles *Mahāmabattaka* and *Maṇḍalika* but in addition calls him a *mantrin* or minister of the ruling king, viz., Trailōkyamalla. As this inscription is later than the inscription of K. 962 by one year only, there is little doubt that Malayasinhha mentioned in all the three inscriptions is one and the same person. If this view is correct, then we have to admit that one of the chief officers of Vijayasinhha not only transferred his allegiance to the conquering ruler but was also appointed a minister under him. It is reasonable to assume that he had to accept the Chandélla suzerainty to save himself and his estate. We have a parallel instance in the history of the chiefs of Karkarōḍī. We know from his Rewah plate that in V. S. 1253 Salakshapavarman was still a feudatory of the Kalachuri Vijayasinhha. But in the Rewah plates of Hatirāja (V. S. 1298) and his son Kumārapāla (V. S. 1297) we find these chiefs owing allegiance to the Chandélla ruler Trailōkyavarman. But what is puzzling in the present record is the appointment of Malayasinhha as a minister by the Chandélla ruler. It may be that he helped the latter in his cause in some way or other or it may be that on account of his experience in local administration his services were utilized in the newly conquered territory on his accepting the Chandélla supremacy.

In conclusion it would not be out of place to say a few words about the Śaiva teachers mentioned in the record. As I have already pointed out⁴ Vimalasīva mentioned in the record is no other than the *Rājaguru* Vimalasīva of the Jubbulpore Kotwali Plates of Jayasīnhabhāva of K. 918.⁵ Though the name is not found elsewhere it is probable that he belonged to the line of the ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan who were held in great reverence by the Kalachuri rulers of Tripurī. We know from the present record that Vimalasīva had two sons, the elder being Śāntasīva and the younger Nādasīva. The epithets applied to the latter two teachers show that they, like their father, were also held in high estimation. Śāntasīva is said to be the incarnation of the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 228 ff.

² See *As. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1935-36, pp. 89-90.

³ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 93 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 296 ff.

⁵ *As. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1935-36, p. 91.



10

[illegible]

12 लोहार्थावताः विंशतिपाञ्चा विंशतिपत्तिसौम
 12 नलो कामलपादश्च नृपतः यानं कुर्वीत
 14 पकणवित्ततयातद्वरकसीमद्राङ्गविमलशिवस्तोत्रातशिववरापाद्विश्वोत्राच्चवेदितवैव
 14 चतुपतयाठरासलस्तुतैवराङ्गतस्तुराणकसीमदरेकसागुलेययामस्यतागतोगप्रवणि
 16 करसर्वादायसहितव्यवशिरण्यसदन्मिति॥ग्रकाणामन्त्रं प्राप्य दमादिगुणोपेतममस्त
 16 प्रकियाचित्तिकालस्मान्देवाङ्गनरत्नमिन्द्राङ्गनरत्नसर्वततदद्यात्परः सर्वमवदिङ्गना
 18 नामासरत्ततः कृतनामास्मासतमिसर्वास्तकलाभवत्तः॥तस्वरासातिसासदः तदुरेकसी
 18 द्राङ्गुलविमलशिवस्तोत्रातशिवान्द्राङ्गनादशिवनमस्तुतस्तुपतयायावदीयतेतावदव
 20 रितमितिचित्तवैवतयाकिंविकार्यकारणितार्पितवाशास्त्रीमदरेकसायादिकाप्रतिपद्यते॥अत्र
 20 चमांशोः॥पटकलमदान्तवासीलेतवागुणपठ्यगोविन्दमन्त्रविणोमदवाइतिकवित्॥८॥गो
 22 त्रिक्तवाप्रविशुमन्निगृहीत॥स्तनतवदालादकपाङ्कट्याः॥स्वल्पव्यामन्दमन्त्रहंयदवास्याति
 22 म्नीपितंमुद्रमस्तुद्वारंविस्तृतावगान्निवित्तमिति॥पङ्कगावुरेणवत्तवोपितंसीरुक्कजा॥

sage Durvāsa in the Kali age. The interpretation of another phrase used in connection with him is rather puzzling. It is *triśatī-rājy-ādhipati-śrīmat-Trailōkyamallā-pād-ārchchana-rataḥ* (l. 12). Probably this has to be translated as 'whose feet were devotedly worshipped by the illustrious Trailōkyamallā, the lord of the kingdom (consisting) of three hundred.' If that is so, it is reasonable to conclude that this teacher was getting some patronage from the new ruler as well, who also calls himself a *Paramamāhēśvara*. It is not clear under the circumstances why he should have to alienate what was apparently one of the gifts these teachers received from the Kalachuri rulers. Probably the Chandēlla conquest was very recent and as such these teachers did not get the same patronage as was hitherto extended to them by their former patrons and as a result they had to mortgage one of their gift villages to raise funds. A somewhat similar instance is provided by the Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates¹ of the Gāhaḍavāla Gōvindachandra which record that in V. S. 1177 (A.D. 1120), in presence of this ruler, the village of Karaṇḍa in the Antarāla-pattalā which was originally given to the Rājaguru-Śaivāchārya-Bhaṭṭāraka Rudraśiva by (the Kalachuri ruler) Yaśaḥkarna was transferred to Ṭhakkura Vasishṭhaśarman. Dr. F. W. Hall, who edited this record, suggested that the village which changed hands lay in the country conquered by Gōvindachandra from Yaśaḥkarna.

Of the **localities** mentioned in the record **Dhōvahaṭṭa** which was a *pattana* at the time is identical with the village of Dhureti where the plates were found. The other localities mentioned in the record, *viz.*, Dhanavāhi-pattalā and the village Alira, I am unable to identify.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm namaḥ Śivāya || Gaṇapatayē namaḥ || Jayatu jayatu dēvō Dēvakī-nāindanō-yam³ jayatu jayatu Kṛishṇō Vṛishṇi-vaiṣṇa-pradīpaḥ || (l) ja-
- 2 yatu jayatu mēgha-śyāmala[h*] kōmal-āṅgō jayatu jayatu prithvī-[bhā]ra-nāśō(śi) Mukuṇḍaḥ || [1][*]⁴ Avatu sakala-lōkān=Ni-
- 3 lakamṭha[h*] Smarāris=Ti(Tri)pura-dahana-samarthō mūrhnī(rddhni) bhāsva-[ch*]-chhaśāṁkaḥ⁵ Tuhinagiri-sutāyā vallabhah Śūlapāṇiḥ⁶
- 4 sakala-jana-śaraṇyaḥ sarvva-lōk-aika-nāthaḥ || [2][*]⁴ Chaturmukha-mukh-āmbhōja-vana-hamśa(sa)-vadhūr=mama [1*] mānasē ramatām ni-
- 5 tyam sarvva-śuklā Sa[ra*]svatī || [3][*]⁶ Paramabhaṭṭāraka(k-ē)ty-ādi-samasta-rājāvali⁷-virājamāna-Paramamāhē[śva*]ra-aśvapati⁸-ga-japati-
- 6 narapati-rājatrāy-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra- Vāchaspati-śrī - Vāmadēva-pād-ānudyātā-(ta)-Kanyakuvj(bj)-ādhipati-mahi-
- 7 [pra]varddhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē śrīmat-Trailō(1ō)kyamalladēva-rājyē Samma(va)t 963 Jyēshṭha śudi 7 Sōmē dinarī(nē) mahā-
- 8 mahanna(tta)ka-maṁti(mantri)-maṁḍala(li)ka-śrī-Malayasiṁha-vyāpriyamānē śam(śam)-dhi[vi*]grahika-ṭhakkura-Haripāla-kōṭṭapāla-Vāhaḍa-

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI (1862), pp. 123 f.

² From impressions and the original plates.

³ *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

⁴ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁵ There is an excess of a *mātrā* in the second *pāda*. Read -dahana-śaktō mūrhnī, etc.

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ The letter *va* which was at first omitted is written above the line between *jā* and *kī*.

⁸ Read *r-āśvapati*.

- 9 arthalēkhī¹-Śrī[cha]nda-śrēṭhi²-yathāvarittamāna-samasta-vanig-jana-vyavṛihi(vyavahri)-
yamān³-a-pañchakula-dharmādhikaraṇa-chintāyām
10 **Dhōvahaṭṭa**-pattanē **Dhanavāhi**-pattalāyām yatra kva[cha]na-śubha-pradēśa-samā-
vāsita-kaṭakāta(t) yama-niyama-svādhyāya-
11 dhyān-ānushṭhāna-tapa[s*]-chakravartti-paṇḍita-chakra-chūḍāmaṇi-śaiv-ā[ch]āry-ādhipati-
sarvva-vidyā-kuśala[h*] Ka-

Second Plate.

- 12 lau Durvvāsā(ō)-vatāraḥ(ras)=triśati(i)-rājy-ādhipati-śrīmat-Trailōkymalla-pād-a(ā)reḥchana-
rataḥ dhyānam kurvvāṇō(ṇa)
13 ēk-āgra-chittatayā bhāṭṭāraka-śrīmad-rājaguru-Vimalaśiva-sutō(tas=) Śāntaśiva-charaṇāḥ
Vatsa-gōtr-ānvayē vita(tta)-vaṁ(baṁ)dha-
14 [sva]rūpatayā ṭba Rāsala-suta-Sē(Śi)varāja[s*]=tat-suta-Rāṇaka-śrīmad-[Dha]rēkasya
Alira⁴-grāmasya bhāga-bhōga-pravaṇi-
15 kara-sarvv-ādāya-sahitam yāvadhiraṇasya⁵ dattam=iti || gūruṇām⁶=anujñyām(jñāu)
prāpya yam-ādi-guṇ-ōpēta[s*]=samasta-
16 prakriy-ānvita[s*]=tri-kāla-snāna-dēv-āreḥchana-rataḥ agni-pūjā-rataś=[cha] sarvva-
bhūta-dayā-parah sarvvēśhām vaṁdi-janā-
17 nām-ādhārabhūtaḥ jantūnām=āśvāsa(sa)-bhūmi[h*] sarvvāsu kalāsu chaturaḥ ||⁷
śāstra-śāstra-viśāradaḥ bhāṭṭa(ṭṭa)raka-śrīma-
18 d-rājaguru-Vimalaśiva-sutaḥ Śāntaśiv-ānujō Nādaśiva[s=tē*]na paṭṭasya [ha]rsha-
rūpatayā yāva[d*]=diyatē tāvad=avā-
19 pitam⁸=iti ||[*] Vitta-vaṁ(baṁ)dhatayā kimchi[t*]-kārya-kāraṇitāpi vā⁹ Rāṇa-śrīmad-[Dha]-
rēkasya yāvad¹⁰=i[ch*]chhā pratipadyatē || Atr-ā-
20 r[th]ē śākṣiṇaḥ || Paṭa(ṭṭa)kila-Madanē tathā Silē tathā ṭha Sūpaṭa ṭha Gāṁgē
vi¹¹ Raṇadhavala¹² vi¹³ Gāṁgadēva pa[ṭṭa] vi Ka[vi]ta || Ṭha Gōlla-
21 ṇa iti kṛtvā pravi[ṣṭē] sati gri(gra)hitavyam || śubham bhavatu lēkhaka-pāṭhakayōḥ ||
Svalpa-vudhyā¹⁴ maṇḍa-matir=aham ya[t*]=tu vālyāti-
22 mu[dgī]ritam¹⁵ [*] śuddham=aśuddham vā paṇḍita[*]-Viśvēśvarēṇa likhitam=iti ||¹⁶
paṇḍ Gāṁgādhareṇa cha [*] utakīritam(utkīraṇam) Śīrukēna(ṇa) || ||¹⁶

¹ Read *Vāhaḍ-ārthalēkhi*. There is a superfluous medial *ē* sign at the top of *a* in *artha*.

² Read *Śrīchandra-śrēṣṭhi*.

³ The *anuvāra* meant for *pa* has been wrongly placed on *ya*.

⁴ It seems that *lau* was first engraved which was then corrected into *li*.

⁵ Read *yāvad=dhiraṇyam*?

⁶ Read *gūruṇām*.

⁷ *Daṇḍas* unnecessary.

⁸ Read *=avāptam*.

Read *-kāraṇatō=pi vā*.

¹⁰ *Va* is written at the top of the line, above *yā*. If we read *yad-ichchhā*, then *Vitta* etc. will form a stanza in the *Anushṭubh* metre.

¹¹ I am unable to state what the abbreviation *vi* stands for. In the grant of Mahārāṇaka Harirājadēva it stands for *viśuā*. But in the latter record as this term is always followed by certain figures, it apparently indicates shares in the donated property. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 231 and n. 62.

¹² I.e., *Raṇadhavala*.

¹³ Read *-buddhyā* or *-buddhir*.

¹⁴ The intended reading may be *bālyāt=kim=udgīritam*.

¹⁵ This portion appears to be in *Āryāgiti* though the metre is faulty.

¹⁶ There is an ornamental mark between these two sets of *daṇḍas*.

No. 2.—RAMTEK STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF RAMACHANDRA.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., AND L. R. KULKARNI, M.A., NAGPUR.

Rāmṭēk is the head-quarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the Nāgpur District of the Central Provinces. It is situated 28 miles North by East of Nāgpur and derives its name from the temple of Rāma on a hill close to the town. The place is regarded as very holy on account of a number of temples and *tirthas* on the hill and in its vicinity. A fair is held in the month of Kārttika, which attracts thousands of people from even far-off places. The sanctity of the place can be traced back to the fourth century A.D. at least; for the Riddhapur plates, which were issued from the foot-prints of the Lord of Rāmāgiri¹ (modern Rāmṭēk), record a grant of the Vākāṭaka dowager queen Prabhāvatiguptā on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika. Kālidāsa also mentions in his *Meghadūta* that the hill was marked with the foot-prints of Rāma². These references indicate that the shrine at Rāmāgiri at first contained only the foot-prints of Rāma. Later on the images of Rāma and Sītā appear to have been installed there and another temple dedicated to Lakshmaṇa was built. This is probably the reason why the temple of Lakshmaṇa is at present situated in front of that of Rāma and Sītā. The present images of these deities are said to have been found in the Dudhālā tank at Rāmṭēk³ and were substituted some years ago for the earlier ones which had been mutilated. These temples are surrounded by a number of smaller shrines. They are situated in the innermost of three enclosures on the hill and none but caste Hindus get access to them.

The present inscription is incised on a large slab let into the wall on the right hand side of the door of the *garbhagriha* in the temple of Lakshmaṇa. It was first referred to by General Cunningham's Assistant Beglar,⁴ who visited Rāmṭēk in 1873-74. He was not admitted to the innermost court-yard of the temple, but he got the inscription copied by his Hindu servant and noticed in it the name of Rāmadēva.⁵ He could not, however, offer any conjecture about the identification of this Rāmadēva. Subsequently from a faint rubbing of it supplied by Dr. Fleet, Prof. Kielhorn first noticed in it the names of Sīmhaṇa and Rāmachandra whom he identified with the homonymous princes of the Raipur branch of the Haihaya dynasty⁶ mentioned in the Khalāri and Raipur stone inscriptions. In 1904-05 Mr. Cousens visited the place, but he too was not admitted inside⁷ and was therefore unable to give any account of the contents of the inscription. Finally Rai Bahadur Hiralal briefly noticed the inscription in his *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar*⁸ and identified many of the *tirthas* mentioned in it in an informative article entitled 'A visit to Rāmṭēk', published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 202-08. Though referred to or noticed several times the inscription has remained unedited so far. In the absence of a reliable edition it has given rise to some misconceptions about its historical contents. We have, therefore, edited it here from the original stone which we could examine several times during our visits to Rāmṭēk.

¹ रामभिरिसामिन (पादमुद्राद- J. P. A. S. B., Vol. XX, p. 58.

² कवेः पुंसां रघुपतिपदैरहितं मेघलासु । (Verse 12.)

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII (1908), pp. 207 ff.

⁴ Cunningham's *A. S. B.*, Vol. VII, p. 112.

⁵ This occurs in lines 54 and 61 but there it denotes the deity Rāma.

⁶ Above, Vol. II, p. 230.

⁷ *P. R. A. S.*, Western Circle, for 1904-05, p. 41, para. 125.

⁸ First Edition (1916), pp. 3 f.; Second Edition (1932), p. 3.

As stated above, the record is inscribed on a stone fixed in the front wall of the *garbhagriha* in the temple of Lakshmana. It now contains 75 lines of writing covering a space 2' 9" broad and 3' 3" high, but a few lines may have been lost at the top. The extant portion falls into two parts, separated by some ornamental figures in lines 31 and 32, the first part comprising ll. 1-31 and the second ll. 31-75. As the surface of the stone has flaked off in several places the record has suffered very much, especially in its upper and lower portions and on the left hand side. The loss of the upper portion is very much to be regretted; since, judging from the fragments still extant, it seems to have contained a description of the exploits of the reigning king and his ancestors.

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century A.D. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, we find that the vowel *ri* is in some places wrongly written for *ri*, see *tribhuvāna* l. 31; *r* is throughout used for *b*, see *vāla* for *bāla* l. 26; *śh* is employed for *kṣ* and vice versa, see e.g., *viśvaṇḍita* l. 13 and *namaskarikhyē* l. 64; the *visarga* before *k* and *p* is changed to *śh*, see *tushṭurush-kalp-ānta* l. 47 and *vṛipash-Paśāktirāhō* l. 48, etc.¹ The sign of *avagraha* is also noticed in some places.

The first four lines of the inscription are too much mutilated to yield any coherent sense. The fifth line contains the words *Yādavaś vaṁśaj* and *Yadu-vaṁśaj* evidently indicating that the reigning king called himself Yādava and traced his descent from the legendary hero Yadu. The exploits of some king of this family are next described, but the only names of his adversaries that can be made out are Rudra in l. 7, the lord of the Āndhras and Chōḍa in l. 8 and possibly the lord of the Gurjaras in l. 9. The syllables *Jaitra* which occur at the end of l. 9 probably denote some name like *Jaitrapāla*. The name of the king *Sinhapa* occurs in l. 15 in the course of the description of his successor, who is said to have made the Earth forget her grief on account of separation from the illustrious king *Sinhapa*. This name seems to have occurred at the beginning of l. 13 also, but the first two akṣaras of it have now been broken away. Line 16 mentions the genealogy of a person named Śrī-Rāghava. He was a descendant of one Vāyīnāyaka. From l. 17 we learn that the king, the illustrious Rāmachandra, bestowed on him (i.e., Rāghava) fortune which appeared lovely owing to the prosperity of his empire and himself enjoyed the company of ladies skilled in all arts. This means that the king entrusted the government of his kingdom to him and being free from care gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures. This Rāghava is probably referred to again in ll. 18 and 21 as *Śayyāpāla* (guardian of the royal bed-chamber). His wife Rājyālī is mentioned in l. 19. Once upon a time Rāghava asked his preceptor how he could cross the ocean of worldly existence. In answer to this the latter seems to have given a description of the hill as well as of the temples and *tīrthas* situated on it and in its vicinity. The first part of the record seems to have described the hill and the temples on the four sides of it, viz., Ghaṇṭeśvara, Sudhāśvara, Kēdāra and Āñjanēya. The second part, of Rāmṣek after the manner of the *tīrtha-māhātmyas*. As a matter of fact many of them find description and topography of these temples and *tīrthas* given in the present inscription agree with those in the *māhātmyas*. Some of them are again mentioned in a work of the Mahānubhāva sect² in connection with the itinerary of Chakradhara, the founder of the sect, who lived in the

¹ [Probably this *śh* is intended to represent the sign for both *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya*.—Ed.]

² Of these the former was published together with a Marāṭhī translation some years ago at Nāgpur, but the latter is still unpublished.

³ An extract from this work called *Sikṣasopādhī* was kindly supplied to us by our friend Mr. H. N. Neoo.

time of the Yādava king Rāmachandra (13th century A.D.). Most of these temples and *tirthas* can even now be identified at Rāmṭēk. The traditions about them are thus at least seven centuries old.

As stated above, Prof. Kielhorn, in his article on the Khalāri stone inscription, expressed the opinion that the kings Simhapa and Rāmachandra mentioned in the present inscription were identical with the princes of the same names who were respectively the grandfather and father of Haribrahmadēva, a Haihaya or Kalachuri prince who ruled in Chhattisgarh in the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D.¹ From this he concluded that the rule of the Kalachuris extended in the west as far as Nāgpur. An examination of several Kalachuri dates had led him to the conclusion that the Kalachuri year commenced on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina, but he had no evidence of the actual use of the Āśvinādi year in any territory under the rule of the Kalachuris. This was subsequently furnished by the remark of Colebrooke in his *Journal of Occurrences at Nagpur* that the year at Nāgpur commenced on the first of the bright half of Āśvina.² Kielhorn thought that this usage was reminiscent of the use of the Kalachuri era in the territory round Nāgpur, which on the evidence of the Rāmṭēk inscription he believed to have once been under the rule of the Haihayas or Kalachuris of Raipur.³ The identification of the family to which the princes Simhapa and Rāmachandra mentioned in the present inscription belonged is, therefore, important not only for the interpretation of the record, but also for the determination of the beginning of the Kalachuri year.

Kielhorn had no opportunity to examine the inscription *in situ*. He had before him only a faint rubbing of it. The characters of the inscription have become very shallow, being choked up with oily dust and white-wash. It is therefore extremely difficult to decipher the record from rubbings or inked estampages. Rāi Bahadur Hiralal, who personally examined it, read the words *Yādavo vamkaḥ* (l. 5), but he chose to stick to Kielhorn's view that the kings Simhapa and Rāmachandra mentioned therein belonged to the Haihaya dynasty, because he thought that the Haihayas being descended from Yadu could be called Yādavas⁴. It is no doubt true that the Haihayas were descendants of Yadu; for their ancestor Haihaya was, according to the Purāṇas, a grandson of Sabhasrajit who was himself a son of Yadu⁵. But the name Yādava was by usage restricted to the descendants of Krōṣhīṣi, another son of Yadu⁶. Nowhere in their numerous inscriptions have the Haihayas or Kalachuris called themselves Yādavas. Besides, in the genealogy of the Haihayas there occurs nowhere any name like Jaitrapāla, which, as shown above, appears at the end of line 9 of the present inscription. But the most important objection to the identification of the kings Simhapa and Rāmachandra with their namesakes who ruled in Chhattisgarh is that neither these latter kings nor any of their immediate ancestors achieved any victories over Rudra, the lord of the Āndhras, the Chōla and the lord of the Gurjaras; for they were petty princes, whose rule did not extend much beyond the modern district of Raipur. Besides, there is no king of the name Rudra known from history as ruling in the fourteenth or fifteenth century

¹ His Khalāri stone inscription is dated Vikrama Samvat 1470 (for 1471), corresponding to A.D. 1415.

² 'The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āśvina, but opening in the midst of Durgā's festival, the New Year's day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day.' *Life of H. T. Colebrooke* by Sir T. E. Colebrooke, p. 163.

³ See his article entitled 'Die Epoche der Cēdi-Aera' in the *Festgruss an Roth* (1893), pp. 53 ff.

⁴ In the second edition of his *Inscriptions in G. P. and Berar* (p. 3) he has admitted the possibility of Simhapa being a king of the Yādava dynasty.

⁵ See *Harivamśa* (Bombay Ed.), *adhyāya* 33, vv. 1-2. Compare also the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Mallidēva and Manma-Satya II, above, Vol. IV, p. 89.

⁶ See Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 87.

A. D., who may have been defeated by these kings. It is therefore difficult to uphold the identification first proposed by Kielhorn.

We find, on the other hand, the names Jaitrapāla, Sinhapa and Rāmachandra in the genealogical list of the Later Yādavas of Dēvagiri, who flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. Jaitrapāla, whose name seems to have occurred at the end of line 9, is probably identical with the homonymous king who was the father of Sinhapa. The names of Rudra, the kings of Āndhra and Chōla in ll. 7-8, seem to have occurred in the course of the description of Jaitrapāla's victories; for we know from the introduction to Hēmadri's *Vratakhayya*¹ as well as from the Paṭhan plates² and other Yādava grants that Jaitrapāla killed the Kākatiya king Rudra. This latter king is in some places called the king of Āndhra. We can therefore unhesitatingly identify the kings mentioned here with the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri. That the kingdom of the Yādavas extended in the East as far as Lānji in the Bālāghāt District is known from a stone inscription of the dynasty found at Lānji³ which mentions the Yādava king Rāmachandra.

We know from other records that Sinhapa was succeeded by his grandson Kṛishṇa, but his name does not occur in the extant portion. We can, however, conjecture that he must have been described in line 15, which speaks of a king having made the earth forget its grief due to separation from Sinhapa. The names of Kṛishṇa's brother Mahādēva and his short-lived son Āmaṇa may have been omitted in the present record. As no successor of Rāmachandra has been mentioned here, it seems that the inscription was put up during his reign. It may, therefore, be referred to the last quarter of the thirteenth century A. D.

As the kings mentioned in the present inscription are thus proved to be of the Yādava dynasty of Dēvagiri and no inscriptions of the Kalachuris are found in the Marāṭhi-speaking districts of the Central Provinces, Kielhorn's view that the Kalachuri year commenced in the month of Āśvina cannot be supported by any usage current in the territory round Nāgpur⁴.

The mutilated condition of the inscription makes it difficult to say what it was intended to record. But the fact that the genealogy of a personage named Rāghava is given in lines 16 and 17 where he is also said to have been entrusted by Rāmachandra with the government of his whole empire combined with the statement in l. 63 that this Rāghava felt gratified on doing something seems to show that the object of the inscription was to record some service rendered by Rāghava to the deities at Rāmtāk—perhaps some repairs done to the temple of Lakshmaṇa where the inscription is put up. Māidēva, who is mentioned in ll. 70-71, seems to have been a local official in charge of the work.

The hill on which the main temples of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa are situated is called Sindūra-giri and Tapāṅgiri⁵ (for Tapōgiri) in the present inscription. The tradition about the former

¹ Cf. तिळगाविये: एजीरिचन रीटन रीटन.

जला पूर्वमेवयत्रविधिना जगन्निर्वाहीत्ययः ॥१॥ See R. G. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Deccan*, Appendix C.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 316.

³ See Hiralal—*Inscriptions*, etc. (Second Ed.), p. 20. Lānji is about 100 miles north by east of Nāgpur. Hiralal remarks that 'some passages of this record correspond exactly to those given in the Rāmtāk Lakshmaṇa temple inscription'. We have examined the Lānji inscription in the Nāgpur Museum, but have failed to notice any such passages.

⁴ As a matter of fact Colebrooke was mistaken in supposing that the year commenced in Nāgpur in the month of Āśvina. As shown elsewhere (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 123), the era current at Nāgpur in Colebrooke's days was the so-called Śālivāhana or Śaka era, its months were *amāntas* and the year commenced in Chaitra and not in Āśvina. For the commencement of the Kalachuri year, see above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 116 ff.

⁵ In the larger *Sindūragiri-māhātmya* the name occurs in the correct form Tapōgiri.

name was apparently given in line 23 which is partly mutilated. What remains of it is, however, sufficient to show that the hill was called *Sindūragiri*, because it was reddened by the blood flowing from the breast of *Hiraṇyakaśipu* which was torn by *Narasimha* with his sharp claws. There are two temples on the hill containing huge images of the man-lion incarnation of *Vishṇu*. As conjectured by Cousens¹ the name *Sindūragiri* may have been originally given to the hill because of its red stones which when broken or newly dressed appear blood-red. The second name of the hill *Tapāgiri* (for *Tapōgiri*, penance-hill) which occurs in this very form in one of the *Sindūragiri-māhātmyas* owes its origin to the tradition that *Śambūka*, a *Śūdra* ascetic, practised penance here. He was afterwards killed by *Rāma* with his sword called *Chandrahāsa*. But, the *Māhātmya* says, he asked for three boons from *Rāma*, viz., that his mortal remains should be transformed into a *liṅga in situ*, that *Rāma* should live on the hill for ever and that he himself should be worshipped before *Rāma*. In accordance with this, pilgrims first worship the *liṅga*, now called *Dhūmrēśvara*, situated on the southern plateau of the hill outside the citadel, before they proceed to the temples of *Rāma* and *Lakshmaṇa*. The story of *Śambūka* is given in line 45 of the present record, which mentions the *liṅga* *Dhūmrāksha*.

The story of *Śambūka* occurs also in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of *Vālmiki*. It would, therefore, be interesting to see how far the topography of the place where *Śambūka* was practising penance suits *Rāmṭēk*. According to the Epic the *Śūdra* ascetic was engaged in austerities on the bank of a large lake to the north of the mountain *Śaivala*.² This mountain is not mentioned anywhere else. But from the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself we learn that a king named *Daṇḍa* was ruling over the territory between the *Vindhya* and *Śaivala* mountains.³ His rape of a *Brāhmaṇa* girl led to the devastation of the country measuring a hundred *yōjanas* round the *Śaivala* mountain and this country came consequently to be known by the name of the *Daṇḍaka* forest.⁴ This *Daṇḍa* or *Dāṇḍakya* is called *Bhōja* elsewhere⁵ and it is well known that the *Bhōjas* were ruling over *Vidarbha*. So the site of *Śambūka*'s penance must have been situated in *Vidarbha* to the south of the *Vindhya* mountain. The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells us that after killing *Śambūka*, *Rāma* went in his aerial car to the hermitage of *Agastya* which was situated not very far from the *Gōdāvarī*,⁶ but it gives us no idea of the distance between the site of *Śambūka*'s penance and the hermitage of *Agastya*. Still the description in the epic shows clearly that the former lay somewhere in ancient *Vidarbha* between the *Vindhya* mountain and the *Gōdāvarī*. The description in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of the site of *Śambūka*'s penance suits *Rāmṭēk* where there is a large tank at the foot of the hill. As there is no hill in *Vidarbha* where there is such a tradition connecting it with *Śambūka*'s penance, it would not be wrong to identify *Rāmṭēk* with the *Śaivala* mountain.⁷

¹ P. R. A. S., W. C. for 1904-05, p. 41, para. 127.

² *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Uttarakāṇḍa*, *adhyāya* 75, verses 13-14.

³ *Ibid.*, *adhyāya* 79, verse 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *adhyāya* 81, verse 8.

⁵ See *Kautilya's Arthaśāstra*, *adhyāya* 1, *prakaraṇa* 3.

⁶ *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Uttarakāṇḍa*, *adhyāya* 76, verses 16-20.

⁷ The larger *Sindūragiri-māhātmya* mentions *Mahāśaivala* as a name of the hill at *Rāmṭēk* in addition to the two names noticed above, and explains it as being due to *Śiva* bringing the *Śaivas* to the hill. According to the colophon the *Māhātmya* has been taken from the *Kaumārakhaṇḍa* of the *Padmapurāṇa*; but the portion dealing with *Śambūka*'s story seems to have been copied *verbatim* from the *Rāmāyaṇa* of *Vālmiki*. We have not been able to trace the *Kaumārakhaṇḍa* in the printed edition of the *Purāṇa*. Still this description corroborates our inference that *Śaivala* was one of the old names of the hill at *Rāmṭēk*. For the identifications of the *tīrthas* mentioned here see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 202 ff.

TEXT.¹

- 1 ²ण ³मवाक्षु⁴
- 2 पूजित स्तत्वे(चे)न
- 3 देवासुरोर[न*] वचरितो
- 4 ⁵कः सुकविसार्धपथे प्र[विष्टः* ?]⁶ ⁷व्यो-
क्ताप्र-⁸
- 5 युग्मः ॥ ततोभूद्यादवो वंशः⁹ ॥ किं
वर्ष्यतेऽ[यं य*]दुर्वंशजः¹⁰
- 6 चोशिपालकालः¹¹ प्रोद्यद्देरिवीरव¹² जंभ-
यन्तुः ॥ भग्न्यत्कलंकविधुम¹³
- 7 ¹⁴यस्यातिभौषणरणांगण¹⁵ ¹⁶मंडलमिदं स्मरति स्म
रुद्रको¹⁷
- 8 लीवनान्नीतलगभुजग¹⁸ त्वमंभ्राधिप¹⁹ त्वं रं चोड
विमुंच द[र्प]- धरानाथप्रबोध²⁰
- 9 ऽयि(स्त्रि)लभुपतौना²¹ शिर[स्स ?]
[गुर्ज*?]रिन्द्रः पराक्षुखो यस्य पुरो रणेऽभूत्²² हेतु महा-
महोन्द्रे जैव-

¹ From the original stone.² From 15 to 18 aksharas are lost in the beginning of ll. 1-3.³ About 25 aksharas are broken off here and in the corresponding portion of ll. 1-3.⁴ About 45 aksharas are gone at the end of ll. 1-3.⁵ About 13 aksharas are gone in the beginning of ll. 4-6.⁶ Metre: *Vasantatilaka*.⁷ From 23 to 27 aksharas are lost here and in the corresponding portion of ll. 5-6.⁸ From 35 to 45 aksharas are lost at the end of ll. 4-7.⁹ Metre: *Anushakti*.¹⁰ Metre: *Indravajrā*.¹¹ Read चोशिपालः कालः. [See above, p. 8, n. 1.—Ed.]¹² Metre: *Śālīnī*.¹³ About 18 aksharas are lost in the beginning of ll. 7-14.¹⁴ From 18 to 22 aksharas are broken off here and in the corresponding portion of ll. 8-14.¹⁵ Metre: *Mālinī*.¹⁶ Metre: *Śāradāśāstrīḍita*.¹⁷ About 5 aksharas are lost at the end of ll. 6-14.¹⁸ Metre: *Upēndravajrā*.

- 10 र्यदसप्रभिन्नप्रतिभटविक¹ [मौक्ति*]-
 कौघैर्गगनमिव सतारं संध्या स² [क]रोत्तराणां³ सौंदर्य . .

- 11 [चो]णिपतेरस्य⁴ भूमिपालोऽ हासि-
 निहतोत्कटप्रतिभटेभकुंभद्वयोपटुद्यु(?) कमुक्ताच्छलात् ।
 अमु[थ]
- 12 महीरुहस्य यशसा चंद्र
 वाचस्यतेः । तेजोभिर्दिनक्तद्रुचामपि हठादा[धि]क्य द्वालय-
 भोगभूमिरभवत्काल
- 13 [घ]णदेवनामा⁷ गुणाभि [॥*] — — — —
 — — — — चंडकोदंडमुक्तैः श्रितकांडदंडैर्विष(ख)ण्डितारक्त — — —
 देहपं(ख)डैरमंडि चितिराहवस्य⁹ ॥
- 14 [मा]साद्य शान्तिं परमाववाप¹⁰ ।
 जगतीं चितौशः । शशाश(स) विश्रामतरुस्ततो यप्फलैर्ग्रहि¹⁰र्याचक-
 पचिपंतेः⁷ ॥ ¹¹धराचक्रं भ्रांत्वा त्र(चि)दश
- 15 ¹²धिष्ठाय रचयत्यहो नृत्यत्क[बंध*]
 [॥*] अपारसंसारसमुद्रसारैर्यशःसुधौघैर्वसुधा यदीयैः श्रीसिंहणचोणिपतेर्वियोगतापं
 जही¹³ [॥]अ ¹⁴
- 16 [म*]हीतले ॥ वायिनायक इति चमातले नि
 — — — — दशोभरैः । तत्सुतः सकललोकविश्रुतो न श्रुतः
 कचिदपौह यत्समः¹⁵ ॥ तस्याप्ययं राघवदेव[नामा]¹⁶

¹ Metre : *Mālinī*.² Metre : *Mālinī*.³ Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.⁴ Metre : *Anushubh*.⁵ Metre : *Prithvī*.⁶ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.⁷ Metre : *Upēndravajrā*.⁸ Read श्रितकांडदंडैः । विखण्डि°.⁹ Metre : *Upajāti*.¹⁰ Read यः फलैर्ग्रहि-¹¹ Metre : *Sikharinī*.¹² From 20 to 24 aksharas are lost in the beginning of ll. 15-20.¹³ The metre of this verse is irregular. The first hemistich is in *Upēndravajrā*.¹⁴ From 5 to 8 aksharas are lost at the end of ll. 15-20.¹⁵ Metre : *Rathōddhatā*.¹⁶ Metre : *Indravajrā*.

- 17 [गु]णगौरवप्रणयिनं श्रीरामचंद्रः प्रभुर्य सास्त्रान्यसमृद्धि-
सुंदररुचः पात्रं विधाय श्रियः । क्रोडोद्यानतलेऽपि(खि)ल्लोच्चलकलालीलागृह-
स्त्रौजनालाप¹
- 18 श्रीरामभूपत्वधरस्य शय्यापालीकृतात्मानममानसत्वं-
(चम)² ॥ श्रीवैद्यनाथगिरिपादपयोजभक्तिसंपादितापि(खि)ल्लमच्चत्व(च)पदाय तस्मै ।
के के नृपा ज³
- 19 तिर्हीरं क्षातिरपि प्रधानकुलजं यदा यथा सात्वि-
(चि)कं(कम्) । तद्वद्भूययति स्म यं पृ(पि)यतमा सौभाग्यसौंदर्यभू राजायोति गुणा-
शया गुणगणाधारं धरा⁴
- 20 दिनज्जदिनकृद्युतिं(तिम्) । गुरुमात्मोयमित्वेप पप्रच्छ
तदनु द्विजम् ॥ जानासि सर्वं भगवंस्तत्त्वां पृच्छामि पर्युक्ततामुपेतः ।
अगाधसंसारपयोधि⁵
- 21 'पि(खि)लपारदृष्टा ॥ शय्यापालकुलाधीश निबोधेदं
वचो मम । संसारसागरोत्तारकारणं न हरः परं(रम्) ॥⁶ अथतारा दशाप्यस्य
रामस्तो[षां ?]
- 22 वायुपुत्रयुक्तो वसत्युत्तमयोगिचिन्त्यः ।
महोदधरस्यास्य तपंगिरिस्तं प्रभावमयं किमुदाहरामि⁷ ॥ विहाय मे
- 23 साद्य रघुद्विजस्य⁸ ॥ प्रागञ्च देवी
नृहरिः सुरारेखिं(र्वि)भेद वलः करजैः शिताग्रैः । तद्रक्तपूरारुणितस्ततोऽयं⁹
.
- 24 [गु]णकथां सौंदर्यसारैः पुनस्तद्वद्वक्तुमम्
वृ(ह)हस्पतिसमोऽप्यन्यो हि जानाति कः¹⁰ ॥ पपौ समुद्रं पुलुकेन यस्तं
सुनौ[ग्र ?]¹¹

¹ Metre : Śārāṅgavikrīḍita.² Metre : Indravajrā.³ Metre : Vasantatīlākā.⁴ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.⁵ Metre : Upajāti.⁶ From 29 to 34 akṣaras are gone in the beginning of ll. 21-25.⁷ Metre of this and the next verse : Anuṣṭubh.⁸ From 9 to 11 akṣaras are lost at the end of ll. 21-25.⁹ Metre : Upendravajrā.

- 25 मनो मृदु . . . [रा*]मिश्वर इतीह
 कौत्स्यते ॥ श्रीरामाय मुनीश्वरः कलशभूर्मध्येसभं व्र(व्र)ह्मणः शुत्वैतस्य
 गिरिः प्र[भाव*]¹
- 26 ²विलोक्य सादरं जन्तुर्मुच्यते व्र-
 (व्र)ह्महृत्या³ ॥ गोविप्रवा(वा)लप्रमदावधादिपापौघपूर्णं अ⁴⁵
- 27 लयपर्वतेंद्रे ॥ कृतोपवासा हरिवासरे
 ये कुर्वन्ति रात्रौ रघुनन्दनाग्रे । तपंगिरौ⁶ जागर[ण*]
- 28 मराधिकामैः ॥ घंटेश्वरं चैव सुधेश्वरं
 च केदारमीशं च तथाजनेयं(यम्) । हारेश्वरं⁷
- 29 [म*]ज्जनेन दुरितं निर्धूय वं(वं)धच्छिदा
 स्वाच्छंदां मनुजा भजन्ति भवने भर्गस्य यत्तत्परं(रम्)¹ ॥ म
- 30 प्रभावं शक्तोतिवक्तुं न गुरुः सुराणाम-
 न्यस्य⁷ तत्कस्य⁴⁸
- 31 श्रोशं(ख)नाम्नि ८ ८ ८ ८ ह(वि)-
 भुवनजनतापूज्यपादारविन्दं स्नात्वा श्री-⁹
- 32 ८ ८ ८¹⁰ लत्यनलां समयम[प*]भयः
 शंखपाण्डितिकस्यः ॥ तामग्नितीर्थप्रभवां विभूतिं⁴
- 33 [अ*]स्व(स्व)तीर्थं नरः स्नात्वा पूजयित्वा-
 वि(वि)कापतिं(तिम्) । अंवि(वि)कानाथसदने याति भोगैकभूमितां(ताम्)³ ॥
 अधिगम्य वरुणतीर्थं

¹ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.² About 45 letters are gone at the beginning of ll. 26-31.³ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.⁴ Metre : *Indravajrā*.⁵ About 9 letters are broken off at the end of ll. 26-29.⁶ Read तपोगिरौ. Metre : *Upajāti*.⁷ Read सुराणाम् । अन्यस्य.⁸ About 20 aksharas are gone here.⁹ Metre : *Sragdharā*.¹⁰ From 50 to 60 aksharas have been lost in the beginning of ll. 32-33.

- 34¹ वरुणादिलोकपालैर्व्वदितचर[णं]
 रिशरणं(णम्)² ॥ यत्प्रकृतोर्थे³ ऽप्यभिषेकभाजां जायेत पुन्यं(ख्यं) नरपुंग-
 वानां(नाम्) । तदश्वमेधादमहामषा(खा)नामोघैर्न लभ्यं न तपोभि-
- 35 ८ रुप्रैः⁴ ॥ तौ[र्थ] नृसिंहस्य कथं[चि*]दाद्यैः पु[ण्यैः*] समासाद्य विशुद्धमूर्त्तः ।
 नरस्य लोकद्व(चि)तये करस्यं किमौषितं नास्ति दुरापमन्यैः ॥ अष्टमे च
 कुरुक्षेत्रेनान्नि तौर्थवरं नरः । निमज्ज(ज्य) ब्र(व्र)ह्महत्यादिमृजा शुद्धो
 दिवं ब्र-
- 36 जेत्⁵ ॥ तीर्थपंचकमिहाचलराजे यच्चिलोकविदिते विदि[ता]ख्यं(ख्यम्) । तद्वभाव-
 कथने न समर्थो देवसार्थगुरुरस्ति न सोऽपि⁶ ॥ लक्ष्मीतीर्थं तेषु मुख्यं दुरापा
 लक्ष्मीर्न स्यान्मज्जतां यच्च तूष्णं(णम्) । यावज्जीवं पातकोद्भूतिहेतुप्रोद्य[द्]प्यो(ःखो)-
 द्रेकदारिद्र्यभाजां(जाम्)⁷ ॥
- 37 किं हंसतीर्थस्य तथा प्रभावः प्रभूतपुण्योज्ज्वलकेतनस्य । व्या[ख्या]यते यज्ज-
 लपानतोऽपि हंसो हृदिस्थो विमलत्वमेति⁸ ॥ श्रीचक्रतीर्थमहिमानममानमुर्ध्वा
 गुर्वी प्रवक्तुमपि कस्य नरस्य शक्तिः । यस्य स्वयं भगवता हरिणा स्वचक्रं
 रक्षार्थमुद्यतमकल्पि
- 38 सुदर्शनाख्यं(ख्यम्)⁹ ॥ स्नात्वा धनुस्तीर्थजले धनुश्च प्रदाय हेमादिकृतं स्वशक्त्या । नरो
 विदूरीकृतपापराशिः श्रीशार्ङ्गपाणेः सदनं प्रयाति¹⁰ ॥ तीर्थे पितृणां पिबतीर्थ-
 नांश्च स्नात्वा च कृत्वा पिबतर्पणादि । कोटिं पितृणां नियतः(तं) पवि-
 त्रीकृत्ये(त्यै)ति दिव्यं हि पदंपितृ-
- 39 णां(णाम्)¹¹ ॥ गिररपाच्यां दिशि वाजिमधतीर्थं समर्थेऽखिलतीर्थसार्थात् । नरो
 निमज्जप्रागनया समेतस्तनूभवानाश लभेत धन्यान्¹² ॥ या ररक्ष कलि-
 कालतो बलाद्धर्ममूर्मिकरपंकजैर्नदी । सा तथास्य कलिर्पोति विश्रुता संनिधौ
 कलिमलं हरत्यलं(लम्)¹³ ॥ सुरनदी च सुरौघ-

¹ About a dozen aksharas may have been lost here.

² Metre : Giti.

³ Metre of this and the next verse : Upajāti.

⁴ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁵ Metre : Svāgatā.

⁶ Metre : Śalinī.

⁷ Metre : Vasantatilakā.

⁸ Metre : Indravajrā.

⁹ Metre : Rathōddhatā.

¹⁰ Read यच्छुक्रतीर्थं .

¹¹ Metre : Upajāti.

- 40 समाश्रिता निकटतोऽस्य वहत्यचलस्य सा । सुरनिकेतनभोगसमृद्धिदा सक्तदिवाच-
मनादिक्ता नृणां(णाम्)¹ ॥ कलिपासुरनद्यं(वु)संगादं(गार्कजां(वु)नोः । संगं न
गणयंत्युच्चैर्मनुष्य(ष्य)मुनिदेवताः² ॥ नाश्चर्यमस्मिन्मणिकालकुंडं तीर्थोत्तमे प्राप्य
समस्तसिद्धीः ।
- 41 प्राप्नोति मर्त्यः खलु मुक्तिरस्य प्रसादतः साऽपि न दूरसंस्था³ ॥ [मो]क्षकुंडं
समासाद्य दक्ष(क्षि)णस्यां महीभृतः । दुर्लभोऽपि भवेन्नोक्षः सुलभः प्राणिनां
क्षणात्⁴ ॥ श्रीरामतीर्थं यदिहास्ति तीर्थं साक्षात्सदर्थप्रथितप्रभावं(वम्) । तस्या-
भूतिप्रोद्भवपुन्य(ण्य)राशेफलप्रदाता⁵ दशकंधरा-
- 42 रिः⁶ ॥ एकादशीवासरवासभाजां तीर्थं शुभार्थं दशकंठशत्रोः । मुक्तिर्वराको करपंज-
रस्या करोति सेवां गृहसारिकेव ॥ यत्कार्तिके मासि नरो निमज्य(ज्ज)
श्रीरामतीर्थं दशकंधरारिं(रिम्) । भक्त्या प्रपश्यन्न शरीरकोशे कोटत्वमायाति तदन्त-
रात्मा⁷ ॥ सक्तद्रामगयाश्राद्धं गिराविह क-
- 43 रोति यः । लभन्ते पितरस्तस्य मुक्तिमत्यन्तदुर्लभां(भाम्)⁸ ॥ श्रीरामचंद्रस्य समीपतोऽस्ति
सिंदूरवापी सुकृतप्रपा सा । यस्या विशुद्धेन विलोकनेन विजित्य नाकं
समुपैति मुक्तिं(क्तिम्)⁹ ॥ कर्पूरवापी सुकृतप्रवाहपूरेण पूर्णा किमु वर्णनीया ।
देवस्य सौतादयितस्य पार्श्वे दास्यं हि यस्याः कुरुतेऽपि
- 44 मुक्तिः¹⁰ ॥ काशो नोज्जयिनी न चापि मथुरा नो द्वारका नो पुरी तद्वत्पुण्य-
भरं प्रयच्छति नृणां वासेन नित्यायुषा । यद्वदासरमेकमष्टिति(?)कृतां सिंदूर-
भूमीधरः श्रीरामस्य पदारविंदयुगलस्पर्शेन सर्वोत्तमः¹¹ ॥ जगन्मंगलमाधत्ते
यस्य कुंभद्वयी स्मृता । गजेन्द्रवदनः
- 45 साक्षादवास्ते रामकाक्षया¹² ॥ आस्ते धर्मेश्वरो नित्यं स रामस्य गिराविह ।
पौडितं कलिना धर्मं यः कृपालुरपालयत् ॥ श्रीरामचंद्रस्य करेण चंद्रहा-
साहतः प्राप्य पदं पुरारिः । स शम्भु(म्बु)कः शूद्रमुनिर्महोन्नराजोऽच धूमाच
इति प्रसिद्धः¹³ ॥ पश्यन्ति मुक्तौश्वरनामधेयं शिवं शिवा-

¹ Metro : Drutavilambita.² Metro : Anushtubh.³ Metro : Upajāti.⁴ Read राशेः फलप्रदाता .⁵ Metro of this and the next verse : Upajāti.⁶ Metro : Indravajrā.⁷ Metro of this and next verse : Anushtubh.⁸ Metro : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁹ Metro of this and the next three verses : Upajāti.

- 46 नाथमिहाचलेन्द्रे । शिवव्रतस्थाः शिववासरं ये शिवत्वमाधांति शिवानये ते ॥
गोपीजनानन्दसमुद्रपूर्णचन्द्रो विनिद्रोज्ज्वलपद्मनेत्रः । गोपालमूर्तिर्जगदेकमूर्तिर्व्यसत्यसावत्र धराधरेन्द्रे ॥ अतीव तेजःप्रसरप्रतप्तं जगत्समर्थं कृपया ररच । योऽयं चतुर्थोऽवतरोऽच्युतस्य श्री-
- 47 मातृसिंहोपि वसत्वमुष्मिन् ॥ सतीभोनिधिपूरदूरपिहितं वि(वि)भूदरा दंष्ट्रया योऽयं भाति सरोजिनौदलनिभो दन्तेन यद्वन्मयन्¹ । यं रोमान्तरगुप्तवास-सुखिनो देवर्षयस्तुष्टुबुष्कल्पान्ते² दशकंधारिसदने सोऽचादिकीलः प्रभुः³ ॥ अनन्यलभ्यामतुलां सपर्यां नित्यं
- 48 परित्यज्य महेन्द्रदत्तां(ताम्) । श्रीमातृपर्याङ्गिरयोपि⁴ पुत्रप्रौढ्या वसत्वञ्च गिरीन्द्रसानौ ॥⁵ सुतौ श्रीरामचन्द्रस्य गिरौ कुशलवाविह । दधाते कल्पवृक्षत्वं भक्तिभाजां जगत्प्रभु⁶ ॥ मातरोऽष्टौ महासिद्धिनामधेयोपलब्धिताः । अथ तिष्ठति भक्तानामणि-माद्यष्टकप्रदाः ॥ कल्पान्ते कवली-
- 49 करोति सकलं वैलोक्यमत्येतरज्ज्वालाजालकरालकालवदनो यष्कालिकाकेलिभूः⁷ । सिन्दूराचलभीक्ष्णं क्षणमपि चौघान्यवासस्पृहः श्रीरामस्पृहया करोति भगवान्किं वा महाभैरवः⁸ ॥ पंचास्यं चंद्रमौलिं दशभुजमुदयत्कोटिभानूयभासं अर्चं हृत्वा ८ —
- 50 — सिवरगरधनुःशूलष(स्त्र)ङ्गांगहस्तं(स्तम्) । हृत्पद्मे भक्तलोकाभयवरदकरं चिन्तयन् नरः स्यात्तैलीक्ये सिद्धिसम्पादसति पवनजः सोऽत्र रामैकमृत्युः⁹ ॥ मालां पुष्पमयौ-मिव चितिमिमां वि(वि)भ्रच्छिरोभिर्विभुः श्रीरामावतरे हरः सन्नचरः शंखोऽप्यशंखकः । आम्ने सोऽ[च] स-
- 51 मस्तभक्तजनतातत्तन्मनोवाञ्छि(च्छि)तं संयच्छन्ज(ञ्ज)नकाधिराजतनयानायातिके लक्ष्मणः¹⁰ ॥ यन्नामस्मरणाग्रयाति निधि(स्थि)लः पापाद्रिरुचैः चयं या विश्वैकपतिव्रताध्वनि गुरुर्देवी दयैकापगा । या शापेन निनाय भस्त्रकणिकाभूयं न लंकापतिं कर्ता न दयिताऽ[स्त्र]

¹ Perhaps वनव्ययन् is intended here. [This reading would involve a sandhi with the preceding word which would spoil the metre. I would suggest -dalam=ibho dantina yadcan=nayan as the intended reading.—Ed.]

² Read सुदुष्टः कल्पान्.

³ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.

⁴ Read श्रीमातृपः पंक्तिर्यो-

⁵ Metre: Upajñi.

⁶ Metre of this and the following verse: Anuśṭubh.

⁷ Read यः कालिका.

⁸ Metre: Śrāgharā.

⁹ Metre of this and the next verse: Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.

52 नाशमिति साय्यवाक्षि रामान्तिके ॥ इहाचलेंद्रे दशकंठशचीर्विलोक्य मूर्तिः खलु
— ७ मर्त्यः । परत्र काले न करोति भीतिं कातास्तम(?)लङ्घतिघोर-
मूर्तेः¹ ॥ भक्त्या महत्या प्रभुमादिरामं जगत्पुषा(म्वा)रामतनुं निरौच्य । नर-
सुरेन्द्रादिकरोपनीतपूजाग्रपाचत्वमुपैति नि-

53 त्वं(त्वम्) ॥ श्री(भो)गराममभिरामतनुं निरौच्य क्षोणापि(खि)लाघसरणिः शरणे सुरारिः ।
भोगा[नभंगुररसा]न्मृचरं विचित्रान्प्राप्नोति कल्पशतमल्पितदेवराजः² ॥ इद्वा प्रकष्ट-
महिमानमनन्तभक्त्या तं गुप्तराममतिगुप्तपदं च किञ्चित् । प्राप्नोति यत्तदिह
किं ननु देवरा[जो] — — ७

54 तद्गुरुर्यागिरसोऽपि सीऽपि ॥ श्रीशंखरामं प्रणिपत्य मर्त्यः पदं समभ्येति हि शंख-
पाणिः । विशुद्धभावेन हृदा महेंद्रमुखादिदेवैरभिवन्द्यमानः³ ॥ जगन्महानंदनि-
दानमीशं श्रीमैथिलीलक्षणदेवयुक्तं(क्तम्) । श्रीरामदेवं प्रणिपत्य मूर्ध्ना नमस्करिष्ये-
(ष्ये)त्पतरैर्व्य[चोभिः*] ॥

55 देव श्रीरघुनंदन ह्र(चि)जगतामदैतवादप्रभो भास्वदंशमहाविभूषणमणे काक्यखरत्नाकर ।
चैलोक्यारिदशस्यकंठदशकच्छेदोजसत्पाणये पा — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७
ते चैलोक्यगोत्रे नमः⁴ ॥ देव श्रीरघुसमुद्रसांद्रलङ्घरी[नि]र्मथ्य हृत्कीर्तये तत्ताड-
माण — ७ — ७

56 ७ ७ — विद्यैकभर्त्रे नमः । श्रीरामाय हनुमदादिवदनांभोजस्यवंदप्रभाभर्त्रे श्री-
जनकचित्तींद्रतनयानंदैक[कं]दाय च ॥ देव त्वां स्फुरदुपशोषण ७ — — —
७ — — ७ — — — दारचटुसुतिप्रशमितक्रोधं नमस्कुर्महे । तत्त्वा[त्ता]प-
चितिक्रियार्थमिलिताशेषास्व — — ७

57 — धत्ता(?)त्यन्तसुजात्यरत्नचयभाभ्राजिष्णुपादांबु(तु)जं(जम्) ॥ देव त्वां गिरिपादपेवि(खि)-
लभुजामुष्टिप्रहारो ७ — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ — — — ७ —
— ७ — । — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ निवि(खि)लं चैलोक्यनाशचर्म धाव्या
— ७ सहस्रपूर्णरुचिम — — ७ — मं नमः ॥ — — — ७

¹ Metre of this and the following verses : Upajati.

² Metre of this and the next verse : Vasantatilaka.

³ Metre of this and the next verse : Upajati.

⁴ Metre of this and the next seven verses : Sārngianikriṣṭa.

- [illegible]

¹ Metre : Anushtubh.

² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

² About 40 *aksharas* are gone here.

* Metre : *Indravajrā*.

³ Lines 64-75 are too much mutilated to be transcribed here.

line 70 has शाङ्ग्य सत्वरमुवाच वचः स मैघिलीनायसुयति देन मे कुरु . . which shows that the inscription was intended to record something done by Māidēva by the order of Rāghava—perhaps some repairs to the temple of Lakshmana.

No. 3.—A GRANT OF THE WESTERN CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA : SAKA 653.

By S. C. UPADHYAYA, M.A., LL.B., BOMBAY.

This set of **three copper-plates** was presented by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society to the Archæological Section of the **Prince of Wales Museum**, Bombay, and is now exhibited in the Epigraphical Gallery.

These plates have not been published so far nor have they been noticed anywhere. Their authenticity is, however, unquestionable and therefore they are taken up for publication in this journal.

Each plate is 10"×5½" in size. The whole grant runs into 45 lines. A circular hole with a diameter of about ¾" is found in all the three plates. There is neither any ring nor any Royal seal attached to the set at present. The first and third plates are written on one side only while the second plate is inscribed on both the sides. As regards **orthography** the record has no peculiarity worth mentioning.

Vijayāditya, the donor of the present grant, seems to have ascended the throne in 618-619 Śaka as the Bādāmi Sanskrit and Kanarese inscription is dated Śaka 621, in his third regnal year.¹ The present grant was made in his **36th regnal year** when **653 Śaka** had passed. His reign seems to have ended in 654-655 Śaka as his son Vikramāditya II issued from Raktapura a grant in his 2nd regnal year in 656 Śaka expired.²

The donation was made on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha to Bhavasvāmi-Bhaṭṭa of the Viśvāmītra-gōtra, who was well versed in the Vaidika literature and who was the son of Paśupatiśarman and grandson of Yajñaśarman. The donation was of a village (?) in a certain *viśhaya*³. The grant was issued from the victorious camp at **Raktapura**.⁴

The writer was **Niravadya-Puṇyavallabha**. We know that in the reign of Vinayāditya the *Mahāsāṃdhivigrahika* was one Rāma-Puṇyavallabha.⁵ But in the reign of Vijayāditya there was one Niravadya-Paṇḍita *alias* Udayadēva-Paṇḍita, a Jaina to whom Vijayāditya granted a village.⁶ Niravadya-Paṇḍita who was of the Mūla-Saṃgha was the spiritual guide of Vinayāditya.⁷

The inscription opens with *Śvasti* followed by a verse in praise of the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. Then it successively refers to the famous Mānavya-gōtra, the descent from **Hārīti** of the **Chalīkyas** who were guarded by the Seven Mothers, the receipt of a banner bearing the figure

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 60.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 104.

³ [According to my reading of lines 35-37 the name of the village granted would be Tārāvadra which was situated in Tēllād-āhāra, a district in Navasāri-*viśhaya*. I read the portion as follows :—

35 भवस्वामिभट्टाय नवसारिविषये तेजादाहारे

36 कौञ्जल्यतिज्ञादपटमल्याषवेसीमायामाणी मूधे तारा[ब]द्रना-

37 मयाम(मी) बापुयमने विजयादित्येन दत्तः etc.—N. L. R.]

⁴ This Raktapura was a famous place in the times of the Western Chālukya kings. Vinayāditya issued a grant from this place. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 112. Vikramāditya II issued one more grant in 656 Śaka, cf. *ibid.*, p. 104.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 85.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 112.

⁷ [The late Prof. Pathak has suggested (above, Vol. X, p. 15) that the name Niravadya, which seems to have been a *biruda*, originally of Vijayāditya, was assumed by the writer of his grants.—N. L. R.]

of a Boar on it through the favour of Vishṇu, etc., as found in most of the other grants of this dynasty.

The genealogy begins with **Pulakēśi-Vallabha (I)**¹ who had purified his limbs with the holy waters at the time of the horse sacrifice performed by him. Then his son, the famous **Kirtti-varman(I)** who had defeated the kings of **Vanavāsī**, is referred to. Then we find mentioned his son **Satyāśraya** otherwise famous as **Pulakēśin (II)** who bore the additional titles **Mahārājādhirāja** and **Paramēśvara**; the last-mentioned title he obtained by defeating **Harshavardhana**. Then comes his 'favourite' son **Vikramāditya (I)**. Mounted on the back of his favourite steed **Chitrakaṇṭha** and with only a sword in hand he is said to have retrieved the fortune of his father which had been taken away by the alliance of three kings. He also broke down the power of the **Pāṇḍyas**, **Chōlas**, **Kēraḷas** and **Kaḷabhras**, and made the king of **Kāūchī** bow down in reverence to him. Then is mentioned **Vinayāditya**, who is also stated to have subdued the triple alliance. He subdued the kings of **Kavōra**, **Pārasika** and **Sirṃhaḷa** and by defeating the king of the north acquired the emblems of greatness such as the **Pālidhvaja**, etc.

His favourite son was **Vijayāditya-Samastabhuvanāśraya**, the donor of the present grant. He secured peace at home while his grandfather carried on wars with the southern kings and he assisted his father in a campaign in the north and going further to the north (more than what his father had done) he acquired for himself the emblems of **Gaṅgā**, **Yamunā**, the **Pālidhvaja** banner and the **Ḍhakkā** drum. He was once caught by the enemies but he skilfully contrived to escape and brought peace and order unaided by others in the provinces where disorder reigned supreme for a while.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 स्वस्ति [॥*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्राह्मं चाभिगण्णवं(वम्) [॥*] दक्षिणोन्नत-
दंष्ट्राग्रविश्रान्तभुवनं³ वपुः [॥*] श्री-
- 2 मतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां सप्तलोकमातृ-
- 3 भिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिर्वर्दितानां कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगव-
- 4 द्वायायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां
- 5 चलिक्थानां कुलमलंकरिणोरश्वमेधावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपुलकेशि-
- 6 वल्लभमहाराजस्य सूनु) पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरनृपतिमण्डलप्रणिव-
- 7 हविशुद्धकीर्त्तिः श्रीकीर्त्तिवर्मपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजस्तस्यात्मजस्समर-⁴
- 8 संसक्तसकलोत्तरापथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्धना⁵ पराजयोपात्तपरमेश्वरशब्दा-

¹ His title *Satyāśraya* is not given here, unlike in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 73.

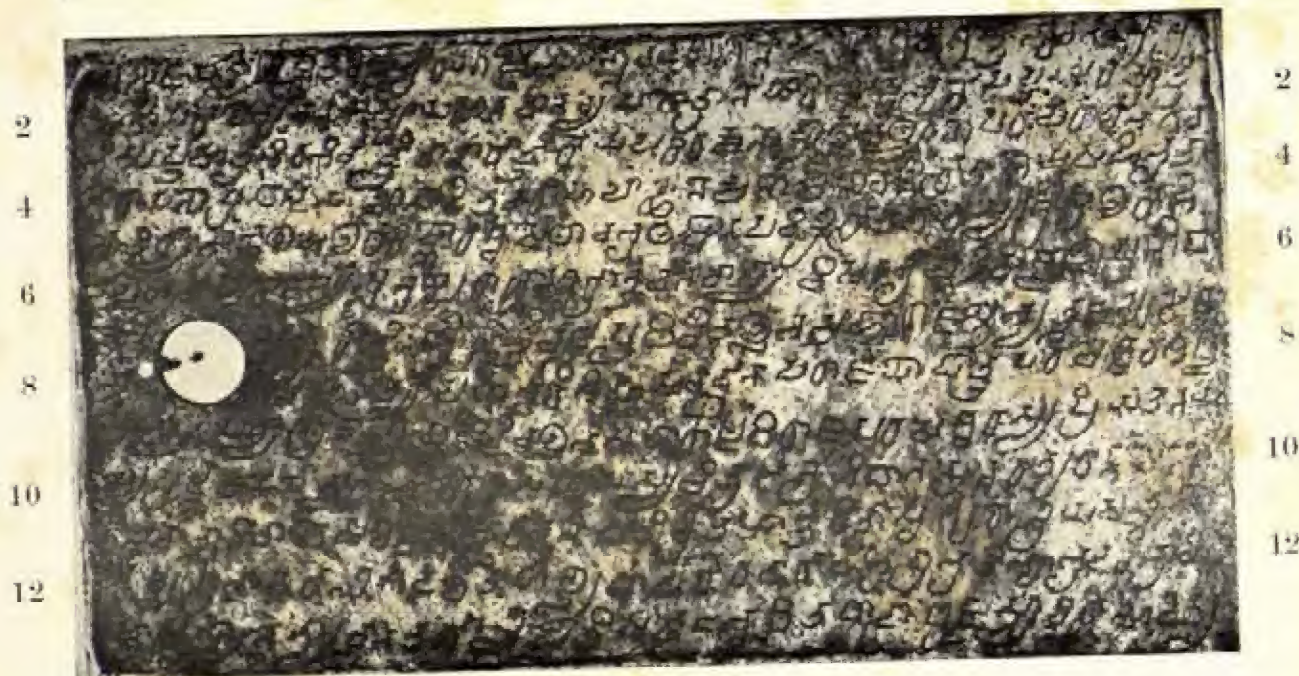
² From the original plates.

³ Read *-bhuvanam*.

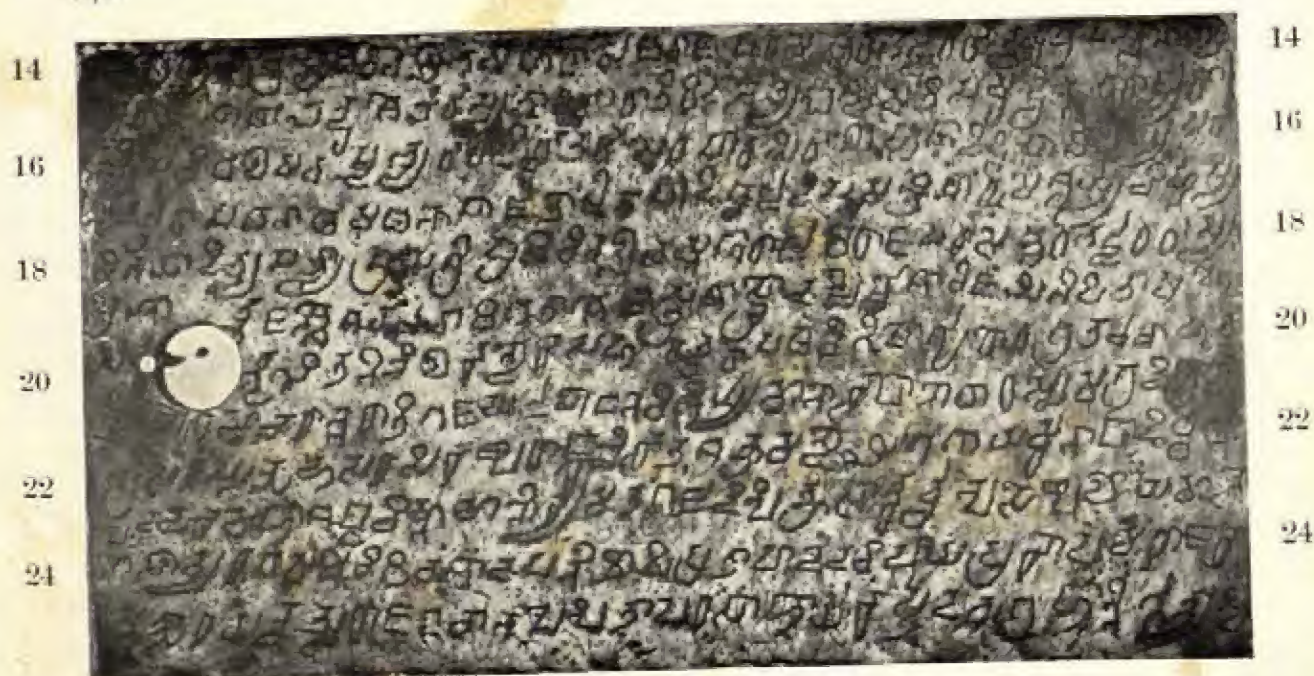
⁴ Read **sya samara*. [This emendation is unnecessary as the reading of the text in ll. 8-9 is correctly *-paramēśvara-labhas-tasya*.—Ed.]

⁵ Read *śrī-Harshavardhana*.

i.



ii, a.



ii, b.

26

28

30

32

34

Handwritten text in a script, likely Pāli, on a dark, textured background. The text is arranged in approximately 10 lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the manuscript fragment.

26

28

30

32

34

iii.

36

38

40

42

44

Handwritten text in a script, likely Pāli, on a dark, textured background. The text is arranged in approximately 10 lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the manuscript fragment.

36

38

40

42

44

- 9 [ङ्ग]स्य सत्याययश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्य प्रियतनय-
 10 स्य प्रज्ञा[त]नयस्य खड्गमात्रसहायस्य चित्रकण्ठाभिधानप्रवरतुरङ्गमै-
 11 केनैवोत्सारिताशेषविजिगोषोरवनिपतित्रितयान्तरितां स्वगुरो¹ श्रियमात्मसा-
 12 त्कृत्य(त्वा) प्रभावकुलिशदलितपाण्ड्यचोळकैरळकभ्रप्रभृतिभूभृददभ्रवि-
 13 भ्रमस्थानन्यावनतकाञ्चीपतिमुकुटचुङ्गितपादांबुजस्य विक्रमादित्य-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 14 सत्याययश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य प्रियसूनो²पि-
 15 तुराज्या बालेन्दुशेखरस्य तारकारातिरिव दैत्यबलमतिसमुद्धतं त्रैराज्यका-
 16 ञ्चीपतिबलमवष्टभ्य करदौकृतकमे(वे)रपारसौकसिंहकादिद्वीपाधिपस्य सक-
 17 लोत्तरापथनायमथनोपार्जितोर्जितपाकिध्वजादिसमस्तपारमैश्वर्यचिह्नस्य
 18 विनयादित्यसत्याययश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य
 19 प्रियात्मजशैशव एवाधिगताशेषास्त्रशास्त्रो दक्षिणाशाविजयिनि पितामहे
 20 समुन्मूलितनिखिलकण्टक³सह[ति*]रुत्तरापथवि[जि*]गौषोर्गुरोरग्रत एवाहव-
 21 व्यापारमाचरन्मरातिगजघटापाटनविशौर्यमाणकृपाणधारस्समग्रविग्रहा-
 22 येसरस्स[त्सा]हसरसिक⁴पराङ्मु(ङ्ग)खीकृतशत्रुमण्डलो गंगायमुनापाकिध्वज-
 23 पट[ह*]ढक⁵महाशब्दचिह्नमाणिक्यमतंगजादौग्नपु(ट)सात्कुर्वन्प[रै]⁶पलायमानै-
 24 रासाद्य कथमपि विधिवशादपनीतोपि प्रतापादेद⁷ विषयप्रकोपमराजक-
 25 मुत्सारयन्वत्सराज इवानपेक्षितापरसहायकस्तदवग्रहान्निर्गत्य स्व-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 26 भुजावटंभप्रसाधिताशेषविश्वंभर⁸प्रभुरखण्डितशक्तिचय-
 27 त्वाच्छत्रुमदभंजनत्वादुदारत्वान्निरवद्यत्वाद्यस्समस्तभुवना-

¹ Read *gurōh*.
² Read *ghakkā*.
³ Read *vishaya*.

⁴ Read *samhāra*.
⁵ Read *d=eva*.

- 28 अथस्मकलपारमैश्वर्य्ययक्तिहेतुपालिध्वजाद्युज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)सपान्य-
 29 राज्या विजयादित्यसत्याश्वयशोपयिवीवज्जभमहाराजाधिरा-
 30 जपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्तर्वाश्वे(ने)वमाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु योम्मा-
 31 भि'चिपञ्चागदुत्तरपट्ट(ट्ट)विषु शकवयंश्चतोतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजय-
 32 राज्यसंवत्सरे षट्ठिंशे वत्समाने रक्तपुरमधिवसति विजयस्कन्धावारं
 33 वैशाखपौर्णमास्यां विष्णामिचगांजाय — — — 'वे[द*]विदांगपारगाय
 34 ज्ञशर्मपौत्राय 'पट्टपतिशर्मपुत्राय सकल'विदितशास्त्रा-
 35 य भवस्वामिभट्टाय — — — — 'विषये — — — 'हारो

Third Plate.

- 36 — — — — लु^१ — पश्चिमे — — —^२ सीमा — — — — —
 37 — — — — —^३ विजयादित्येन दत्तः तदागामिभिरक्षरं-
 38 श्वैरस्यैव राजभिरायुरैश्वर्यादीनां विलसितमचिरांश्च-
 39 लमव[ग*]च्छद्विराचन्द्रार्कधरार्णवस्थितिसमकालयशस्त्रिभि[ः*] स्वदत्ति-
 40 नि[र्वि]शेषं परिपालनीयमुत्तमं भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [॥*]
 41 बहुभिर्त्वंसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्य(भिः । य)स्य यस्य य-
 42 दा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) [॥*] स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दुःखम-
 43 न्यस्य पालनं(नम्) [॥*] दानं वा पालनं चेति दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) [॥*]
 44 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुधारां(राम्) [॥*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्टा-
 45 यां जायते कृमिः [॥*] श्रीनिरवशश्रीपुण्यवज्जमेन लिखितमिदं शासनं [॥*]

* Read 'Mia-tri'.

* Reading doubtful. [It is 'विदिन'.—N. L. R.]

* Read 'Palapati'.

* The order of the words in the compound is incorrect.

* [See note 3 on p. 21.—Ed.]

* Read 'yam/uktai=cha.

No. 4.—ELLORA PLATES OF DANTIDURGA : SAKA 663.

By S. K. DIKSHIT, M.A., NEW DELHI.

The copper-plates which bear the subjoined inscription of the earliest Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Dantidurga were discovered at Ellora (ancient Ēlāpura) in Aurangābād District of H. E. H. the Nizām's Dominions. They were handed over to Sir John Marshall by Major Garforth, Under Secretary, Public Works Department, in the year 1921, but originally belonged to a widow lady, by name Mrs. Plunkett, from whom they were subsequently purchased by the Archaeological Department. Unfortunately they have somehow remained in oblivion for more than 17 years, until Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshīt happened to come across them. He has kindly lent them to me for editing, which I am doing under his guidance.

The plates are two in number, each measuring in the middle roughly 6 inches in length and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth. They are joined together by a copper ring which is oval in shape, being roughly $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in breadth. The letters, which are engraved with fair accuracy, vary in size from $\frac{1}{8}$ th to $\frac{1}{4}$ rd of an inch. The plates are inscribed on one side only, and the engraving is fairly deep, though the letters do not appear on the other side except in a few cases. The edges of the plates are thickened only very slightly, so that the first plate is worn out in the middle of the upper edge though no damage is thereby caused to any letters. The copper ring which joins the two plates together has a seal attached to it, on which appears a winged figure sitting cross-legged. The figure must be of Garuḍa who usually appears on the Rāshtrakūṭa seals. The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is throughout written in prose, except for the imprecatory and benedictory verses (lines 23 to 28) which are usually found near the end. As regards orthography, it may be noted that the consonant following *r* is generally duplicated (cf. *Dantidurgga*, l. 8; *antarggata* and *vinirggata*, ll. 13 and 14; *Adhvaryya*, l. 14; *utsarppapārtham*, l. 17). A certain amount of laxity in rules relating to *sandhi*, etc., is also observable.

The palaeographical peculiarities found in this inscription mark it out from the Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions like the Multāl and Tiwarkhēd plates of Nannarāja Yuddhāsura,¹ the Bhāndak plates of Krishnarāja Ist, which, according to Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, have characters belonging to the "Northern class of alphabets". On the other hand, a comparative study of this record with some of the Valabhi and Southern Gujarāt plates betrays their closest affinity in palaeographical details. Thus the Ilāō (Broach District) plates of Dadda II-Prasāntarāja,² Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhata,³ Āntrolī-Chhārōli plates of Karka II (dated Śaka 679)⁴ and Baroda plates of Suvarṇavarsha (dated Śaka 734)⁵ bear a much closer resemblance with the present record than the first-mentioned three grants from the Bētāl and Chāndā Districts. Special attention may be drawn to the form of the letter *ā* (l. 10), which could easily be mistaken for 'gu' or 'l', but is obviously meant to be of the same type as is found in *Ēlāpur-āchala*, etc., of the Baroda plates.⁶

The object of this inscription is to record the grant of a village called Pippalāla in the district of Chandanapuri-eighty-four, to certain Brāhmaṇas originating from Navasārikā, by the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Dantidurga, son of Indrarāja and grandson of Karkkarāja. The grant was issued

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230 ff.; above, Vol. XI, pp. 276 ff.

² Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 115 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 147 ff.

⁵ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 105 ff.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff. Also cf. the Valabhi plates illustrated in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, facing p. 328; above, Vols. XI, XIII and XXII, facing pp. 106, 339 and 118 respectively, etc.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, plate facing p. 158, text l. 14.

from, and probably recorded at, Badarikā-vāsaka, though it was originally made at Elapura (Elapura) by the donor after bathing in the Guhāvara tīrtha. Its chief importance, however, lies in the fact that it is the **earliest dated record of the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty so far known.** The inscription is dated in the (Śaka) Sainvat 663, Āsvina Śuddha trayōdaśī, Sōma-vāra. According to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* the date is not regular either for Śaka 663 current or for 663 expired. The details cited, however, regularly correspond to Monday, the 17th September 742 A.D., in the Śaka year 664 expired. The present inscription, whose authenticity can be borne out by the palaeographical test, is thus dated 12 years earlier than the Sāmangaḍ plates of Dantidurga,¹ which are dated in the Śaka year 675. The genuineness of the latter has been called in question by scholars like Dr. Sukthankar² and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,³ who base their arguments mainly on palaeographical grounds, which are, however, 'hardly convincing' to Dr. A. S. Altekar, 'when the difference is only of a few decades.'⁴ One may not perhaps fully agree with Dr. Altekar in his doubts as regards the validity of the palaeographical test, which has always to reckon the district in which the inscription is found, the district in which the grant is given and the personality of the writer; but one cannot set aside the Sāmangaḍ inscription altogether, especially in view of the possibility that it might have been copied from an earlier and authentic inscription which really gave the correct date of Dantidurga (viz., Ś. 675). The present record also bears out Dr. Altekar's suggestion that at any rate "there is nothing impossible in Dantidurga being a ruling prince in 733-4 A. D."⁵

Another point to be considered is regarding the titles that were borne according to this inscription by Dantidurga and his predecessors, Karka and Indra. All the three bear only feudatory titles, such as *Samadhiyata-paṇcha-mahāśabda* and *Mahāsāmantādhipati*. Thus Dantidurga had not as yet assumed the imperialistic titles which appear in the Sāmangaḍ plates. No doubt, he bears in this record the title of *Prithivīvallabha*, but that may signify at best his increased importance. It is true that the title *Prithivīvallabha* was often borne, along with *Śrīvallabha*, by kings of the Imperial lines of the Chālukyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas; but while the latter title, like the simpler *Vallabha*, was exclusively a suzerain's title, the former, viz., *Prithivīvallabha*, was borne also by important feudatories. Thus in circa 645 A. D. Chandrāditya, the eldest son of Pulakēśin II, is styled *Prithivīvallabha* and *Mahārāja*. About a century later, i.e., in or before 739 A. D., the same title *Prithivīvallabha* was conferred upon Pulakēśin (the repeller of the Tājikas) along with other titles, viz., *Avanījanāśraya*, *Dakṣiṇāpathasādāra-Chalukyakulālakāra*, etc., by Śrī-Vallabhanarēndra who evidently was his suzerain⁶. Dantidurga also seems to have defeated certain enemies, before 742 A. D., since he is said in this inscription to have obtained victory in many battles. One may therefore suggest that he too was honoured by Śrī-Vallabhanarēndra with the title *Prithivīvallabha* in recognition of his service in some battles, possibly fought in collaboration with Pulakēśi-Avanījanāśraya. The date of the present record is only three years later than the date of Pulakēśin's record. The connection of the Rāshtrakūṭa predecessors of Dantidurga with Gujarāt is borne out by the fact recorded in the Sanjān and other inscriptions that the mother of Dantidurga (called Bhavaganā in the Bhāndak plates of Kṛishnarāja)⁷ was a Chālukya princess who was carried away by Indrarāja from *Khṛjaka-maṇḍapa* in accordance with the *Rākṣasa* form

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 110 ff.

² Above, Vol. XIV, p. 121, n. 5.

³ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 238.

⁴ *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 33-34, footnote 11.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 109, n. 2. Also cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 265, where Nikumbhallaśakti Śendraka assumes the title *Prithivīvallabha*.

⁷ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 124, text l. 19.

of marriage. Further, the connection of Dantidurga with Southern Gujarāt is perhaps betrayed by the fact that one or probably all of the donees of the present grant hailed from Navasārikā. Lastly, as shown above, close palaeographical examination of this inscription confirms this connection, for the inscription was probably engraved somewhere in South Gujarāt. Thus, there is nothing impossible in Dantidurga helping Pulakēśi-*Avanījanāśraya*, when the Tājikas were penetrating into Dakṣiṇāpatha at Navasārikā, though it has to be admitted that this is nothing more than a supposition.

When did this scuffle between the Gujarāt Chālukyas and the Tājikas take place? Several scholars have averred that it must have taken place soon after 724 A.D., when Junayd¹ under Caliph Hisham carried raids into the dominions of the Hindu kings. But it seems to me that the Chālukyan skirmishes with the Tājikas did not take place before 731 A.D., since Pulakēśi-*Avanījanāśraya* who claims for himself the credit for repulsing the Tājikas, did not come to the throne till after A.D. 731, for an inscription of Vijayāditya Janāśraya Yuddhamalla Maṅgalarāja, the elder brother of Pulakēśin, is dated in that year.² Pulakēśin must have, therefore, encountered the Arabs sometime between 731 A.D. and 739 A.D., i.e., probably in the reign of Vikramāditya II who ruled from 733 A.D. to 746 A.D. Thus Vikramāditya was probably the *Śrī-Vallabhanarēndra* who conferred titles on both Pulakēśin and Dantidurga. The assumption of the title *Prithivīvallabha* and the *biruda Khaḍgāvalōka* on the part of Dantidurga shows, at any rate, that he had materially added to the dignity and prestige of the Rāshtrakūṭas before this grant was issued; while the issue of a land grant itself shows a certain amount of independence enjoyed by Dantidurga.

Dantidurga must have required some time to achieve victory in many battles as is claimed by him in the present record, or at least to add to the dignity and prestige of the family, as is indicated by the assumption of additional, if not higher, titles. Hence, Dantidurga's career probably began some time before 742 A. D. This would probably invalidate Dr. Altekar's supposition that Indra I married the Chālukya princess Bhavaganā in or after 725, when he "very probably served in this campaign (against the Valabhī king) as one of the feudatories of the Chālukya king (Maṅgalarasa)"³. Another statement of Dr. Altekar that "Nanna Guṇāvalōka, a younger brother of Indra I, was still alive in 792 A.D., as the Daulatabad plates show"⁴, also needs correction, since it is nowhere told in the original record that Nanna was still alive at that date, though his son who issued the grant was then certainly living. Hence, the dates suggested for Dantidurga and his ancestors by Dr. Altekar have to be revised in the light of this record and the suggestions made above and we have perhaps to assign the following approximate dates to Dantidurga and his ancestors :—

Dantivarman (A.D. 615-40).

Indra-Prichchhakarāja (640-65).

Gōvindarāja (665-90).

Karka I (690-715).

Indra I (715-35).

Dantidurga (A.D. 735-57); known dates, A.D. 742 and 754.

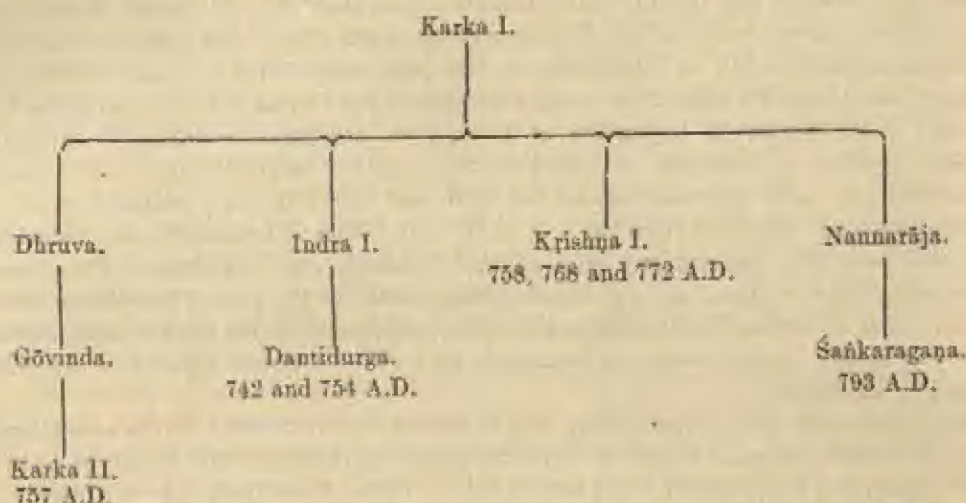
¹ Elliot : *History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 123-26.

² See *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

³ Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10. See above, Vol. IX, pp. 195 ff.

Consideration of the above facts would make it clear that the suggestion of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji about the identity of Karka I of Āntrōli-Chhārōli plates with the grandfather of Dantidurga is more probable than Dr. Altekar is disposed to agree. According to him, "the drawback in this theory is the necessity of assuming that Dhruva, Govinda and Karka II were, all of them, the eldest sons of their parents."¹ This is because he would assign later dates to the predecessors of Karka I, and would place Nannarāja in 793 A.D., when he probably did not exist. Thus the various branches of the Rāshtrakūṭa family emanating from Karka I may be shown with their known dates as follows:—



As stated already, the palaeography shows a close similarity between the letters of this record and those of the Āntrōli-Chhārōli record of Karka II, which favours Dr. Bhagwanlal's hypothesis. Dr. Altekar, however, tries to connect the line of Dantidurga with Nannarāja Yuddhāsura of Multāi and Tiwarkhēd plates, which palaeographically differ from the present grant.

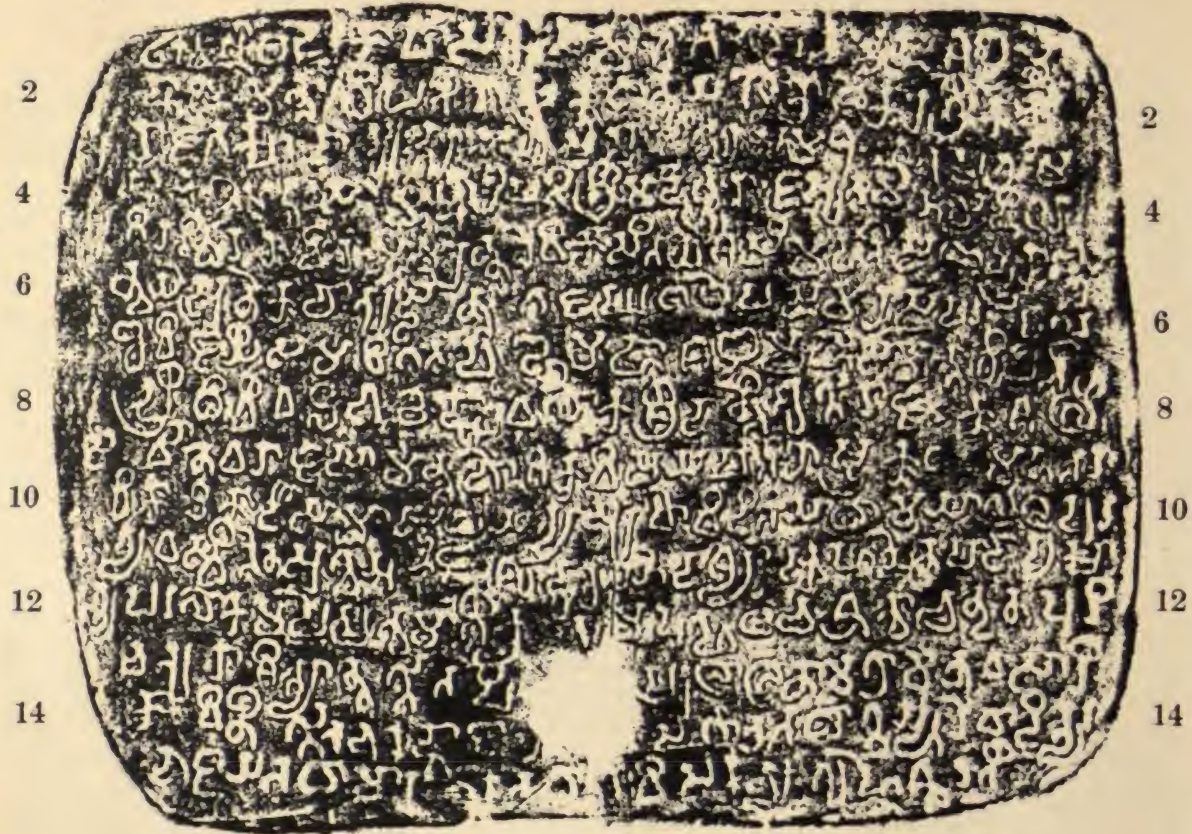
A verse in the Sāmangaḍ plates possibly connects early activities of Dantidurga with the Mahī and the Rēvā as also with the Mahānadi. But this does not necessarily show that he was connected with the Rāshtrakūṭas of Berār. He might have led an expedition and gained a victory on the bank of the Mahānadi. As regards Dantidurga's revolt against the Vallabha it is possible to hold that it did not take place till the death of Vikramāditya II who had bestowed on him the title *Prithivīvallabha*, while the accession of Kirtivarman II in *circa* 747 A.D. probably gave an impetus to his desire to catch hold of the royal sceptre, which he did, according to the Daśavatāra cave, Sāmangaḍ and many other inscriptions, by means of *daṇḍa* or *daṇḍabala*. In view of this definite statement of the use of force, it is difficult to agree with Dr. Altekar's suggestion that 'the overthrow of the Chālukya emperor was brought about by strategem or treachery.'² The very fact that Kirtivarman II was alive at least upto 757 A. D. shows that very probably there was no intrigue against him, but that he was defeated in a regular battle by Dantidurga, who had raised the standard of rebellion in consequence of the weakness of the central authority. Another fact that I should mention here is about the reading *Sandhubhūpa* found in l. 10 of the Daśavatāra record, which Dr. Bhagwanlal reads as: *daṇḍen-āira jīgāya Vallabha-balaṇ yaḥ Sandhubhūp-ādhipam*. According to Dr. Altekar, *Sandhubhūpa* "is obviously a mistake for *Sindhuhūpa*".³ But

¹ Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

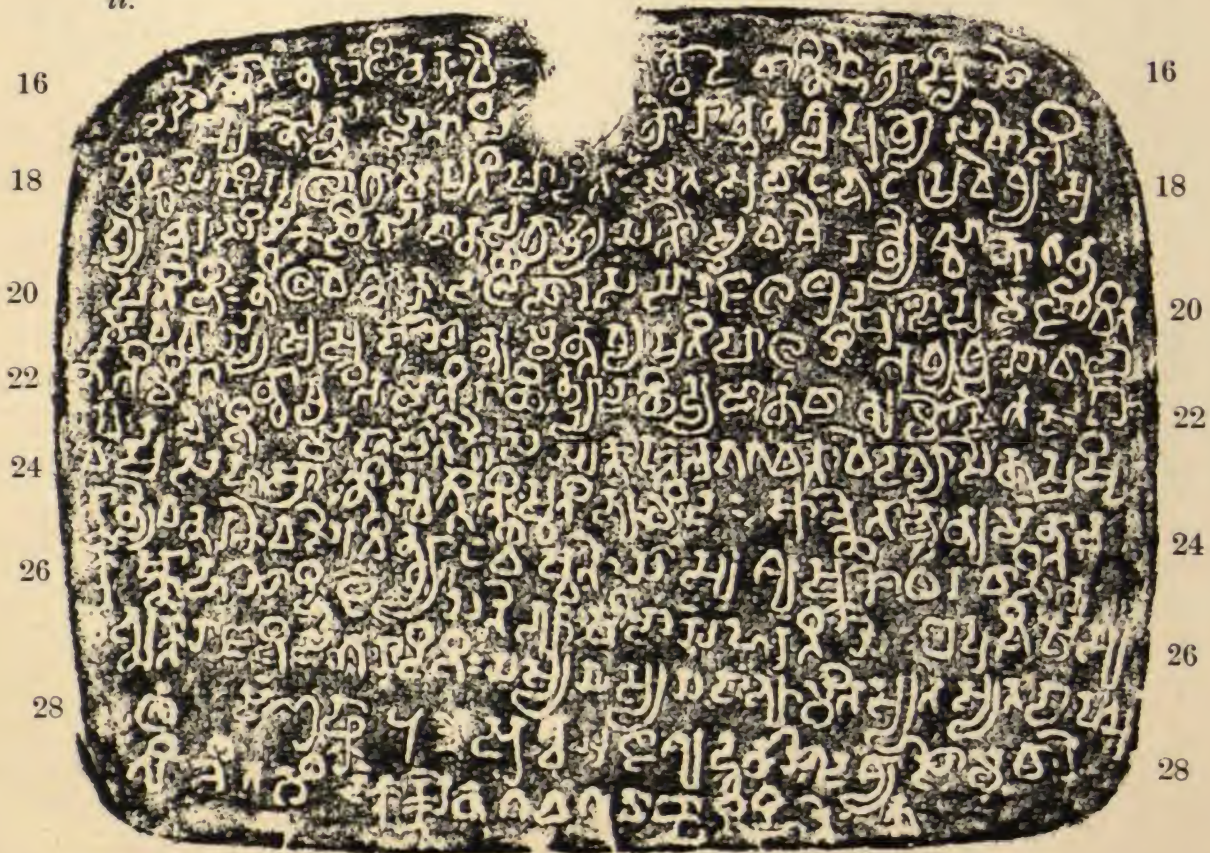
² *Ibid.*, p. 39.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

i.



ii.



then, it would mean that Dantidurga conquered "the overlord of the kings of Sind". The correct reading, so far as I can see from ink-estampages of the Daśāvatāra inscription, kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, is : *daṇḍēṇ-aiva jigāya Vallabha-nṛipam (?) yaḥ sarva-bhūp-ādhipam*, etc., that is : "He conquered Vallabha, the king of all kings by means of force". We may here note that *Ballara* "signifies king of kings", according to Ibn Khurdabbd, Al-Idrisi, etc.,¹ There is thus no question of Dantidurga conquering Sind according to this reading.

Of the *localities* mentioned in this inscription, *Badarikā* whence this record was issued probably lies as indicated by the palaeography of the record, somewhere in southern Gujarāt, though an alternative that the writer who inscribed the record might have hailed from that region is not altogether barred out. *Navasārikā* is the famous Nausārī (Baroda), while *Ēlāpura*² is the famous Ellora, where Dantidurga built the Daśāvatāra cave temple as can be inferred from his inscription found in that cave, and where his successor Kṛishṇa built the Kailāsa temple. As regards the *Gubhēśvara-tīrtha*, which, according to this inscription, seems to be in *Ēlāpura*, one may suggest that this *Īśvara* of the cave (*guhā*) is none else but Gṛishṇēśvara of Ellora,³ one of the twelve *Jyōtir-līngas*. *Chandanapuri* is the same as the modern Chandanpuri a small town on the Girna river, three miles to the south-west of Malegaum, and about forty-five miles to the north-west of Ellora while *Pippalāla* is the same as the modern Pimpral 12 miles south-east of Chandanpuri, and about 33 miles from Ellora. Since Pippala changes into Pimpal in *Marāṭhī*, there is little phonetic difficulty with regard to the equation Pippalāla=Pimpral. This geographical consideration therefore suggests that the Rāshtrakūṭa territory included at least the Aurangābād District and parts of Nāsik and Khāndesh Districts as early as 742 A. D.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ⁴ स्वस्ति [I*] बदरिकावासकात्ममधिगतपंचमहाशब्दम-
- 2 हासामन्ताधिपतिराष्ट्रकूटान्वयगोचालंकारश्रीकर्क-
- 3 राज[स्*]तत्पादानुद्धातपरममाहेश्वरसमधिगतपंचम-
- 4 हाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिश्रीमदिन्द्रराजसुत(राजस्तुतो) मेरुमहोदर-
- 5 गिर(? विजर)स्थिररुचिरसमुन्नते विकसितयशसि महति स इन्द्रराज्ञा(ज्ञो)-

¹ Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 13, 75, 86, 88, etc. [To me the reading appears to be *Vallabha[ra]sam*. Is *arasa* here to be taken as the Kanarese form of *rāja* as in *Viṭṭarasa* (= *Vishnurāja*)?—Ed.]

² For the history of its name and the traditions connected with it vide *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V, p. 26, footnote. I may point out another tradition narrated in the *Brahmapurāṇa*, Ch. 108 (*Gautamī-Māhātmya*), according to which *Ilapura* owes its name to king *Ila*. The story says that *Ila* changed his sex on entering the forest called *Umāvana* due to a curse of *Śiva* and came to be known as *Ilā*. Wishing to regain her former sex *Ilā* worshipped *Śiva* on the banks of the river *Gautamī* (*Gōdāvarī*) in the forests of *Danḍaka*. She succeeded and hence the town established there came to be known as *Ilapura*. The *tīrtha*, according to Dr. Burgess, "was originally at the caves" (*A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V, p. 4).

³ I owe this suggestion to R. B. K. N. Dikshit, as also the reading *Ēlāpura*.

Vide : हिमालये तु केदारं घृणेशं तु शिवालये ।

इलापुरीस्थशिवालयेऽस्मिन् समुन्नतं च जगदीश्वरम् ।

वन्दे महीदारतरस्वभावं घृणेश्वराख्यं शरणं प्रदधे ॥

—J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, pp. 4-6.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

- 6 न्वये अनेकचातुर्दन्तगजघटाटोपसमरसंघट्टल-
 7 अविवजयी(यः)¹ समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपति-
 8 प्री(ष्ट)यिवौवल्भभख्खावला(लो)कश्चोदन्तिदुर्गराजः कुग्रली
 9 सर्वानिव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रकूटमहत्तरा-
 10 धिकारिकादौ[न्*] समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वो विदितं यथा मया एल(ला)पुर-
 11 व्यवस्थितेन अश्वयुजशुद्धचयोदश्यां स्वहस्तेन पादां(दौ) प्रक्षा-
 12 ल्य परलोकमपेक्षत्वमंगौकृत्य(लोकमपेक्ष्य) महत्फलं च श्रुत्वा चन्दनपुरि-
 13 चतुराशित्या(रशीत्य)न्तर्गतपिप्पलालं नाम ग्राम[:*] नवसारि-
 14 काविनिर्गतभरद्वा[ज]सगोत्र तथाध्वर्युरेवादित्य-
 15 भट्टाय तथा माडल तथा [गो]विसरभ्य(भ्यो) गुहेश्वरतो-

Second Plate.

- 16 र्यस्त्रातेन बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादिह(क्रि)यो-
 17 त्स्पर्शणार्थं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यशोभि-
 18 त्रि(वृ)हये पिप्पलालग्राम[:*] प्रतिपादितः यत[:*] अचाटभटप्रवेश्य[:*] अ-
 19 भ्यन्तरसिद्धिक[:*] सर्वदानसंघाह्व[:*] यतोस्म[द*]वशै(श्यै)रन्यैर्वा भोगनृ-
 20 पतिभिः(भाविनृपतिभोगपतिभिः)³ नलवेणुकदलोमारसंसारजलबुद्धोपमं जीवित-
 21 मवधार्य अस्मदायोनुमन्तव्य[:*] प्रतिपालयितव्यश्च यो वाज्ञा-

¹ The epithet 'anēka-chāturdanta-gaja-ghaṭ-āṭōpa-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-labdha-vijayab' is also found in the Khāmkhēḍ plates of the time of Pratāpāśīla, edited by Prof. V. V. Mirashi (*Supra*, Vol. XXII, p. 95). The letters being partly illegible, the editor has read them as: 'anēka-cha[tu]rddanta-[gaja-ghaṭā] [prāpta*]-vijayab.' [In the Khāmkhēḍ plates there is no room for so many syllables after ghaṭā.—Ed.] But the present record has a greater similarity with the Bagumrā grant of Nikumbhallaśakti Sēndraka (Prithivī-vallabha) than with the Khāmkhēḍ plates. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 267:—*Mērumahidhara-vijara-sthira-ruchira-samunnatē vikasita-mahatī yaśasi (vikasita-yaśasi mahatī) Sēndraka-rājān=anvayē naika-chānu(tu)rddanta-gaja-ghaṭ[ā]lōpa-sama[ra]-saṅghaṭṭa-labdha-vijayō*, etc. (The reading cited here will be found slightly different from the one given by Bühler.) The writer of our inscription thus seems to have before him a Sēndraka record, which he blindly copied till he inscribed the words "vikasita-yaśasi mahatī sa", as if he had to write 'Sēndraka-rājān=anvayē.' Immediately after he wrote 'sa', however, it seems to have dawned upon him that this deed belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭas and not to the Sēndrakas. So he inserted an obviously unnecessary word "Indrarājā(jāō)=nvayē." After stating that Dantidurga belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa family and that he was a son of Indrarāja it was certainly not necessary to add that he was a member of Indrarāja's family.

² The letter *la* is incised below the line. It was evidently omitted at first by mistake and was supplied later on. The *kākapada* sign over the foregoing *lā* indicates the omission.

³ *Bhōgapatī* is the same as *Bhōgika*, a governor of a *bhukti*.

- 22 नतिमिरान्धावतमतिराहि(च्छि)न्द्यादाहि(च्छि)द्यमानं वानुमोदेत स
- 23 पंचभिर्महापातकैः[*] संयुक्तु(संयुनक्तु) [1*] उक्तं च भगवतो(ता) वेदव्यासिन [1*]
षष्टिं
- 24 वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गि(र्गो) तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेता(त्ता) चानुमन्ता च
- 25 तान्येव नरके वसे[त्*] [1*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोठ(ट)रवासिनः [1*]
- 26 क्रि(क्त)णाहयो हि जायते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये [1*] बहुभिर्वसु-
- 27 धा भुक्ता राजभिः[*] सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[स्*] तस्य तस्य
तदा फ-
- 28 लं(लम्) [1*] सं ६०० ६० ३ अश्वयुज शुद्ध त्रयोदश्यां सोमवारे [1*]
- 29 लिखितमिदं कुरुरेन(ण) गवंग[वाब्बा]भिहितेन(?)

No. 5.—BHIKSHUNIS IN INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.

Here I am concerned to put together the evidences which Indian inscriptions bear to the existence of the Buddhist Bhikshunī order in India, and to examine how far they tally with the facts that may be gathered from literature and foreign travels.

It may be observed at the outset that the epithet *bhikshunī*¹ (*bhikhunī*², *bhichhunī*³) is nowhere employed in Indian inscriptions to denote a religious woman other than a Buddhist female mendicant, sister or nun as she is usually represented. In rare instances *samanikā* or *parajitīkā* is used as the epithet of a Buddhist nun.⁴ This is, however, not to deny that Indian inscriptions are wanting in references to the female members of the Jaina Order, although they are not called *bhikshunīs*.⁵

The Bhābrū and Schism Pillar Edicts of Aśōka go to prove that the Buddhist community was constituted in the 3rd century B.C., precisely as in the Buddha's time, of *bhikshus*, *bhikshunīs*, *upāsakas*, and *upāsikās*. The text of Aśōka's ordinance provides against schisms in the Saṅgha fomented by *bhikshus* as well as *bhikshunīs* (*e chum kho bhikhū vā bhikhunī vā saṅgham bhākhati*).⁶ Thus the *bhikshunīs* had at that time to be reckoned with as equally powerful factors in the matter of unity or division in the Buddhist Fraternity.

The information about the *bhikshunīs* which may be gathered from Aśōka's edicts may be supplemented by the account of Saṅghamitrā's mission to Ceylon as met with in the *Dīpavamsa*

¹ Lüders' *List*, No. 38 (above, Vol. X, appendix).

² Aśōka's Bhābrū and Schism Pillar Edicts; Lüders' *List*, Nos. 175, 292, 341, 344, etc.

³ Lüders' *List*, Nos. 163, 168, 183, 187, etc.

⁴ Lüders' *List*, Nos. 1240, 1242, 1315.

⁵ Lüders' *List*, Nos. 16, 18, 21, 23a, 24, 32, 39, 39a, 45a, 48, 50, 59a, 67, 70, 75, 86, 99, 109, 121.

⁶ Sārnāth Pillar Edict. Cf. also Sāñchi and Kausāmbi Pillar Edicts.

and the *Mahāvamsa*. The *Dīpavamsa* informs us that Aśoka's son and daughter, Mahēndra and Saṅghamitrā, received the ordination as Buddhist monk and nun in the sixth year of his reign.¹ The renowned Dharmapālā was, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, Saṅghamitrā's preceptress (*upajjhāyā*), and Āyupālā her teacher (*āchariyā*).² The brother and the sister, Bhikṣu Mahēndra and Bhikṣuṇī Saṅghamitrā, both of whom belonged to the Theravāda school of Buddhism, were destined to illumine the doctrine of the Buddha even like the sun and the moon.³ In about the 19th or 20th year of Aśoka's reign after his coronation, the wise Saṅghamitrā with ten other capable *bhikṣuṇīs* went from India to Ceylon during the reign of King Devānampiya Tissa and taught the three Piṭakas in Anurādhapura. They succeeded in founding the Bhikṣuṇī Order in the island of Laṅkā, Princess Anulā with her following having received the ordination from Saṅghamitrā.⁴ The *Dīpavamsa* immortalises the names of a few other *bhikṣuṇīs* who had then received the Upasampadā Ordination in Ceylon.⁵ The nunnery (*bhikṣuṇī-upasāya*) in which Saṅghamitrā dwelt with her company of *bhikṣuṇīs* was known as the Upāsikā-vihāra consisting of twelve buildings.⁶ King Devānampiya Tissa caused to be erected a suitable nunnery for Saṅghamitrā and other *bhikṣuṇīs* round about the Thūpārāma, which came to be known by the name of Hatthāphaka-vihāra.⁷

The state of things which prevailed in India regarding the *bhikṣuṇīs* after the reign of Aśoka, both before and during the Śuṅga-Mitra period, may be easily inferred from some of the donative inscriptions on the Sānchī Stūpa, the Bharhut Stūpa, and the Bodhi-Gayā railings. These epigraphic records reveal the following facts concerning the Buddhist nuns, each of importance :—

- (1) That the nuns are mentioned generally as *bhikṣuṇīs* or *bhikṣuṇīs*, while the monks are honoured with such epithets as *bhaddanta*, *bhayaṇta*, *aya* (*ārya*) and *bhaddāntaya*, a fact which may not be unreasonably taken to indicate the inferior position accorded to the nuns as compared with the monks ;⁸
- (2) that there are instances where a senior nun had junior nuns as female pupils under her⁹ or a nun was a female pupil of a monk,¹⁰ but none where a monk was a pupil under a nun ;
- (3) that the nuns, precisely as the monks, either received Buddhist names at the time of initiation and ordination¹¹ or were allowed to retain their quondam names, the names given by their parents or guardians ;¹²
- (4) that the following localities are the various places or centres with which the nuns are associated : Ujeni (Ujjayinī), Kākandī, Kāchupatha (Kaṇṇichupatha, Kāṇṇichupatha ?),

¹ *Dīpavamsa* (ed. Oldenberg), VII, 22; *Mahāvamsa* (ed. P. T. S.), V, 260.

² *Mahāvamsa*, V, 268.

³ *Ibid.*, V, 211.

⁴ *Dīpavamsa*, XVIII, 11-13, also XV, 79-80; *Mahāvamsa*, XIX, 64-65; *Samantapāsādikā*, pt. I, p. 101.

⁵ *Dīpavamsa*, XVIII, 14-16.

⁶ *Mahāvamsa*, XIX, 68-71.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XIX, 83-83.

⁸ Barua, *Barhut*, Bk. I, p. 45.

⁹ *Lüders' List*, Nos. 573 (Dhamodera, antecessor of Mitasiri), 589 (*Malla*, antecessor of Gaḍḍa).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 38.

¹¹ Such names as Arāhadāsi (*Arāhadāsi*), Arāhadinā (*Arāhadānā*), Isidatā, Isidinā (*Isidānā*), Isiddatā, Gotamī, Jitamitā (*Jitamitā*), Diganāgā, (*Diganāgā*), Dhamarakhitā, Dhamasiri, Budharakhitā, Sagharakhitā, Saṅghapālītā.

¹² Such names as Devabhāgā, Chayā, Kāḍi, Chirāt (*Kirāt*), Yakhi, Sagarinā, Girigutā, Pusā (*Puṣyā*), Ambhā (*Rishabhā*), Gaḍḍa (*Gaḍḍa*), Vāsavā, Ratini, Sīri, Sīhā, Sūriyā.

Kāpāsīgāma, Kurama, Kurara, Kuraraghara, Chudāṭhīla, Tumbavana, Nandina-gara, Pemuta, Bhojakāṭa, Maḍalachhikāṭa (Maḍalākshikāṭa), Māhimsatī (Māhish-matī), Moragiri, Vāghumata, Vādivahana, and Vidiśā.¹

In the two surviving inscriptions on the coping of the Bodh-Gayā railing Kuraṅgī is introduced as the elderly wife of King Indrāgnimitra,² while in all the fifteen shorter inscriptions on the uprights of the same railing she is honoured as *Ayā Kuraṅgī* (*Āryā Kuraṅgī*).³ Having regard to the fact that in both Buddhist literature and inscriptions the epithet *ayya* or *ayra* (*ārya*) is applied to the name of a person who has attained Arhatship, it may be presumed that Kuraṅgī passed a retired life as a *bhikṣuṇī* in her old age and that she was found to be in an advanced state of spirituality.⁴

Coming to such later period of Indian history as the Kushāṇa we shall expect in vain to come across many references to the *bhikṣuṇīs* in inscriptions. There is definitely one inscription only at Junnār Buddhist cave which records the erection of a nunnery (*bhikṣuṇī-upasāya*) in the town for the residence of the *bhikṣuṇīs* of the Dharmōttariya sect.⁵ So far as Mathurā is concerned, we know of one inscription only, assigned to the reign of Huvishka, in which the Bhikṣuṇī Dhanavatī, the sister's daughter of the Bhikṣuṇī Buddhāmitrā, is said to have set up a Bōdhi-sattva image at Mādhuravanaka (Māthuravana). This *bhikṣuṇī* is praised as one who knew the Tripitaka (*Trepiṭakā*) and introduced as the female pupil (*anūvāsini*) of the Bhikṣu Bala who himself was a master of the three Piṭakas (*Trepiṭaka*).⁶ It needs no mention that the sphere of influence of the Bhikṣu Bala was not confined to Mathurā but extended to Śrāvastī and Sārnāth. At Amarāvati, however, one may obtain as many as eight inscriptions which, too, go to prove that the Buddhist community continued to be constituted of *bhikṣus*, *bhikṣuṇīs*, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*. In all of them the *bhikṣuṇīs*, otherwise called *samajikā* and *pravajitikā*, figure as female donors.⁷ In one instance a *bhikṣuṇī*, called Budhā, is described as the sister of the Thera Chetiayavandaka Bhadanta Budhi,⁸ and in two records the *bhikṣuṇīs* are introduced as the resident female pupils of two saintly *theras*, Budharakhitā of the Thera Bhadanta Budharakhita,⁹ and Nandā of the Arahata Ayira Budharakhita.¹⁰ One inscription speaks of Vasā (Vaśyā) as a *pravajitikā* (*pravrajitā*) resident in Kevurura.¹¹

The continuance of the Bhikṣuṇī Order at Mathurā up till the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era is clearly attested by the testimony of Fa-Hien and that of a Sanskrit inscription. In speaking of *Mo-tu-lo* (Mathurā) Fa-Hien observes: "The *bhikṣuṇīs* principally honour the tower of Ānanda, because it was Ānanda who requested the lord of the world to let women take orders; *brāhmaṇas* mostly offer to Rāhula."¹²

¹ Almost all the places were situated near about Sānchi and Bharhut.

² Lüders' List, Nos. 943, 944.

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. 939-42.

⁴ Barua, *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Vol. II, p. 67.

⁵ Lüders' List, No. 1152.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 38.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Nos. 1223, 1240, 1242, 1252, 1257, 1264, 1280, 1316.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 1223.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 1260.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 1284.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 1240.

¹² Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. xxxix.

A Sanskrit inscription, dated in the (Gupta) year 230 (=A.D. 549-50), records the religious gift of the Śākya-bhikṣuṇī (Buddhist nun) Jayabhaṭṭā at a monastery called Yaśōvihāra.¹

So far as our present knowledge goes, this is the latest epigraphic record having either mention of or any reference to the *bhikṣuṇīs*.

Hiuen Tsang who visited India during the reign of Harshavardhana has nothing whatever to say about the *bhikṣuṇīs* in his *Si-yü-ki*. But Bāṇa in his *Harshacharita* puts the following words in the mouth of Rājyaśrī and Harshavardhana, which may be taken to testify to the existence of the Bhikṣuṇī Order, however lingering it might be :

Rājyaśrī : " Let me therefore in my misfortunes be allowed to assume the red robe " .²

Harshavardhana : " At the end, when I have accomplished my design, she and I will assume the red garments (*kāśhāyāni*) together."³

Even apart from the evidence of Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* it cannot be doubted that the Bhikṣuṇī Order continued to exist, in some form or another, in India, though not among all Buddhist sects. The continuance of this order is unmistakably proved by the following observation of I-ting whose visit may be assigned to the last quarter of the 7th century A.D. :

" Nuns in India are very different from those of China. They support themselves by begging food, and live a poor and simple life."⁴

At about this time, or a little later, flourished Bhavabhūti who included the Saugata-Parivrājikā Kāmandakī among the female characters in his famous drama *Mālātī-Mādhava*, together with her three female pupils, Avalōkitā, Buddharakṣitā, and Saudāminī, and Subandhu who, in his *Vāsavadattā*, spoke of a *bhikṣukī* as devoted to Tārā and as wearing red garments (*bhikṣukīva Tār-ānurāga-rakt-āmbara-dhārīṇī*). Bhavabhūti, be it noted, associates these Buddhist nuns with the Śrīparvata in South India, and describes them as female ascetics who put on yellow robes (*chīra-chīvara-parichchhadā*) and lived on *piṇḍapāta* only.

Tatakaragupta of unknown but late date is the Buddhist author, who, while speaking of Vajrayāna or Agranaya Mahāyāna, observes that this school of Buddhism provided religious training for the *bhikṣus*, the *bhikṣuṇīs*, the *śrāmaṇēras*, the *śrāmaṇērīs*, the *upāsakas* and the *upāsikās*.⁵ I do not know of any Indian work, Brahmanical or Buddhist, containing references to the *bhikṣuṇīs* in the 9th or 10th century A.D. It would seem that by that time the Bhikṣuṇī Order became defunct in India, or that even if it had continued, it was just dragging its existence here and there among certain sects of the Buddhists.⁶ Eventually it ceased to be in India proper even prior to the Muslim conquest.

¹ Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 273-74.

² *Harshacharita* (ed. S. D. Gajendragadkar), p. 247 : *ataḥ kāśhāya-grahaṇ-ābhyanujñāy-ānugrihyatām*. Translation by Cowell and Thomas, p. 254.

³ *Ibid.* (translation), p. 258.

⁴ Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Practices*, p. 80.

⁵ Quoted by Haraprasād Śāstrī in the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat-Patrikā*, 1331 B. S., p. 62, from Tatakaragupta's *Adikarma-rachanā* : *tatra upāsaka-upāsikā-śrāmaṇēra-bhikṣu-śrāmaṇērī-śikṣamānā-bhikṣuṇī-tri-saptānām strī-puruṣa-āśraya-bhēdāt-sapta-samvarāḥ*.

⁶ This surmise is well borne out by the evidence of the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Chūlavamsa*. These two Pāli chronicles (*Mahāvamsa*, Ch. 18, v. 12 ; Ch. 19, v. 68 ; Ch. 20, vv. 21, 22, 49 ; Ch. 34, v. 36 ; Ch. 37, v. 43 ; *Chūlavamsa*, Ch. 39, v. 43 ; Ch. 46, v. 27 ; Ch. 48, vv. 36, 139 ; Ch. 49, v. 25 ; Ch. 54, v. 47) mention the pious work of erection of nunneries (*bhikkhūnī-upassayā*) in Ceylon from the time of Devānampiya Tissa to that of King Bhūmichanda (7th century A.D.), and nothing of the kind after that.

No. 6.—AMBASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF SOLANRALAIKONDA VIRA-PANDYA.

A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on the south wall of the *Eṛichchāvudaiyār* shrine in the Śiva temple, situated on the northern bank of the *Tāmrarparṇī* at **Ambāsamudram**, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in the Tinnevely District. This god who is called *Tirupōt-tudaiya-Bhaṭāra* (the god of the bull-vehicle) in early inscriptions, must have been the principal deity of the temple in the olden days, because several endowments of the Pāṇḍya kings *Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ* and *Ṣaḍaiya-Māraṇ* are found recorded on the walls of this shrine only.² But when the adjacent and more imposing *Kāśi-Viśvanātha* temple came into existence, apparently in the later Pāṇḍya times, this shrine appears to have shrunk into an insignificant auxiliary structure isolated in the north *prākāra* of the bigger temple. Further, during some extensive repairs carried out some fifty years ago, some of the engraved stones belonging to the present record have become disarranged, with the result that one piece containing the ends of lines 9 to 16 is now found embedded in the inner wall of the shrine, while another important slab which must have contained the ends of lines 1 to 8 cannot be traced at all.

The inscription is engraved in clean-cut **Vaṭṭeḷuttu** characters attributable to the 10th century A. D. **Grantha** letters have been used in the words *Svasti Śrī* (l. 1), *Sūrya-grahaṇa* (l. 11), and *Brahma*³ (l. 12). The letters *ta* and *ṛa* and consequently *tu* and *ṛu* are written alike, without much differentiation. There are no special **orthographic** peculiarities noticeable in this record, except that some old forms of words occurring in other early Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya records of this period are also found here, such as, *i-ñṇāḍu* (l. 2) for *i-nnāḍu*; *paḍiṛṛu vēli* (l. 3) for *pattu-vēli* and *nāli-ūm* (l. 15) for *nāliyum*. The Sanskrit words *āchārya* and *śrīkārya* are transformed into *āchārchchiya* (l. 19) and *śrīkārchchiya* (l. 22); the colloquial form *seyṣa* for *seyda* is also used (l. 24).

The record is dated in the **15+5th year** of the Pāṇḍya king **Śōḷaṇ-ṛalai-koṇḍa Vira-Pāṇḍya**, when an order issued in the 12th year of his reign was engraved on stone on the wall of the temple by his officer **Chōḷāntaka-Brahmamārāya**. It is important in that it mentions the occurrence of a **solar eclipse in the month of Mithuṇa in the 12th year** of the Pāṇḍya king's reign, and enables us to fix that date.

From the inscriptions copied hitherto, it has not been possible to determine the exact years between which Vira-Pāṇḍya reigned. All that we know is that the Chōḷa king *Parakēsarivarman Āditya-Karikāla II* claims to have cut off the head of a Vira-Pāṇḍya, in the title *Vira-Pāṇḍyaṇ-ṛalai-koṇḍa* assumed by him from the 2nd year of his reign⁴, and that the highest regnal year so far found⁵ for Vira-Pāṇḍya is 15+5 or 20.

The predecessor of *Rājarāja I* (A.D. 985-1013) on the Chōḷa throne was *Parakēsarivarman Uttama-Chōḷa*, whose date of accession was A.D. 969-70⁶, and as he had a reign of about 16 years,⁶ he must have ruled from A.D. 969-970 to 985-986. As both *Āditya II* and *Uttama-Chōḷa* had the same title of *Parakēsarivarman*, it had been inferred that they had ruled jointly in the interval

¹ No. 101 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

² Nos. 105 of 1905 and 86 of 1907.

³ No. 472 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 199).

⁴ No. 474 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909 is dated in the 15+4th year, while the present record quotes the 15+5th year.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 234 (No. 456 of 1908).

⁶ No. 357 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 144).

between Rājakēśari Sundara-Chōja and Rājakēśari Rājarāja I. The Uḍaiyārguḍi record¹ dated in the 2nd year of Rājakēśarivarman (Rājarāja I) states that the lands belonging to some persons who were implicated in the death of Āditya-Karikāla were confiscated by the king; and it is reasonable to consider, from the trend of political events that attended the succession of Uttama-Chōja, that he had himself countenanced this act of treachery, which led him a step nearer to the Chōja throne. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu² plates while slurring over the actual facts that culminated in Āditya's death make, however, the significant remark that 'Rājarāja did not wish to succeed to the Chōja territory, so long as his uncle Uttama-Chōja coveted it'. These facts suggest that Āditya must have been killed before Uttama-Chōja's actual succession, and so Āditya II must have lived and ruled before A.D. 969-70.

The Leiden plates³ of Rājarāja I mention that while yet a boy, he (Āditya) 'played sportively in battle with Vira-Pāṇḍya, just as a lion's cub (*doez*) with a rutting mad elephant, proud of (*its*) strength' while the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates⁴ are more explicit in stating that 'he killed the Pāṇḍya king (who must have been the same Vira-Pāṇḍya) in battle,' and 'having deposited in his (*capital*) town the lofty pillar of victory, (*viz.*), the head of the Pāṇḍya king, Āditya disappeared (*from this world*) with a desire to see heaven'. From these statements, we can infer that Āditya II had won his military spurs even during the reign of his father and that he did not live for a long time after his own independent victory over his Pāṇḍya adversary. Though the title *talai-konḍa* assumed by kings, has, in some rare instances, been interpreted⁵ to connote a simple capture of the crown of their opponents, this specific statement in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates warrants the conclusion that Vira-Pāṇḍya literally lost his head, *i.e.*, met his death, in his encounter with Āditya.⁶ The highest regnal year found for Vira-Pāṇḍya in the records so far copied is only 15+5, *i.e.*, 20, and it was probably the last year of his reign. As the earliest year in which the title *Vira-Pāṇḍiyaṅ-talai-konḍa* is applied to Āditya is 2, we may assume that the 20th year of Vira-Pāṇḍya coincided with the 2nd year of Āditya's reign.

Of Āditya's father Rājakēśarivarman Sundara-Chōja, it is stated in the Leiden plates⁷ that he fought a fierce battle with his enemies at Śevvūr (Chēvūra), while the Kanyākumāri record⁸ mentions that the Pāṇḍya opponent of this king fled from the field of battle and hid himself in a forest. The earliest record⁹ of Sundara-Chōja crediting him with this achievement in the title *Pāṇḍiyaṅai-chchuram-irakkina* is dated in his 7th year; and as he is considered to have reigned from about A.D. 956 to 973,¹⁰ this conflict with the Pāṇḍya king, who must have been Vira-Pāṇḍya himself, could have taken place only in about A.D. 964. It seems probable therefore that the Pāṇḍya king was then simply defeated and routed, that he actually lost his life in another subsequent near engagement in which Āditya distinguished himself, and that this signal victory gave Āditya the title of *Vira-Pāṇḍiyaṅ-talai-konḍa*, in common with the two feudatories Pārthivēndravarman¹¹ and Bhūti-Vikramakēśarin¹², who must have both helped him in this exploit.

¹ No. 577 of 1920 and *ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 195.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 420.

³ *Ante*, Vol. XXII, p. 256.

⁴ Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Coles*, Vol. I, p. 169. This is not convincing.

⁵ No. 256 of 1907 from Tiruvīdatmarudūr, dated in the 4th year of Āditya, states that 'he destroyed Vira-Pāṇḍya and took his head' (*Vira-Pāṇḍiyaṅai erindu talai konḍa*).

⁶ *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 155.

⁷ No. 291 of 1908; *ante*, Vol. XII, p. 125.

⁸ *The Coles*, Vol. I, p. 180. No. 123 of 1895 is attributable to him and the astronomical details—17th year, Kumbha, Sunday, Rēvati—give the equivalent A.D. 973, February 9, Sunday.

⁹ No. 223 of 1915. Pārthivēndravarman's identity with Āditya II himself or with Pṛthivipati II seems doubtful.

¹⁰ No. 129 of 1907.

As stated already, a solar eclipse occurred in the month of Mithuna in the 12th year of Virapandya. In the period from A.D. 930 to 970, the only three years in which a solar eclipse occurred in Mithuna were :—

- (1) A.D. 950, June 18 (Mithuna 26), Tuesday,
- (2) A.D. 959, June 9 (Mithuna 17), Thursday, and
- (3) A.D. 960, May 28 (Mithuna 5), Monday.

If the week-day on which the eclipse occurred or the *nakshatra* which was current on that day had been specified in the present record, it would have been possible to verify the exact date referred to; but in their absence we shall have to select a plausible equivalent, only by a process of elimination.

If we suppose that A.D. 950 was the 12th year of Virapandya's reign, it would give A.D. 957 as his final¹ year, and as this will have corresponded to the 2nd year of Aditya, the Chōla king's date of accession would be A.D. 956. This would yield the inconsistent results that Aditya killed him in A.D. 957, and that his predecessor Sundara-Chōla defeated him in A.D. 963; so this date of accession for Aditya is not possible. Similarly, A.D. 960 which would yield A.D. 967 as the 20th year of Virapandya and the 2nd year of Aditya and A.D. 966 as Aditya's date of accession, may have also to be discarded, because in that case Aditya's reign which extended to the 5th year would overlap into the reign of his successor Uttama-Chōla (accession A.D. 969-70), which is not possible, since, as stated already, Aditya II should have passed away before Uttama-Chōla could have succeeded him. On the other hand, if we take A.D. 959 as the 12th year of Virapandya, his 20th year and Aditya's 2nd year would have corresponded to A.D. 966, giving A.D. 964-5² as Aditya's initial year. This date would satisfy the presumption that his fight with Virapandya could have happened in about A.D. 966, which would be only a year later than the defeat of the Pandya ruler at Sundara-Chōla's hands in about A.D. 964 before the 7th year of the latter's reign, and that a five-year rule for Aditya II could also be accounted for between A.D. 965 and 969. These results may be tabulated thus :—

	Virapandya's 12th year.	Virapandya's 20th year = Aditya's 2nd year.	Aditya's accession.	Virapandya's accession.
1	950	957	956	938
2	959	966	965	947
3	960	967	966	948

Of these three dates, No. 2 may therefore be considered as the best suited for the record under review, and it would yield A. D. 947 to 966 as the period of reign of Virapandya. His position in the Pandyan genealogy may be taken to be between Rājasimha³, who was defeated by Parāntaka I before A.D. 922, and Amarabhujānga⁴, whom Rājarāja claims to have conquered.

The Pandya king himself claims to have taken the head of a Chōla, as evidenced by the title *Śōlan-ralai-konda* assumed by him from the 6th year onwards (i.e., from A.D. 953-54).⁵ Who

¹ As there is only one record of the 15+5th year, it has been inferred that he died in the beginning of that regnal year.

² Three records of Aditya II from Udayārgudi in the South Arcot District furnish astronomical details which would approximately take the date of his accession to the end of A.D. 963. This point requires further examination in the light of future discoveries.

³ Udayāndiram plates of Prithivipati II (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 387).

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 387, where he is taken to be a Pandya king. We have no means of determining this at present.

⁵ No. 163 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894.

this Chōla king was, who was killed by Vīra-Pāṇḍya the Chōlāntaka, has not been specified by name in any of his records. Sundara-Chōla was called ' Poṇmāligait-tuñjiṇa-dēva ' (the king who died at the golden palace or at Chidambaram known as the *Kanakasabhā* ?)¹, but he could not have been the victim, because records going up to the 17th year (= A.D. 972) are found for him. Ariñjaya, the predecessor of Sundara-Chōla, was called ' Āṅṅūr-tuñjiṇa-dēva ' (he who died at Āṅṅūr); but the circumstances that led to his death at that place are not known. As a *paḷḷippaḍai* was erected for him at Mēlpāḍi² in the Chittoor District, it may be inferred that he fell fighting in one of the skirmishes with the army of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III in that locality. There is reason to believe that he lived a few years later than A.D. 953. Gaṇḍarāditya was called ' Mērk-eḷundaruḷiṇa-dēva ' (he who proceeded west)³, but he could not have been Vīra-Pāṇḍya's adversary, because, having probably succeeded as *yuvarāja*-coregent soon after the death of prince Rājāditya in A.D. 949-50 and with records of the 8th year definitely assignable⁴ to him, he would have lived up to A.D. 957-8 at least. In addition to all these, there was another Chōla prince of this time called Uttamaśīli, who is mentioned in two records⁵ dated in the 24th and 26th years of his father Parāntaka's reign; but we know next to nothing about him and his career, except that a village⁶ and a channel in the Trichinopoly District were named after him.

According to the calculation arrived at above, Vīra-Pāṇḍya must have assumed the title of *Śōḷaṅ-galai-koṇḍa* from about A.D. 953-54; and this date coincides with the 46th or 47th year of the reign of Parāntaka I. Parāntaka's records of the 46th year are only two in number and none of his 47th year has been discovered yet. It is therefore tempting to conclude that it was the last year of the Chōla king's reign and that it was Parāntaka himself who had lost his life at the hands of Vīra-Pāṇḍya,⁷ thus giving the latter an opportunity to avenge the defeat and possibly the death of his father (?)⁸ Rājasimha at the Chōla king's hands, some years earlier. It was left to Āditya II to follow up the family vendetta by killing Vīra-Pāṇḍya in his turn in about A.D. 966. These conclusions appear to be warranted by the sequence of events that happened in the eventful half-a-century preceding the accession of Rājārāja I in A.D. 985. There is, however, one solitary Kannada record⁹ at Vanamaladinne in the Punganur taluk of the Chittoor District, situated in the northern-most border of the Chōla dominion of the time, which quotes the 48th year of Parāntaka's reign; and this has perhaps to be explained by supposing that the recent news of the death of the Chōla king had not percolated so far north, at the time that record was incised. This need not surprise us, as such instances are not unknown in the history of this period.

As regards the subject-matter of the record, it is stated that in the 15+5th year of *Śōḷaṅ-galai-koṇḍa* Vīra-Pāṇḍya, *Chōlāntaka-Brahmamārāyar*, the officer of the king (*adikāram-śeykiṇṇa*) receiving the royal order relating to a gift of 10 *vēli* of land as *kuḍiṇiṅgā-dēvadāṇam*

¹ That tribute ' he who died in the Poṇmāligai ' has no point, unless it be that some important fact connected with Sundara-Chōla's death was sought to be expressed by it. Could Uttama-Chōla have had any hand in his removal as certainly he must have had in Āditya II's death?

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 17.

³ No. 540 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1920.

⁴ Nos. 570 and 574 of 1908. The dates suggested in *The Cōlas*, Vol. I, have been followed.

⁵ Nos. 446 of 1917 and 19 of 1895.

⁶ Uttamaśīli-chaturvēdimangalam (No. 359 of 1924) and Uttamaśīli-vāykkāl (No. 169 of 1907).

⁷ Vīra-Pāṇḍya must have encountered the Chōla king in some southern campaign only. It may also have to be noted that Vīra-Pāṇḍya's records are not found very much to the north of Madura.

⁸ In No. 122 of 1905 from Tiruppuḍaimarudūr in the Tinnevely District dated in the 2+18th year of a Saḍaiya-Māraṇ (Rājasimha), a servant of a Vīra-Pāṇḍya is mentioned.

⁹ This record (No. 200 of 1931-32) reads thus in its date portion—*Madura-goṇḍa Gō-Parakēsari nālvattenṇāge*.

made by the king earlier in his 12th regnal year to the temple of Tiruppōttudaiya-Bhaṭāra, had it engraved on stone in that temple. This officer figures in an inscription¹ of the king dated in the 15+4th year at Suchindram in the Travancore State, where his name has been incorrectly read as Chērāntaka-Brahmārāyar. *Chōlāntaka* (Death to the Chōla) was evidently the title assumed by Vira-Pāṇḍya to commemorate the act of his having cut off the head of the Chōla king (*Sōlanralai-konḍa*), and this may have been adopted by the officer Chōlāntaka-Brahmārāyar, either because he had also taken part in the encounter himself or simply after the title of his master. A liquid-measure called 'Chōlāntakam-nāli' was also current in this period in the Pāṇḍya country. Vira-Pāṇḍya is said to have had also the title of *Pāṇḍimārttāṇḍa*,² 'the Sun of the Pāṇḍya family'; but this title was in vogue even earlier in the time of Śaḍaiya-Māraṇ³ (*Rājasiṅha*).

The names of the several revenue officials who were cognizant of the endowment made to the temple of Tiruppōttudaiya-Bhaṭāra are enumerated:

1. The officer who was supervising the king's secretariat duties in the 12th year (*en-karmam-ārāchechi mēl-ēḷuttu śeykiṇṇa*)⁴ was *Tamiḷavēḷāṇ*⁵ belonging to Kāḍandai community (†);
2. the *śvi-mudal* was Araiyaṇ Mānābharāṇ;
3. the *ślai-ēḷuttu* was an officer, whose name is lost;
4. the *vāykāḷvi* was [Chū]lāmaṇi-kīḷavaṇ of Mēyūr *alias* Kuvalaiyaśiṅganallūr in Aṇḍa-nāḍu;

and

5. the *baṇḍāra-ppottagam* was Vikramapāṇḍya-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ *alias* Kaṭṭinakkaṇ Iraṇṇ of Veliyāṅgūr in Kīl-Kuṇḍāṇ in Koḷuvūr-kūṇṇam.

6. The original document was attested and engraved by Pullaṅ-Korraṇ; and

7. the engraving of the record in the 15+5th year of the king was done under the supervision of Dēvaṇ-Kiriṇṇa, the *śvikāryam* of the temple.

From the surnames of two of these officers (Nos. 2 and 5), we can infer that there were Pāṇḍya princes having the names of *Mānābharāṇ*⁶ and *Vikrama-Pāṇḍya* even before Vira-Pāṇḍya's time. Another record⁷ of this king testifies to the existence before this period of another prince *Sundara-Pāṇḍya*, in whose name a shrine called *Sundarapāṇḍyēśvaram* was erected at Paḷḷimaṇḍam in the Ramnad District.

The details of the scale of offerings, etc., that had to be provided for from the endowment registered in this document are given at some length:

For one day—

to god Tiruppōttudaiya-Dēvar	32 nāli of rice (for four offerings),
for <i>aṇṇa-bali</i>	6 nāli,
for <i>kaṇi-amuda</i>	1 nāli,
to god Tiruvēṅkaṭaṇḍai-Dēvar	4 nāli,
to god Tirumōlattāṇḍattu-Dēvar	4 nāli, and

¹ *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, p. 71. An officer called Chōlāntaka-Pallavaraiyaṇ *alias* Māraṇ-Achechaṇ of Pōḷiyūr is mentioned in another record from the same place (*ibid.*, p. 72).

² *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1932-3, para. 30; and No. 122 of 1905.

³ The functions of the several officials are not clearly definable.

⁴ An officer of the name of Teṇṇavaṇ Tamiḷavēḷ figures in records of this king from Kīḷmāttūr, Madura District (Nos. 624 and 626 of 1926), and he was probably identical with this officer.

⁵ No. 26 of 1695 from Tillakthānam (Tanjore District) mentions a Mānābharāṇ in the 8th year of a Parakēśarivarman. It may be noted that there were also later members of the Pāṇḍya family with the same set of names of Mānābharāṇ, Vikrama-Pāṇḍya and Sundara-Pāṇḍya, who were contemporaries of Rājādhirāja I in A.D. 1046.

⁶ No. 421 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

to god Gaṇapatiyār	2 nāḷi :
i.e., in all	49 nāḷi of rice
or (its equivalent of)	1 kalam, 9 kuruṇi and 2 nāḷi of paddy.
For one year—it will be	680 and odd kalam of paddy.
The land set apart for the several requirements of the temple were—	
for the stipulated quantity of paddy	** + $\frac{1}{10} + \frac{1}{10}$ vēli,
for the āchārya Muṇḍūrruvan-Sēdan	$\frac{1}{2}$ vēli,
for the kaṇakka-baṇḍāram Sōlai-Viru.	$\frac{1}{2}$ vēli,
for eight men-servants (māṇ)	$1\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{10}$ vēli,
for ten men (uvaichechar)	$1\frac{1}{2}$ vēli,
for the śrikāryam (for 4 nāḷi of rice per day)	$\frac{1}{10}$ vēli,
for the potter (kuṣavaṇ)	$\frac{1}{10}$ vēli,
for the firewood supplier (virakiḍuvāṇ)	$\frac{1}{10}$ vēli,
for sweeping (tirumēḷukkuppuraṁ) ¹	$\frac{1}{10}$ vēli,
for the washerman (iraṅgollī) ²	$\frac{1}{10}$ vēli,
for festivals (tiruviḷappuraṁ) ³	1 vēli,
and for the architect Māṇābharanaṇ-Sēdan who erected (?)	
the temple, as puḍukkuppuraṁ ⁴	$\frac{1}{2}$ vēli :
in all,—the extent of the land endowed was	10 vēli.

At the end it is stated that this arrangement was made by Chōlāntakadēvar.

Among the place-names mentioned in the record, Iḷaṅḍōykkuḍi was the ancient name of Ambāsamudram. It was a brahmadēya in Muḷli-nāḍu. Raṇasiṅga-maṅgalam, a village perhaps founded by or named after an unidentified Pāṇḍya king having the title of Raṇasiṃha, was situated in the sub-division called Maṇalūr-kkuḷakkī⁵, which was probably irrigated by the tank at Maṇalūr. Kuvalayaśiṅganallūr was in the sub-division called Aṇḍa-nāḍu which is represented by Periyakōṭṭai and its vicinity in the Madura District. The temple of Tirumūlanāthar referred to in this record is situated to the west of the Eriḥchāvudaiyār temple at Ambāsamudram.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Śrī [r*] Sōḷaṇ-[ra]lai-koṇḍa Kō-Vira-Pāṇḍi[yadēvaṛku] yāṇḍu paṇṇiraṇḍu ivv-āṇḍu Mithuṇa-[ūā]yirru Sūrya⁶.
- 2 Muḷlināṭṭu brahmadēyam Iḷaṅḍōykkuḍi Tiruppōttuḍaiya-Bhaṭāra[r*]kku i-nūāṭṭu Vaḷudi-ūr
- 3 āru-pāchchal nilaṇ paḍirru vēli pa[di]rru vēlium kuḍigaḷidu kārā[r*]mai-āgavum Dēvaridu mī⁷

¹ Tirumēḷukkuppuraṁ—this duty included sweeping, as well as smearing the temple premises with the purificatory cowdung.

² Iraṅgollī is an interesting name for a washerman, 'he who takes off the wet from clothes'.

³ Tiruviḷappuraṁ is the provision made for the conduct of festivals in the temple.

⁴ Puḍukku means 'renovation'; but the architect is stated to have śeyśa or erected (?) the shrine. As earlier records are found in the shrine, the shrine was perhaps begun earlier and completed only at the time of the record.

⁵ The expression 'Māḍakkulakkī Madurai' occurring elsewhere has been taken as 'Madurai to the east of Māḍakkulaṁ'. But from similar expressions—Vēlūr-kuḷakkī Śrīkundaḍēvi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (No. 740 of 1919), Māḍakkulakkī Kōḍimaṅgalam, and Viranārāyaṇa-kuḷakkī Puḷiṅguṇrūr (No. 49 of 1890), we have to infer that no directional significance is indicated, but that the particular villages were included in the ayacut of the respective irrigation sources, which gave their name to the sub-divisions. In the Śiṅṇamaṇūr plates also Rājasimha-kuḷakkī is mentioned as the name of a territorial sub-division (Rājasimhakkulakkī ityuktē rāṣṭrē)—S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 453.

⁶ Probably °grahaṇatti nāṇru.

⁷ Probably mīyāṭchiyāgavum dēva.

- 4 tāṇamāga urubu[po]n¹ maṇṇavāri utpaḍa eṇ-karmam āraḥchi mēl-eḷuttu-cheheykiṇṇa
Ma[ha]
- 5 ṛṛattu Kāḍandaikuḍippāḍi=tTamiḷavēḷāṇ-āyi[ṇa]
- 6 nāḍum Maṇalūr-kkuḷakkil Iraṇaśiṅga-maṅgalattu-p
- 7 ṇ Araiyaṇ Māṇābharaṇaṇ ēvi-[mu]dal-āgavum Idaiyāṇṇu-nāṭṭu
- 8 m [ōlai-eḷu]tt=āgavum Aṇḍa-nāṭṭu Kuvalaiyaśiṅganallūr āyiṇa Mēyūr Tiruppattūr
- 9 ²lāmaṇi-kiḷavaṇ vā[y*]kē[vi]āgavum Koḷuvūr-kkūṛṛattu Kil-Kuṇḍāṇṇu Veliyāṇṇūr Vik[kira]-
mapāṇḍiya-Mūvēnda-
- 10 [vē]ḷāṇ-āyiṇa Kaṭṭinakkaṇ Ira[ṇa]ṇ baṇḍāra-ppottagam-āgavum Iḷaṅḍōykkuḍi Tiruppō-
ttuḍaiya [Pa]ramēśu[ra]-Paḍārar kōyilil irundu
- 11 [pa]ṇṇiraṇḍām-āṇḍu Mithuṇa-ṇāyirṇu Sūrya-grahaṇatti[nāṇṇu]³ ivv-āṇḍiṇ edir-
āṇḍu-mudal kuḍiniṅgā-ttē[va]tāṇa[m*]-āga kuḍuttōm [i*] tāṅga-
- 12 [lum]⁴ idu kaṇḍu pārpaḍuttu-kkuḍukka [i*] Pullaṇ-Korṇaṇ eḷuttu [i*] eṇṇa i-ttirumugappaḍi
koṇḍu adikāraṇ-ṣeykiṇṇa Chōḷāntaka-[Bra]hmamārāyar i-ppaḍiṇ-
- 13 ṇ vēliyaiy nivandam aḍaichchapaḍi kalmēl eḷuttu vēṭṭuga eṇṇu paḍiṇ-aṇḍām yāṇḍiṇ
edir aṇḍām yāṇḍu śrīkārya[m*] peṇṇa Ba-
- 14 . . māṇaṇukku amachchu i-tTiruppōttuḍaiya-Dēvarkku śrīkārya[m*] ṣeykiṇṇa Dēvaṇ-
Kiriṇaṇ śolla kalmē[i*] eḷuttu vēṭṭiṇapaḍi [i*] Tiru-
- 15 ppōttuḍaiya-Dēvarkku nāṅgu-pōḍaikkku ari[śi*] muppattiru-nāḷiūm aṇṇa-balikkku ariśi aṇṇu-
nāḷiūm kaṇi-amidukku ari-
- 16 [śi] nāḷiūm Tiruvēṇkaṭaṇilai-tTēvarkku niśaḍi ariśi nā-nāḷiūm Tirumūlattāṇattu-
tTēvarkku niśaḍi ariśi nā-nā-
- 17 [li]ūm Gaṇavatiyārkkku ariśi iru-nāḷiūm ē[ṛ]ri niśaḍi ari[śi*] nāṇṇpatt-onpadi-nāḷiūm āga
o⁵
- 18 kku nel-kkalanēy onbadin-kurūṇi iru-nāḷiy=uri ōr=āṭṭaiḷkku nel a[ṛunū]ṇṇu-
eṇbat-te⁶
- 19 ⁷yeṭṭu mā-kkāṇiyum āchārchchiyaṇ Muṇṇūṇṇuvaṇ-Śēṇḍaṇukku nilaṇ araiyum [i*] kaṇakka-
baṇḍāram ṣeykiṇṇa Śōlai-Viru periyāṇukku nilaṇ araiyu [m i*] [mā]-
- 20 ṇ eṭṭiṇukku nilaṇ oṇṇ=araiyē yiraṇḍu-mā [i*] ivarṇu Muṇṇūṇṇuvaṇ-Śēṇḍaṇ-uḍaiya māṇ
mūṇṇum Muṇṇūṇṇuvaṇ-Periyāṇ māṇ=oṇṇum Kaśanāk.⁸
- 21 kalaṇ-uḍaiya mā=ṇālum [i*] Dēvar paduvāram ēḷill-oṇṇu uvaichchagaḷukkum puḍavai-
mudal=āgavum [i*] aṇṇu-kūṇum eṭṭu-māṇukku puḍavai-mudal=āgavum [i*] uvaich[cha]-

¹ This expression is not understood. Can it be *ūriḍu poṇ* ?

² The full name probably is Chūlāmaṇi.

³ An alternative reading is *°atti[n poḍu]*.

⁴ This was read on the stone.

⁵ The missing letters are probably *°ru nāḷiēvai*.

⁶ There is some discrepancy in the calculation of the annual requirements.

⁷ Between lines 18 and 19 are visible the syllables *Svasti śrī* apparently belonging to another record, which apparently had been erased so as to make room for the present inscription.

⁸ This word is written over an erasure.

- 22 n Gaṇapati Kumāraḍi mudal pattāḷukku nilam onṇe-kāl [I*] śrikā[r*]chchiyam āraivāṇukku
niyadam ariśi nā-ṇāḷiyiṇāl nilam ēḷu-mā [I*] kuśavaṇukku ni-
- 23 lam iraṇḍu-mā [I*] viṇakiḍuvāṇukku nilam=iraṇḍu-mā [I*] tirumelukkuppura[m*] nilam=
iraṇḍu-mā [I*] iraṇ[ko]llikku nilam=ira[ṇ]ḍu-mā [I*] tiruviḷāppuraṁ ni-
- 24 laṇ vēli [I*] puḍukkuppīra[m*] i-ttirukkaṇṇalai śeyśa āchāriyaṇ Mānābharanaṇ- Śēṇḍaṇukku
nilaṇ kālum āga nilaṇ paḍirru-vē-
- 25 liyam ehandir-ādittavalaṇ chelvadāga vaittār Chōḷāntakadēvar [I*] Idu paṇ-Māhēśvarar
rakshai [I*]

No. 7.—KANTERU PLATES OF SALANKAYANA VIJAYA-SKANDAVARMAN.

By R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

In 1924-25, the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, secured three sets of copper-plates belonging to the family of Śālaṅkāyana-Mahārājas, of which two were received from Mr. Challa Jagannatha Pantulu, Assistant Editor, *Āndhra-Patrikā*, Madras and the third from Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma of the Telugu Encyclopedia office.¹ The first two are stated to have been found buried underground in the village called **Kantēru** in the Guntur taluk, Guntur District, while the third was discovered underground at Pedda-Vēgi near Ellore in the Kistna (now West Godavari) District. Of the two records discovered at Kantēru, one is a charter of *Mahārāja* Vijaya-Skandavarman and the other of *Mahārāja* Nandivarman. The Pedda-Vēgi copper-plates belong to the Śālaṅkāyana-Mahārāja Nandivarman and give the genealogy of the king for three generations before him. This last-mentioned charter has been published with plates in the *Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society*² as well as in the Telugu monthly *Bhārati* for Raktākshin, Śrāvaṇa (1924) in which the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyanas is discussed at some length. The two Kantēru plates have been published by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao in the *Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society*³ but without facsimiles of plates and seal. None of the seals of this family known so far contains a clear relief figure of the emblem, and the quadruped faintly seen on the seal of the Ellore Prākṛit Plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman has been surmised to be a tiger. But the seal of the present grant is fairly well-preserved and shows distinctly the figure of the animal on it as a couchant bull. As the genealogical arrangement and to a certain extent also the text of the inscription given by Mr. Rao require revision, I re-edit the Kantēru plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman with the kind permission of the Superintendent for Epigraphy.

While editing the two sets of Kantēru plates in the *Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society* Mr. Lakshmana Rao who was the first to examine the plates, with seal, assigned the seal of the present grant to the set of king Vijaya-Nandivarman instead of to that of Vijaya-Skandavarman as noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1924-25. This raised a doubt about the correctness of the description given in the *Annual Report* and to clear it and make a comparative study of the known seals of the family, I obtained on loan, through the kind

¹ Nos. 1-3 of Appendix A of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1924-25.

² Vol. I, pp. 92 ff. An indistinct plate of the seal of the present record is published here. But see foot-note 1, p. 43, below.

³ Vol. V, pp. 21 ff.

offices of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, the original plates with seal of the two Kantēru sets as well as the Ellore Prākṛit Plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman from the Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras. On examination I found that the seal attached to the plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman bore the distinct figure of a couchant bull with a partially indistinct legend which, as stated below, indisputably mentions *Maḥārāja* Skanda[varman]. Hence the description given by Mr. Lakshmana Rao has to be revised since the legend conclusively proves that the seal belonged to Vijaya-Skandavarman and not to Vijaya-Nandivarman.¹ It may be observed here that the seal of Nandivarman of the Kantēru plates though badly worn out can be made out to represent a couchant bull with a seated figure at the top which looks like Śiva wearing a crown and with four (?) arms, while the figure on the seal of the Ellore Prākṛit plates looks like a tiger or lion. The wavy line representing the clouds which is prominently visible in the present grant is partially seen below the bull in the seal of the Kantēru plates of Nandivarman described above.

The subjoined grant consists of **four thin copper-plates** strung together on a ring of the same metal passing through a narrow hole at the proper right margin of the plates. To the ring is firmly attached a circular copper **seal** with the figure of a **couchant bull** facing the proper right cut in relief on its slightly concave face. At the top of the bull is seen what looks like a *liṅga* sheltered by a triple-hooded serpent, with an *aṅkura*-like object to the proper left and a lamp-stand and a fly-whisk (?) to the proper right. Below the bull is a wavy line which may be taken to represent a cloud line as is conventionally done in sculptures and paintings. In the right portion of the seal along the fringe are some worn-out letters in relief of which the syllables *Maḥārāja* | *S*|*kanda* can be made out.² The plates are damaged on account of age and the first line at the top of the second plate has broken away. Also some small holes are found on the plates owing to the corrosion of the metal. The plates measure $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad. The hole through which the ring passes has a diameter of $\frac{1}{4}$ inch and the diameter of the ring holding the plates is 2 inches. The diameter of the seal is also 2 inches. The plates with ring and seal together weigh $36\frac{1}{2}$ *tolas*. They are now purchased and deposited in the Government Museum, Madras.

The **alphabet** belongs to an archaic variety of the Kanarese and Telugu script prevalent in the east between 3rd and 6th centuries A.D. In general appearance, it resembles the one found in the Ellore Prākṛit plates³ and the Ōṅgōḍu grant⁴ of Skandavarman II and is more archaic than the writing of the three grants⁵ of Siṅghavarman. The following are a few noteworthy points in the **paleography** of the record: (1) there is no loop to distinguish *t* from *n* which is generally found in the three grants of Siṅghavarman, the Pedda-Vēgi plates of Nandivarman II and the Viṣṇukunḍin charters. As in the Hīrahaḍagalli⁶ and Ellore Prākṛit plates the *t* is distinguished from *n* by a slight curve at the right; cf. *pādānūdhyaṭasya* (l. 2), *°nupālītā* (l. 15), *tāny-ēva* (ll. 18 f.), etc. The Kantēru plates of Nandivarman, however, mark the loop both for *t* and *n* without distinction. As first members of a consonant group, both *t* and *n* of the present grant look the same as in the Hīrahaḍagalli and Ellore plates, see for instance, *dattā* (l. 15) and *°mantā* (l. 18). (2) The exceptionally looped archaic *y* from which the one with a small circle or curve at

¹ Mr. R. Subba Rao who has published an indistinct print of this seal along with his article on the Pedda-Vēgi plates of Nandivarman in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, pp. 92 ff., follows Mr. Rao and wrongly considers the seal as that of Nandivarman of the Kantēru plates.

² [Except the syllables *maḥā* and the bull and the line beneath it nothing else, including the name of the king, is visible in the photograph of the seal.—Ed.]

³ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 56 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 249 ff.

⁵ Itkīra (above, Vol. VIII, p. 159), Uruvupalli (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 50) and Māṅgaḷaḥ (*ibid.*, p. 154) grants.

⁶ Above, Vol. I, pp. 2 ff.

the left is apparently derived is found here alongside the unlooped linear *y* as in the plate of Vijaya-Dēvavarman; cf. *Śālaṅkāyana* (l. 3), *Śivāryyāya* (l. 8), *maryyādayā* (l. 10), *vishaya* (l. 12) and *sagōtrāya* (l. 7), *vāstavyāya* (l. 8), *niyukt-āyuktaka* (l. 11). The plates are numbered like the pages¹ of a modern book with the numerical symbols for 2 to 6 on the left margin, the first side of the first plate being marked with the symbol for *om* as in the Ellore plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman. The numerals 1, 2 and 3 appear also in the three grants of Simhavarman where they indicate a definitely later development in their shape. In the present set, each engraved side contains three lines of writing except that the first and the last plates are engraved on one side only, the latter having four lines.

The record is written in Sanskrit prose with two of the usual imprecatory verses at the end. The language is simple and business-like and the formula or the draft of the preamble, e.g., the passage *Mahārāja-śrī-Vijaya-Skandavarmanṇo vachanēna Kudrāhāra-Chintapurē grāmēyakāḥ vaktavyāḥ* (ll. 3-5), resembles closely that employed in the Ellore Prākṛit plates of Dēvavarman² and the Maṭṭēpād plates of Dāmōdaravarman³ belonging to the period of transitional Prākṛit, as well as the one found in the Ōṅgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman II⁴ and the Uruvupalli grant of Yuva-Mahārāja Viṣṇugōpavarman.⁵ which are assigned to the time of the earliest Sanskrit charters of the Pallavas. The inscription is dated on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the first year (in words, ll. 13 f.) of the Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman (ll. 3 f.) who issued this grant from Vēṅgī (l. 1) and addressed it to the villagers of Chintapura in the district of Kudrāhāra (ll. 4-5).⁶ The donee was one Śivāryya of the Maudgalya-gōtra, a resident of the village Lēkumārī (ll. 7-8), who received the village (i.e., Chintapura) exempt from all imposts (ll. 8-9). The king is described as the Śālaṅkāyana, the meditator on the feet of the holy Chitrarathasvāmin and one devoted to the feet of Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka. He does not bear the epithet either Parama-Māhēśvara borne by Dēvavarman or Parama-Bhāgavata assumed by Nandivarman of the Kantēru⁷, Kollēru⁸ and Pedda-Vēgi plates.

Of the five copper-plate records of the Śālaṅkāyana family known so far, the Pedda-Vēgi plates of Nandivarman alone give the genealogy for four generations as follows:—Hastivarman-Mahārāja, his son Nandivarman-Mahārāja, his son Chaṇḍavarman-Mahārāja and his eldest son Mahārāja Nandivarman II, Parama-Bhāgavata. Since the *ājñapti* in these as well as in the Kollēru plates is the same person Mūlakura-bhōjaka, the two Nandivarmanas might be identical with each other. Now, Nandivarman of the Kantēru plates (Set II) may, from the likeness of names, be identified with either Nandivarman I or Nandivarman II of the above genealogy, preferably with the former, since the script employed in his charter is more angular and antique than the one found in the Pedda-Vēgi and Kollēru plates, which is rounded and more developed. Vaiṅgēyaka Hastivarman mentioned in the Allahābād pillar inscription as the contemporary of Samudragupta (middle of the 4th century A.D.) might be Hastivarman, the great-grandfather of Nandivarman II mentioned above. He must have been preceded by Vijaya-Dēvavarman

¹ Other instances bearing numerical symbols on the margin of plates are: (1) The British Museum plates of Chārudēvi (above, Vol. VIII, p. 143) of which iia and iib are marked by 2 and 3 like the pages of a book, (2) The Ellore Prākṛit plates (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 56), and (3) the Maṭṭēpād plates of Dāmōdaravarman (*ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 327).

² Text, lines 6-8.

³ Text, lines 3 and 4.

⁴ Text, lines 8-10.

⁵ Text, lines 16-17.

⁶ [See f. n. 5 on p. 46.—Ed.]

⁷ *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. V, pp. 27 ff.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 173.

whose grant is worded in Prākṛit since the inscription of Samudragupta whose contemporary Hastivarman was, is couched in chaste classical Sanskrit. From the **similarity of script and phraseology** adopted in the present grant with those found in the Prākṛit plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman and the Ōṃgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman II as well as the Uruvupalli grant of Simhavarman II, it may safely be said that **Vijaya-Skandavarman of the present record flourished close after Vijaya-Dēvavarman and some time during the period of the above-mentioned Pallava Sanskrit charters, and was evidently a predecessor or an elder contemporary of Hastivarman.**¹ The arrangement of the Śālaṅkāyana genealogy given in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1924-25 which follows the one worked out by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao is not tenable since Vijaya-Nandivarman (correctly Vijaya-Skandavarman) and Yuva-mahārāja Buddhavarman of the so-called Elliot's unpublished grant² accommodated in it, do not belong to the Śālaṅkāyana family.

The territory of the Śālaṅkāyanas consisted of Kudrāhāra-vishaya and Vēṅgī which lay to the north of the Kṛishṇā river. We know from the Mayidavōlu plates that Dhañṇakaḍa was included in the kingdom of Pallava Śivaskandavarman. The two Ōṃgōḍu grants of Skandavarman II and Simhavarman respectively and the Chendalūr plates of Kumāra-Vishṇu mention Kammarāshṭra in which some lands were granted, while according to the Māṅgaḍūr grant of Simhavarman, the Pallava territory contained a division called Vēṅgōrāshṭra. It is quite likely that during the time of Śivaskandavarman of the Mayidavōlu plates also, the Andhrā-patha comprised the two divisions Vēṅgōrāshṭra and Kammarāshṭra. If Vēṅgōrāshṭra is identical with the Vēṅgī-vishaya of later inscriptions, the Pallava territory would, then, include the modern districts of Kistna, Guntur and Nellore, while the country to the north of the Kṛishṇā was for some time at least ruled by the Śālaṅkāyanas. The fact that Vijaya-Dēvavarman calls himself the performer of a horse-sacrifice points to his having raised himself to the status of an independent monarch after overcoming all his enemies among whom the Pallava must have been included. The rebellion of the Śālaṅkāyana king against the Pallava overlord appears to have synchronised with the rise of Kadamba Mayūraśarman in the vicinity of Śrīśailam and his carving out a semi-independent kingdom at Vijayantī in the beginning of the 4th century A.D.

Among the places mentioned in the record, **Vēṅgī** is generally identified with Pedda-Vēgī³ near Ellore; **Kudrāhāra** which is probably the same as Kudūrahāra of the Koṇḍamuḍi plates

¹ [As the palæography of the present plates of Skandavarman closely resembles that of the Pedda-Vēgī plates of Nandivarman II, Mr. Panchamukhi's arguments, mainly based on palæography, for placing Skandavarman long before Nandivarman cannot be accepted as certain. Until more reliable evidence can be found, it will not be possible to determine the position of Skandavarman in the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyana family. (See also Mr. D. C. Sircar's 'Successors of the Sātavāhanas', pp. 59-60, in the *Journal of the Department of Letters of the University of Calcutta*, Vol. XXVI.)—Ed.]

² While editing the Kollēru plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 175), Fleet considered it as a Śālaṅkāyana grant. But subsequently he edited it in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 100, where he corrected his first mistake by stating that Vijaya-Buddhavarman was a Pallava king and had, therefore, 'no genealogical connection with Vijaya-Nandivarman of the Vēṅgī grant (*Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 175) who was of the Śālaṅkāyana gōtra'. The grant has since been published in this Journal (above, Vol. VIII, p. 143) by Dr. Hultzsch under the caption 'the British Museum Plates of Chārudēvi'. Dr. Dubriell and the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao have, without noticing the subsequent corrections, followed Fleet's original suggestion (*Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 89; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, p. 27) and this mistake has crept into the writings of Mr. M. S. Sarma (*Bhārati* for Raktākshin, Śrāvapa), Mr. R. Gopalan (*Pallavas of Kāūchī*, p. 74) and Mr. K. R. Subrahmaniam (*Buddhist Remains of Andhradēśa and Andhra History*, p. 89, f. n. 4 and p. 91). Mr. Sarma's placing Hastivarman before Vijaya-Dēvavarman, it may be observed, cannot be accepted since the latter, as stated above, lived during the period when Prākṛit was the documentary language before Sanskrit began to be used in inscriptions.

³ Above, Vol. IX, p. 58.

of Jayavarman¹ was the name of the district with its headquarters at Kudūra mentioned in the same plates and in the Amarāvati Buddhist sculpture inscription.² The district was apparently named after Kudūra the modern Kūdūru in the Bandar taluk of the Kistna District; Chintapura may be identified with Chinnāpuram in the Bandar taluk and Lōkumārī with Lōkamudī in the Kāikalūr taluk of the same district.³

TEXT.⁴*First Plate.*

- 1 स्वस्थि(स्वस्ति) [॥*] विजयवेङ्गाः [१*] भगवच्चित्रयस्वामि-
- 2 पादानुध्यातस्य वप्पभट्टारकपादभ-
- 3 तस्य शालाङ्गायनस्य महारजश्रीविजय-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 4 स्कन्दवर्मणो [वचनेन कुद्राङ्गा]⁵रचिन्तपुरे
- 5 ग्रामेयकाः वक्तव्याः अस्त्यस्मामि[र]⁶स्म-
- 6 कुलगोत्रश्रीयशोभिषुहये [एतस्मै]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 7 मौद्गल्यसगोत्राय [ले]कुमारौग्रामवा-
- 8 स्तव्याय शिवार्थाय सर्वपरि[हा]रेण
- 9 सा पत्निका दत्ता [१*] [तद्विदित्वा भवद्भिः] पूर्व-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 10 मर्यादया साधु प्रेमणा(प्रेम्णा) कर्त्तव्यमिति [१*]
- 11 अपि च स[र्व्व]⁷नियोगनियुक्तायुक्तक-
- 12 विषयपतिमित्रैः सा पत्निका परिहा(ह)र्त्तव्या [१*]

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 प्रवर्द्ध[मान]श्रीविजय[रा]ज्यसंवत्स[र]े प्र-
- 14 धर्म वैशाखपौ[र्ण]मास्यां दत्ता पट्टिका [॥*]

¹ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 315 ff.

² Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1295.

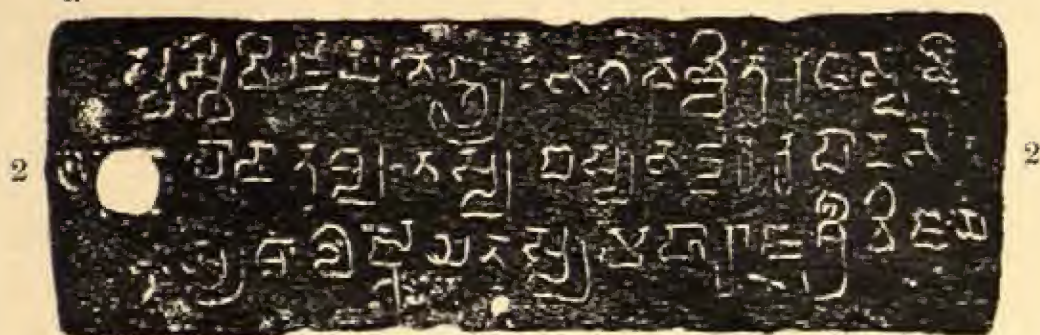
³ *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1924-25, p. 73.

⁴ From ink-impressions.

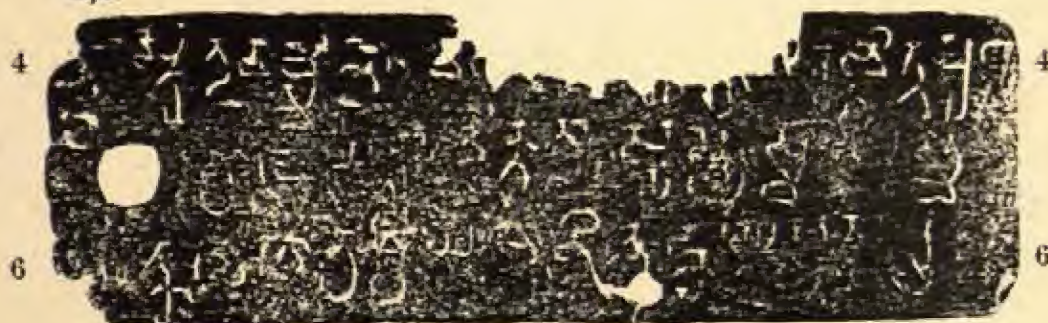
⁵ The letters enclosed within the brackets are partly preserved but they can be made out with certainty on the original. [I am not able to read the syllables Kudrā in the impression.—Ed.]

⁶ The letter *ra* is very much worn out.

i.



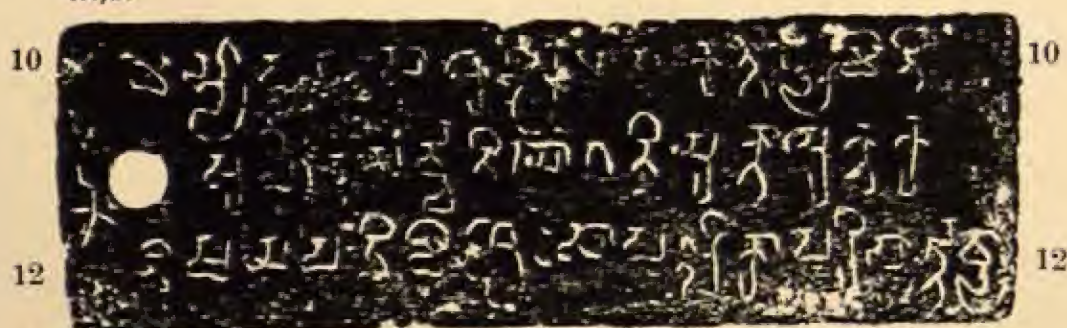
ii, a.



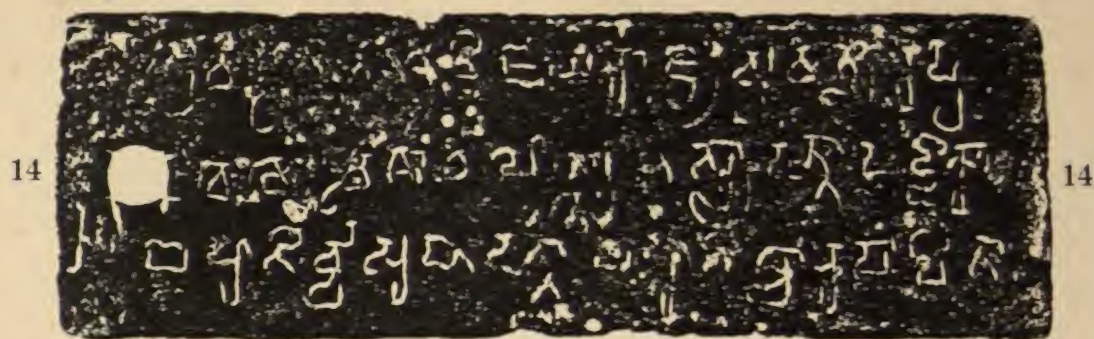
ii, b.



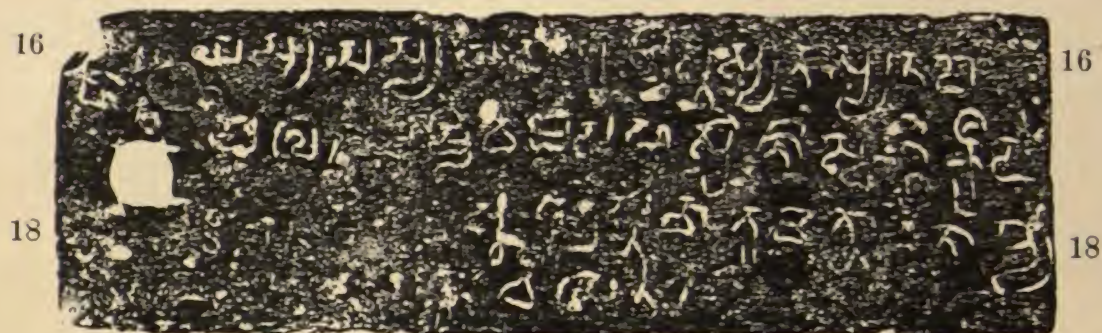
iii, a.



iii, b.



iv.



Seal.



(From a photograph).

15 बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता [1*]

Fourth Plate.

16 यस्य यस्य [यदा भूमि]स्तस्य तस्य त[दा]

17 फलम् [॥*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे क्रीड-

18 [ति भूमिदः] [1*] आदिता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-

19 [व नरके] वसेत् ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-5) Hail ! From the victorious (*city of*) **Vēṅgi** by the word (*of command*) of the illustrious **Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman**, a **Śālaṅkāyana**, a meditator on the feet of god Chitrarathasvāmin and one devoted to the feet of Bappa-Bhaṭṭāraka (*i.e.*, father), the villagers of **Chintapura** in **Kudrābhāra** should be informed thus :

(Ll. 5-9) That small village (*pallikā*, *i.e.*, Chintapura) has been granted by Us to this¹ (*Brāhman*) **Śivāryya** of the Maudgalya-*gōtra*, a resident of the village Lēkumārī, free from all imposts, for the increase of the prosperity and fame of our family (*kula*) and clan (*gōtra*).

(Ll. 9-12) Knowing this, you should behave well (*with the donee*) with affection as hitherto (*pūrvva-maryyādayā*). Further, that village should be exempted (*from imposts*) by all the pre-siding officers appointed to carry out (*Our*) command, agents (*āyuktaka*) and heads of districts.

(Ll. 13-14) The (*copper-plate*) charter² was issued on the **full-moon day of Vaiśākha** in the first year of Our ever-increasing, illustrious and victorious reign.

(Ll. 15-19) [Two imprecatory verses are cited here.]

No. 8.—EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES.

BY RAO BAHADUR C. R. KRISHNACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

NIBINNĀ AND NIVINĀ.

In the Nibinnā charter of Mahā-Śivagupta edited by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar,³ the name of the gift village is given in two different forms, *i.e.* (i) Nibiṇḍā in l. 5 and (ii) Nibinnā in l. 17 of the text.⁴ It is thus evident that even at the time of the charter the name of the village was spelt in two different ways. Though there is no special necessity for it, Mr. Mazumdar reads *bi* where the original contained only *vi*, both *r* and *b* being indicated in this record only by the sign for *v*. Consequently the place might also be called Niviṇḍā or Nivinnā. It was attached to the Ganuṭapāṭa-*maṇḍala* of the Kōśala-dēśa (text, ll. 4 f.). We are now confronted with a possibility of this village being identical with the village Nivinā the gift of which is recorded in the Nivinā grant of the Śailōdbhava king Dharmarājadēva published by Dr. N. P.

¹ The donee had evidently been introduced to the royal presence at the time of the grant. Cf. *etassa*.... *Gaṇasammasa* (ll. 8-9) of the Ellore Prākṛit plates.

² The word *paṭṭikā* is used in this sense in other copper-plate grants of this early period, *viz.*, the Hirahadagalli plates (text, l. 51), Mayidavolu plates (text, l. 28), Koṇḍamuḍi plates (text, l. 40), Maṭṭēpāḍ plates (text, l. 14), and Kōḍagere plates of Kadamba Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman (text, l. 18, above, Vol. VI, p. 14).

³ Above, Vol. XI, p. 95.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

Chakravarti.¹ In the latter record Nivinā is stated to be attached to the Kḥiḍṅgahāra-*vishaya*. But it is likely that this village which was originally attached to this *vishaya* in Dharmarāja's reign was later on included in the Kōśala-*dēśa*. Kḥiḍṅgahāra has been identified by Dr. Chakravarti with Kḥiḍṅgi and Nivinā with Nimminā² in the Kudala *taluk* of the Ganjām District. I think that Ganuṭapāṭa-*maṇḍala* or Ganuḍapāṭi-*maṇḍala* in which Nibiṇḍā or Nibinnā of the other charter was situated is identical with Guṇṭhapaḍā, a Zamindari village of the same *taluk*. Moreover, since the Sonepur Feudatory State attached to the district of Sambalpur is a part of the Chhatisgarh division which roughly corresponds to the ancient (Southern) Kōśala-*dēśa* in which Nibiṇḍā or Niviṇḍā (with its variant names) lay and the Ganjām District in which the Nivinā grant of Dharmarāja was found is adjacent to that tract, the possibility of the identity of both the villages is strengthened. This is also confirmed by the form of the name Nivinā in which it occurs in the latter grant.

If the suggested identity could be granted it follows that the gift village Nivinā changed ownership in the interval between the reigns of Dharmarāja and Mahā-Śivagupta and that the latter monarch granted it afresh to a Brāhman of a different family from the original donee's.

Dr. Bahadur Chand Chhabra suggests the identification of the village Nibinnā with Nimna about 15 miles south-east of Binka, a town in the Sonepur State. This is not altogether impossible though we can take it only as an alternative. In this case the headquarters of the Ganuṭapāṭa-*maṇḍala* in which the village was located must be identified with the modern Gaṇṭapara on the right bank of the river Tēl one of the tributaries of the Mahānadi in the Baud State. (*Vide Imp. Gaz. Atlas*, 1909, Plate 29, A 4.)

URUVUPALLI.

In the Uruvupalli grant of Pallava Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa issued in the reign of Siṃhavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 50 f.) the boundaries of the 200 *nivartanas* of land actually given are enumerated in detail very much in the style of the Redḍi copper-plates of a later period. Among these boundaries occur the names of the villages Kaṇḍukūra, Kurupūra, and Koṇḍamuruvuḍu and the river Suprayōgā. The grant was intended for the benefit of the Viṣṇu-hāra temple founded by the *Sēnāpati* Viṣṇuvarman at Kaṇḍukūra. So it is evident that we have to look for the villages mentioned in the grant in the vicinity of modern Kandukūru in the Nellore District. A reference to the *taluk* map shows that Uruvupalli must be identical with Ulavapāḍu which lies east-south-east of Kandukūru. Of the other villages, Kurupūra would correspond to modern Kared *alias* Kurvaḍe in the eastern direction of Kandukūru, and Koṇḍamuruvuḍu would be the modern Koṇḍamuḍusupāḷem due south of Kandukūru. Since the lands are stated to lie adjacent to those of Kaṇḍukūra, the river Suprayōgā which lay to the south of the gift-lands would be identical with the modern Mannēru flowing in a north-easterly direction between Kandukūru and Ulavapāḍu. Ulavapāḍu is a station on the Madras-Calcutta line of the M. & S. M. Railway.

VIRIPARA.

This village in Andhrāpatha (i.e. the Telugu country) the grant of which is recorded in the Prākṛit Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman could not be identified by Dr. Hultzsch. He, however, rightly suggests that it must have been situated near Amarāvati, (formerly Kistna now)

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 34.

² The *List of Villages* gives the name as Nimina. There are two villages of this name one in the Khallikota and the other in the Athagada Zamindari of the Ganjām District. The district Map shows also a third Nimina village on the bank of the Mahānadi canal in the Aska *taluk*.

Guntur District.¹ The plates were found in a *pāṇu* (old village site) near Mayidavōlu, a village in the Narasaraopet *taluk*.² There can be the least doubt that the gift village Viripara is identical with the modern Vipparla in the same *taluk* situated at about 8 miles west-north-west of Narasaraopet.³ It is to be noticed that the village possesses not only some pre-historic remains like dolmens,⁴ etc., which prove its great antiquity but also that an inscription of the early Eastern Chalukya king Sakalalōkāsraya Jayasīṅgha-Vallabha and another of Vishṇuvardhana Vijayāditya dated in Ś. 996 (=A.D. 1074) have been found here.⁵ In the former the village is called Vitparti and in the latter Virpparu. In still later times it was called Vipparu.⁶ These facts go to prove definitely that the village mentioned in the copper-plates must be identical with Vipparla.

Dattānuyōga and the village Kōlāla.

In his article on 'Two Kadamba Grants' (above, Vol. VI, p. 15, n. 6) the expression Dattānuyōga is rendered by Prof. Kielhorn in the sense of an *āchārya* (*anuyōga-kṛit*). From the context we must expect the term to refer to a concrete or proper attribute of the donee Dēvaśarman and not to a general attribute, viz., an *āchārya*, especially as the expression occurs between his *gōtra* and his *śākhā*. We should therefore naturally expect in the middle of these two epithets a reference to the donee's school of philosophy. We know that Datta is the name of an Upanishad, and the donee must have been a student or professor of that Upanishad.⁷ *Dattakasūtras* are mentioned in Western Gāṅga copper-plates.

The land gifted was in the village of Kōlāla as read by Kielhorn. It might be read as Kōlāla also in which case there can be no objection to our identifying it with Kōlāla, the Kōlālapura or Kuvalālapura of the Gāṅga inscriptions and identified with the modern Kolar.

Śemboṇmāri.

In his article on the Śendalai pillar inscriptions (above, Vol. XIII, pp. 134 ff.) Mr. K. V. S. Aiyer notices the mention of Śemboṇmāri as one of the places where king Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyan gained his victories. Regarding the identification of the village Mr. Aiyer suggested that it was probably situated in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. I would identify it with the village Śemboṇmāri of the Tiruvadanai *taluk* of the Ramnad District. The present village is divided into two units one called Kiḷ-Śemboṇmāri and the other Mēl-Śemboṇmāri.

Tāmbbrāpa-sthāna.

This is the place from which the Pallava king Vijaya-Skandavarman issued the Ōṃgōḍu grant (above, Vol. XV, pp. 250, 251, etc.). This can very well be Dāmaramaḍugu in the Kovur *taluk*, Nellore District. *Maḍugu* represents a pond and Tāmbbrāpa might be the modern corrupt Dāmaramaḍugu. This lies in the ancient Pallava country and is not very far from Vayvēru where the Viḷavattī grant of Śiṅghavarman⁸ of this family was recently discovered.

¹ Above, Vol. VI, p. 86.

² *Ibid.*, p. 84.

³ Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 73.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 384 to 386.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 588.

⁶ [This argument is not convincing to me. The full name of the Upanishad is *Dattatṛeya*. Moreover, *Datta* or *Dattatṛeya* being a minor Upanishad it is doubtful if proficiency in it should be regarded as a high distinction. I also do not know of any other inscriptions where a donee is mentioned as a student or a professor of a particular Upanishad alone. After *gōtra* usually comes the *pravara* of the donee which is not specified in the present record. Can the expression under consideration not simply mean 'who is given to meditation' (*anuyōga*)? It may also be pointed out that the *Dattaka-sūtra* occurring in the Western Gāṅga copper-plates has been taken to be a work on erotics—see *J. E. A. S.*, 1911, pp. 183 ff.—Ed.]

⁷ See above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 296 ff.

No. 2.—NALANDA PLATE OF SAMUDRAGUPTA: THE YEAR 5.

BY A. GHOSH, PATNA.

This **copper-plate**, edited here for the first time, was unearthed at **Nālandā** in 1927-28 in Monastery Site No. 1, near the copper-plate of **Dēvapāla**.¹ In 1935 it was transferred to the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, where it is at present housed. A preliminary note on it was published by Dr. Hirananda Sastri² and it is also summarized by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*.³

The copper-plate measures $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9''$ and weighs 45 *tolās*. No seal was found along with the plate, but it is not unlikely that one was originally attached to it in that portion of the proper right side of the plate which is now broken. The **inscription** is neatly engraved and runs to 12 lines, but owing to the much damaged condition of the plate large portions, including nearly the whole of l. 7, have either broken away or are utterly obliterated. The whole of the **text**, however, can be restored by a reference to the spurious **Gayā** plate of **Samudragupta**⁴ except the place-names and the adjectives of the donee.

The **paleography** of the inscription shows Gupta forms throughout and has the same features as the early Gupta records, with the exception of *y*, which is bipartite in the present record. *S* is of the looped or so-called eastern variety, but *sh* is unlooped. *H* is of the same type as appears on the Allahābād pillar inscription of **Samudragupta**,⁵ and presents a contrast to the form that we come across in the central and western records of the age.⁶ The average length of letters is $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. As regards **orthography**, mention may be made of the use of the *upa-dhmanīya* in such cases as *utpannaḥ-paramā*⁷ (l. 4) and *ch-ētaḥ-prabhṛiti* (l. 8), the doubling of consonants in *sareva* (l. 1, etc.), **mēdh-ākṛitṛ-mahārāja* (l. 3), *dauhatrasya* (l. 4), *trividya* (ll. 8 and 9), etc. Another feature, remarkable for the Gupta period, is the indiscriminate use of *b* and *v*, as exemplified in *viditāḥ bō* for *viditāḥ vō* (l. 6), *sambat* for *samvat* (l. 10) and *mahā-valādādhikṛita* for *mahābalādādhikṛita* (l. 11).

The inscription records the grant of two villages to a Brāhmaṇa **Jayabhaṭṭi** by name, who is called *trividya* in the subsequent lines, by the *mahārājādhirāja* **Samudragupta**, whose usual adjectives are given,⁸ from the victorious camp at **Ānandapura** in the year 5. The grant was written at the orders of **Gōpasvāmin**, the *akṣhapatalādihikṛita*, *mahāpūlūpati* and *mahābalādihikṛita*. At the end the name of the prince **Chandragupta** occurs, possibly as the *Dātaka*.

I am not sure of one of the names of the villages that were granted: the first is **Bhadrapushkaraka** in the *Valva(?)—y.-vishaya*, while the second is **Pā[rṇa(?)—nā(?)ga]** in the *Kṛimilā-vishaya*. *Kṛimilā* as the name of a *vishaya* also appears in the Monghyr grant of **Dēvapāla**, where it is stated to have been situated in the *bhukti* of **Śrinagara** or **Patna**.⁹ The same place-name occurs as *Kṛimilā* on a **Nālandā** sealing (Site No. 1, Reg. No. 824), reading *Kṛimilā-*

¹ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 318 ff.² *Ann. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1927-28, p. 138.³ *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 290, No. 3075.⁴ *Fleet, C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 254 ff.⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 1 ff.⁶ Cf. Mathurā and Sanchi Inscriptions of **Chandragupta II**, *Ibid.*, pl. III.⁷ Among the adjectives occurs *parama-bhāgavata*, which is absent in the Allahābād pillar inscription.⁸ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 304 ff.

vishaya-Kūchālo¹-grāmā mahātama-Narasāmīnāḥ in 8th century characters. I cannot propose any identification of this place.

The only other copper-plate purporting to belong to Samudragupta² is the Gayā copper-plate, but as Fleet pointed out the plate cannot be regarded as genuine³ on the following grounds: (1) in the genealogical portion of the inscription the adjectives of the king are in the genitive, while the name of the king is in the nominative—which shows that the drafter of the inscription was copying this portion from some grant of one of the successors of Samudragupta, and (2) while some of the letters are antique others are more modern. This shows that there was a deliberate attempt on the part of the scribe to imitate the old script, which also explains the halting nature of the writing; when the difference between the earlier and later forms of a particular letter is only slight, the scribe has betrayed himself, *cf.* *ś*, in which the right vertical member invariably projects above the upper horizontal member of the letter—a feature which is definitely later than the early Gupta times.

If the present document can be proved to be genuine, it would rank as the earliest record of the Guptas and also the earliest copper-plate grant in Northern India. This fact makes the task of determining the genuineness or otherwise of the grant all the more difficult, as we have no means to ascertain whether it conforms to the genuine records of the age. The two scholars who have previously noticed the record have opined differently, Dr. Sastri rejecting it as spurious and Dr. Bhandarkar leaving the matter open. The question has, therefore, to be considered afresh.

A perusal of the text given below will show that the present record is similar to the Gayā plate in that it has the same ungrammatical construction of the genealogical portion (*...achchhātuh...apratirathasya...prapautrasya...putrasya...daahitrasya...atpannāḥ Samudraguptaḥ*). If the plate be regarded as genuine, it is puzzling why the secretariate of Samudragupta should have committed such a silly error in giving the genealogy of its master. I find it difficult to explain away this error as accidental and am, on the whole, inclined to think that **the genuineness of the present plate is not above suspicion**. This will also explain why the inscription is full of mistakes, *e. g.*, the dropping of *pta* in *Gupta* (l. 3), *śshau* for *śsau* (l. 6), *śrōtaryam* for *śrōtaryam* (l. 8), *grāpratyā* for *grāma-pratyayā* (l. 8) and the lengthening of the vowel in *mā* in *nigatam-āgrahār-ākshēpaḥ* (l. 9). One can legitimately expect greater care in a real state document of the mighty Samudragupta. It cannot be denied, however, that the document was forged in early Gupta times, as there is no trace of any late forms in the morphology of the letters. And as the texts of the Nālandā and Gayā plates are *mutatis mutandis* identical, it is very likely that both of them were copied from some genuine Gupta grant.

¹ Or *vishyak-Achala*.

² In Cunningham's *A. S. R.*, Vol. XIX, p. 60, Garrick speaks of a copper-plate of Samudragupta, said to be in the possession of a Pandit of Benares. "The inscription", he adds, "had been sent to Bengal, and therefore I was unable even to get a look at it".

³ R. D. Banerji, on the other hand, says: "The Gayā copper plate of Samudragupta, issued in the 9th year of his reign, was regarded as spurious by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet. When his work was published our knowledge of Indian Epigraphy was not so extensive as it is now. Our knowledge of the form of Imperial Gupta land-grants was limited to the Indor-khera inscribed copper plate of the time of the emperor Skandagupta in 1833. The Natore or Dhanaidaha plate of Kumāragupta I, the six Damodarpur plates of the emperors Kumāragupta I, Budhagupta and Bhānugupta and finally the three Faridpur plates of the kings Dharmāditya and Gopachandra have thrown a flood of light on the procedure of issuing grants of land or deeds recording transfers of the same. In the face of this mass of new evidence it is impossible to believe at the present day that the Gayā copper plate grant of the 9th year of Samudragupta is forged. It cannot be regarded as spurious in the same light as the Sodi plates and in the writer's opinion it is genuine." (*Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 7-8.)

The inscription is dated in the year 5, 2nd day of Māgha, followed by the word *niva(ba)-ddha[m*]*. So far as I am aware, this word does not appear with a date in any other Gupta record, but is found in some Pratihāra grants.¹ The date of the Gayā plate, year 9, was referred to the Gupta era by Fleet,² which would mean that Chandragupta I had died by A. D. 328. If the date of the present record too be referred to the Gupta era, his life is further shortened by 4 years, leaving him a reign of only 4 or 5 years, assuming that the year 5 of the Gupta era was the first regnal year of Samudragupta. It is unlikely that he could have created an empire within such a short time, so that we are forced to meet another alternative that the years are in reality the regnal years of Samudragupta himself. But as the Gupta era is universally regarded as having been established by Chandragupta I, it is difficult to understand why Samudragupta should have reverted to the practice of using regnal years in state documents. Was Samudragupta himself then the author of the Gupta era? It must be admitted that this conjecture is not *prima facie* impossible, as the ascription of the era to the first *mahārājādhirāja* of the dynasty is only a plausible conjecture which does not conflict with any known facts. But if Samudragupta really founded the era, we have to distribute 136 years (A. D. 319 to 455)—an abnormally long period—among three generations, viz., Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. We are therefore inclined to think that both being spurious documents, the dates on the Nālandā and Gayā plates need not be taken seriously for historical purposes.

The text given below is transcribed from a set of photographs of the copper-plate kindly supplied to me by the Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum. I found that some portions were more legible on another photograph of the plate before it was chemically treated, belonging to the office of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle. In deciphering the text I have received much valuable help from Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm avasti [*] mahā-nu-hasty-asva-jaya-skandhāvār-**Ānandapura**²-vāsakāt-[sa]-
rvva-rā[j]-ōchchhāt[ti]u[h]-prithivyām-apratirathasya chatur-udādhi-sa[li]l-āsvā[-]
- 2 dita-yasasō Dhanada-Varuṇ-Ē[ndr-Ā]ntaka-samasya Kṛitānta-parasōr-nyāy-āgat-ānēka-
gō-hiraṇya-kōṭi-pradasya chirōtsa[nn-ā]-
- 3 āvamōh[ā]-āha³rttur-mamah[ārā]ja-śrī-Gu[pta*]-prapautrasya mahārāja-śrī-Ghaṭōtkacha-
pautrasya mahārāj[ādhi]rāja-śrī-Chan[drag]up[ta]-puttra-
- 4 sya Līchchhavi-dau[h]itrasya mahādēvyān-Kumārādēvyām-uptānnaḥ-perama-bhāga-
vatō [mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Samudragu]ptaḥ Val[ī]va[ī]-y.-
- 5 va[ī]shayika-Bhādrapushkaraka-grāma-Krimilā-vaishayika-Pū[rūpa(ī)nā(ī)]ga-grā
[mayōh brāhmaṇa-purōga]⁴-grāma-va[ī]lākaśabhyā[ī]m⁵-āha [!]

¹ Cf. Dighwa-Dubauli plate of Mahēndrajāla and A. S. B. plate of Vināyakapāla, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 112 and 146.

² Cf. Hanurji, *loc. cit.*, p. 8: "According to the established custom to be found in Gupta inscriptions, we should regard the date of the inscription as one expressed in the Gupta era; i.e., it was issued in 328-29 A. D."

³ Read as *Nripura* by Sastri, who evidently reads the portion as *skandhādevārāna(=)Nripura*.

⁴ As first *mā* was written which was then changed into *mā*.

⁵ The left extremity of the subscript *a* of the following letter appears after *ha* and looks like a separate letter.

⁶ Restored from the Gayā plate.

⁷ The word is spelt with *śas* in the Gayā plate. The letter *śas* is doubtful both here and in the Gayā plate.

2
 4
 6
 8
 10
 12

2
 4
 6
 8
 10
 12

- 6 Ēva ch-ā[rttām] vīditam¹ =bō(vō) bhavatv-ēshau(au) grā[m]au [mayā mā]tā-pitrōr-ā
[tmanas=cha] pu[ny-ābhividdha]yē **Jayabhaṭṭi**-svāminē
- 7² [s-ōpāri]kar-ō[ddēśēn-āgra]hā[rat]v[ēn-ātisāri]ṣi[ta]h tad=yushmā-
bhir-a[s]ya
- 8 ttraividyasya krōtta(ta)vyam-ājñā cha kartta[v]yā[sa]rvvē [cha sa]muchitā grā[ma*]-pratyā
(pratyayā) mēya-hiraṇy-ādayō dēyā na ch-ētah=pra.³
- 9 bhṛity=anēna ttra[vi]dyēn=ānya-grām-ādi-karada-kuṭambī-[kāruk]-ādayah=pravēśa[yita]-
vyā [a]nyath[ā] niyatam=ā(a)grahār-āk[sh]ēpaḥ
- 10 syād=iti⁴ **samba(sariva)**t 5 **Māgha** dī 2 nīva(ba)ddha[rh*] [l*]
- 11 [Anyā]⁵-grām-ākshapatalādhi[kṛi]ta-mahāpīlūpati - mahāva(ba)lādhi[kṛi]ta - **Gōpasvām**[y*]-
ādēśa-likhita[m*] [l*]
- 12 [Kumā]ra-īrī-**Chandragupta**ḥ [l*]

No. 10.—A COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF MUMMUNIRAJA ; SAKA 971.

By S. C. UPADHYAYA, M.A., LL.B., BOMBAY.

This set of three plates was first handed over to the Curator, Archaeological Section, **Prince of Wales Museum**, for decipherment by one Hasan Razak, a Muhammadan water-diviner. The Curator after carefully examining these plates kindly passed them on to me for decipherment in details. I am highly obliged to him for the kind permission to edit the same in this journal.

The grant consists of **three plates**. Each plate is 11"×9"× $\frac{1}{4}$ " in size. The written space in each plate measures 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "×10". The first and last plates bear writing on one side only while the second has writing on both the sides. A circular hole of about $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter runs through them. The circular ring which holds the plates together, has got a **seal** (at present with the owner) with the figure of **Garuḍa**. The whole grant runs into 94 lines.

The **characters** are similar to those found in the other Śilāhāra copper-plates of the same period. However, they differ to some extent from those in the Ambar Nātha temple stone inscription of the time of Māmvāpi dated Śaka 982,⁶ the chief reason of the difference being either the roughness of the material or possibly the inefficiency of the engraver.

The **language** of the grant is Sanskrit. As regards **orthography**, a consonant following *r* is sometimes doubled and sometimes left single, e.g., *Kapardī* (l. 8), *svaryga*, *māryga* (l. 13), *kar-mayā* (l. 15), *samvardhanūl* (l. 29) as against *dōr-danḍa* (l. 17), *yathārtha* (l. 20), *Nāgōrjana* (l. 31), etc. The dental sibilant is often used for the palatal one (ll. 8, 9, etc.), but in certain cases what has been read as *s* may be a badly written *ś*.

In the benedictory verses Gaṇēśa and Śiva are invoked. The genealogy begins with the well known mythical story of Jimūtavāhana, the son of Jimūtakōtu, who offered himself as a prey to Garuḍa in place of the serpent Śamkhachūḍa.

¹ There is a hole due to damage over *ta* which in the photograph looks like an *anuvāda*.

² The portion that is lost here no doubt contained adjectives of the donee, of which one must have been *traividya*, as he is referred to in the following lines.

³ The Gayā plate reads *na ch-ētah-prabhṛity*= etc.

⁴ After this follow four short horizontal strokes.

⁵ Restored from the Gayā plate. D. R. Bhandarkar conjecturally reads *Nālandā*. [In the present record the second syllable seems to be *su*.—Ed.]

⁶ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, pp. 329 f.

In his family was born Kapardin (I) who was adventurous like Sāhasāṁka¹ and was the forehead-mark (*tilaka*) of the Silāra line. His son Pulaśakti who was well versed in politics and who conquered his enemies is then mentioned.²

Next comes his son Laghu-Kaparddi.³ He is described in the usual poetical and vague manner. His son Vappuvanna is next mentioned in the usual way.⁴ His son Jhañjha is then mentioned. That he erected twelve Śiva temples is particularly mentioned here as in the Khārepāṭa plates.

Nothing particular is said of his brother Gōggirāja and his son Vajjaḍa, except that the former was valorous like Bhīṣma, Drōṇa and Arjuna. Vajjaḍa's son Aparājita who was benevolent, truthful and brave is then mentioned. He is given the title *Saragāyata-vajrapāñjara* and the record particularly mentions the facts that he helped a king named Gōmma, and made firm the rule of Aiyapadēva. He is also said to have protected Bhīllama and two other kings whose names seem to be Amma and Maṇabhuvva.⁵ His son Vajjaḍadēva (II) and his younger brother Arikēsarin are then mentioned.⁶ The latter had been on a pilgrimage to the temple of Sōmēśvara.

Then his nephew Chhittarāja (son of Vajjaḍa II) is mentioned as in other inscriptions. Next comes his younger brother Nāgārjuna.⁷ His younger brother **Mummupi** is then mentioned.⁸ He vanquished his foes and ruled over **1,400 villages** the chief of which was **Puri**. At the time of this grant his *Mahāmātya* was **Śrī-Daddapaiya** and the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* **Śrī-Viṭṭhapaiya**, who along with other officers were in charge of the *Śrīkarana*. The writer of the document was Nāgalaiya.⁹

The grant was given on **Friday, Śuddha 15, Bhādrapada in the year 971 of the Śaka era**, corresponding to Tuesday the 20th August 1049 A.D.¹⁰ There was a lunar eclipse at that time.

¹ The Khārepāṭa plates, Śaka 1016 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 33) also do not give any further information about this prince. His adventurous nature might have enabled him to be a valuable lieutenant of the Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor Gōvinda III and hence he might have been his feudatory ruling over North Koṅkaṇ (Altekar, *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, p. 403).

² The Kaphēri inscriptions of Amoghavarsha, Śaka 765, describes Pulaśakti as a Rāshtrakūṭa feudatory and lord of the Koṅkaṇ, ruling in Puri (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 134-36).

³ The Kaphēri inscriptions of Amoghavarsha, Śaka 775 and 799 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 134 ff.), describe Kapardin (II) as the Rāshtrakūṭa feudatory and master of Koṅkaṇ.

⁴ The Bhāṇḍāp plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 277, ll. 7, 8) describe him as *dharmasāmbhava* and name him Ghayuvanta but on comparing the reading (in facsimile, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, p. 313) Vappuvanna seems to be the right name as has already been suggested by Bühler.

⁵ These names are also found in the Khārepāṭa plates. Nowhere else do we meet with the verse containing these names. This Bhīllama might be the same as Bhīllama II of whom we know from his Saṅgamnēr plates, Śaka 922 (above, Vol. II, p. 272). The Bhāḍāna plates of Aparājita, Śaka 919 (above, Vol. III, p. 272), give him the title of *Mṛigāṁka*.

⁶ According to Bhāṇḍāp plates, the word *agraja* would go with Arikēsarin. But on the evidence of other documents Vajjaḍa was the elder brother of Arikēsarin. The Vajjavalli plates of Aparādītya, Śaka 1049 (*J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 508), confirm this.

⁷ He is mentioned in the Khārepāṭa and Vajjavalli plates. Altekar's suggestion (*Indian Culture*, Vol. II, p. 410) that he died before Chhittarāja seems to be baseless.

⁸ For another spelling, Māmvrāpi, cf. *J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 329.

⁹ According to the Ambar Nātha temple inscription (*ibid.*, pp. 329-30) these officers in Śaka 982 were different persons.

¹⁰ *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 191. [The corresponding date in Christian era is Tuesday the 15th August (not the 20th which was a Sunday and when there was no lunar eclipse), A.D. 1049, when there was a lunar eclipse. The week day seems to read *Sutā* and not *Śukrā* as Mr. Upadhyaya reads. Probably *Sutā* here stands for *Makrātā* (Tuesday).—Ed.]

The village granted was **Kūchohita**. It was in the **Mandara** district. To the east there was the **śrī-Ānara**¹ hill and rivulets running from it. To the north was the **Nimvā** village, to the west the **Mātara** village and to the south the **Sāmvina** river. None of these places can be identified at present.

The grant was made to twelve Brahmins (a list of whom is given below) to enable them to carry on their religious duties. Among the donees there were Brahmins who had emigrated from **Gauḍa**, **Madhyadēśa** and **Lāṭa**. They belonged to various *gōtras* and *śākhās*. Some of these names are given in the vernacular ending in *aiya*. The grant contains towards the end the approval of **Mummunirāja**, son of **Vajjadādeva**.

List of the Brahmin donees.

Name.	Father's name.	Country of origin.	Gōtra.	Śākhā.
Kōkō Paṇḍita . . .	Pitāmaha . . .	Gauḍa . . .	Sāṇḍilya .	Kaṭhuma.
Dēvadhara Dīkṣita .	Yojña Dīkṣita . .	Mumjasthāna Madhyadēśa.	in Vatsa . .	Bahvṛicha.
Dāmōdara . . .	Kēśaiyā Dīkṣita . .	....	Bhāradvāja .	Mādhyandina.
Sūdanaia . . .	Sōmēśvara Upādhyāya .	....	Bhārgava . .	Bahvṛicha.
Dāmōdara . . .	Sūdana Dīkṣita . .	Bhṛigukacchoha Lāṭadēśa.	in Upamanyu .	"
Nārāyaṇa . . .	Dāmōdara Upādhyāya .	....	Ātrēya . . .	Rāpāyanti.
Śrīpati . . .	Kōśava . . .	....	Kuśika . . .	Bahvṛicha.
Śrīpati . . .	Dugaiya . . .	....	Ātrēya . . .	"
Kaṇkēśvara . . .	Vēlāditya . . .	....	Jamadagni . .	"
Vēlaiya . . .	Dighaiya . . .	....	Ātrēya . . .	"
Sarvadēvalya . . .	Lōvara . . .	....	Lōkāksha . .	Yojña.
Vitthapalya . . .	Sōghalaiya . . .	....	Ātrēya . . .	Bahvṛicha.

TEXT.

[Metres :—*Anuṣṭubh*, vv. 1, 2, 11, 12, 19, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38; *Vasantatilakā*, 3, 4, 5, 15, 18, 39; *Prithivī*, 6; *Śaṇḍalarikṛīḍita*, 7, 9, 10, 14, 16, 20; *Śṛagdhara*, 8; *Ghṛī*, 13; *Indravajrā*, 17, 20, 33; *Mālinī*, 21, 22; *Vamīśathavīla*, 23; *Śalini*, 32.]

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ² जयधाम्युदय ॥ समते सर्वकार्येषु पूजया गणना यकः । विघ्नं निवृत्त्य वः
 2 पायादपायाहणनायकः ॥[१॥³] स वः पातु शिवो नित्यं यन्मौलौ भाति
 जाङ्गवी । सुमिरुसि⁴ख-

¹ [See p. 62 n. 3 below.—Ed.]

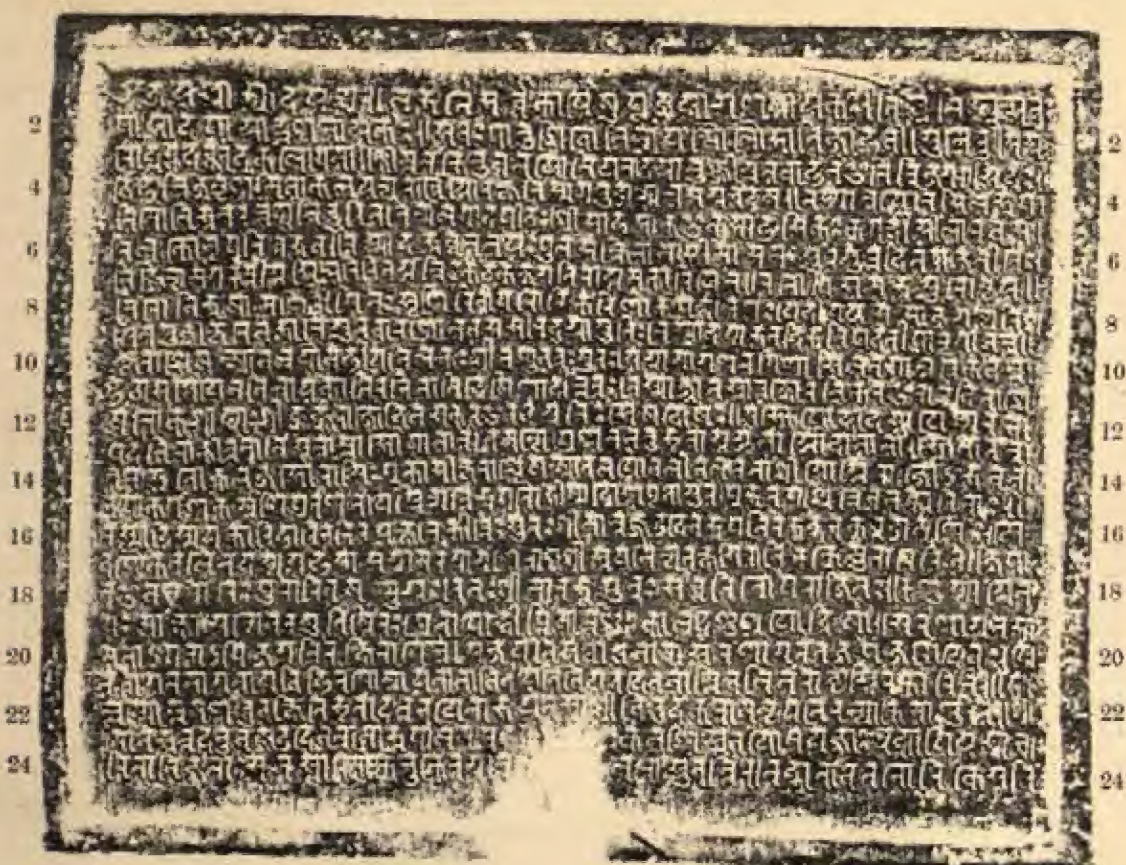
² Denoted by a symbol.

³ Read *Nilkharā*?

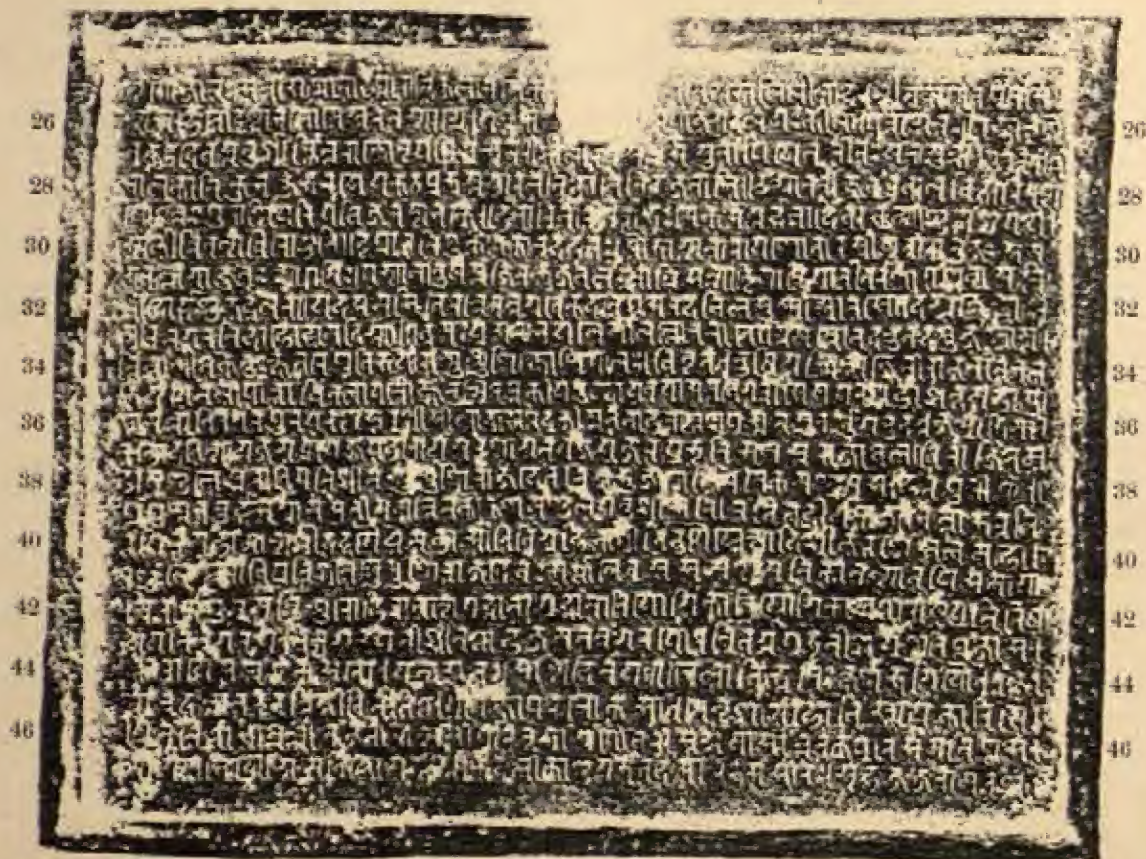
- 3 रोहच्छदच्छदकलोपमा¹ ॥[२॥*] जौमूतकेतुतनयो नियता² दयालुर्जीमूतवाहन
इति विजगत्प्रसिद्धः ॥(1)
- 4 देहविज³ दणमिवाकलयन्त्य⁴ रात्र्यो यो रत्नति स्म गरुडास्त्रलु सं(शं)खचूडम् ॥[३॥*]
तस्यान्वये निखिलभूष-⁵
- 5 तिमौलिभूतरत्नद्युतिच्छुरितनिर्मलपादपीठः । श्रीसाहसाक इव साहसिकः कपर्दी
सौलारवंस(श)-⁶
- 6 तिलको नृपतिर्व्व(र्व्व)भूष ॥[४॥*] तस्मादभूच्च तनयः पुलस(श)क्तिनामा सीमा-
समः सुरगुरुदितराजनीतिः ।
- 7 निज्जित्य⁷ संगरमुखेखिलवैरिवर्णनिःकण्ठक⁸ जगति राज्यमकारि येन ॥[५॥*]
ततोपि ममभूक्ततो नृप-⁹
- 8 सि(शि)रोविभूषामणिः¹⁰ सितः सृणिरिवापरोरिकरिणां कपर्दी लघुः । यदीययस(श)-
सा जगत्प्रतिश-
- 9 येन सु(श)क्तीकृते न भाति सुरवारणो न च ससी(शशी) न दुग्धाम्बु(म्बु)धिः
॥[६॥*] तस्मादप्यभवद्विभूतिपदवीपाठ¹¹ पावलो¹²-¹³
- 10 कृताशेषस्त्रावल्लो महीपतिलकः श्रीवपुषन्नः सुतः । संग्रामांगणरंगिणासिलतया
लक्ष्मैक¹⁴दन्ता
- 11 हठात्तर्व्वं येन विनायका विरचिता विह्वलिणां दन्तिनः ॥[७॥*] तस्माज्जात-
स्तानूजो¹⁵ र[ज*]निकर इवानंदिताशे-
- 12 षलोकाद्भास्यः श्रीशृङ्गराजो दिवसकर इव ध्वस्तनिःसि(शि)षदोषः ॥(1) स(शं)भोर्व्यो
द्वादसा(शा)पि व्यरच-¹⁶

¹ Read *chandra*.² Read *nigalam*.³ Read *dīha-nijam*.⁴ Read *parā*.⁵ Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.]⁶ *Dardā* or *dardas* unnecessary.⁷ Read *nirjitya*.⁸ Read *nishkalyakam*.⁹ Read *pātram*.¹⁰ Read *paritri*.¹¹ Read *tan-nika*.¹² Read *tanūjō*.

i.



ii, a.



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- 13 यदचिरात्कीर्तनानि स्वनाम्ना सोपानानीव मन्ये प्रणततनुभृतां स्वर्गमार्गोद्यितानां
(नाम्) ॥[८॥*] भ्राता तत्र¹ ।²
- 14 ततस्ततोच्च(ञ्च)लजसो(यशो)रासिः(शिः) प्रकासी(शी)कृताशेषध्मावलयो व(व)ली
व(व)लवतां श्रीगोगिराजोऽभवत् ।
- 15 चपा³कर्षणकर्मणि प्रवणतां यस्मिन्गते भूपतौ भौषट्कोणपृथ्यासुतप्रभृतयश्चित्ते⁴ चम-
त्कारिताः ॥[९॥*]
- 16 तस्माद्विस्मयकारिहारिचरितपक्षात्कीर्तिः सुतः श्रीमान्वज्रडदेवभूपतिरभूद्भुवचक्रचूडा-
माणः । दी-
- 17 दण्डैकव(व)लेन यस्य सहसा संग्रामरंगांगणे राज्यद्वीः स्वयमेत्य वक्षसि राति⁵
चक्रे मुरारिव ॥[१०॥*] जयं- ।⁷
- 18 त इव वृक्षारः पुरारिव⁸ पशुखः । ततः श्रीमानभूत्युतः सच्चरितोपराजितः
॥[११॥*] कर्णस्थ्यागेन
- 19 यः साक्षात्सत्येन च युधिष्ठिरः । प्रतापाद्दीप्तिमार्त्तगुण्डः कालदण्डश्च यो द्विपां(धाम्)
॥[१२॥*] स(श)रणागतसा-
- 20 मता⁹ऽपराऽपि¹⁰ जगति रक्षिता येन । स जयति यथार्थनामा संरणा¹¹गतवज्रपंजरा
देवः ॥[१३॥*] ये-
- 21 न स्वागतमागताय विहितं गोम्नाय नानाविधं येनैवैयपदेवनान्नि चलितं राज्यं
स्थिरं कारितं(तम्) ॥(1) भि- ।⁷
- 22 हस्माभ्यमणवुवक्षितभृतां दत्तं च येनाभयं तस्य श्रीवि(वि)रुदंकरामनृपतेरन्या(न्यत)
किमा[व*]र्ण(ण्य)ते ॥[१४॥*] श्री-
- 23 मानभूतदनु वज्रडदेवनामा भूपालमस्तकमणिस्तनयो नयन्नः [१*] अद्यापि यस्य च- ।⁷
- 24 रितानि जनाः समस्ता रोमांचकंचुकितगात्रलता[ः] स्तुवन्ति ॥[१५॥*] तद्भाताय
ततोरिकिसरि-

¹ Read *tasya*.² *Danḍa* or *danḍas* unnecessary.³ Read *chāpā*.⁴ Some Śīlāhāra records have *sarvā tiraskṛitāḥ*.⁵ Read *prakhyāta*.⁶ Read *ratim*.⁷ Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.⁸ Read *Purārē=iva*.⁹ Read *sāmantā*.¹⁰ Read *aparē api*, the absence of *sandhi* being in favour of the metre.¹¹ Read *śaraṇā*.

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 25 नृपो जातः सतां समस्तो हतारातिकुलाचलैकदलने दंभोलिलीलां दधत् । गत्वा
मेव'एव मै- ।¹
- 26 न्यसहितो दृष्टा च सोमेस्त्र(श्व)रं तस्याग्रे पितुराग्रया जगदलं यः कीलायित्वा²-
गतः ॥[१६०*] तद्वाटजो
- 27 वज्रडदेवसूनुः श्रोच्छित्तराजो नृपतिर्व(र्व)भूव ॥(१) सीलारवंमः(शः) सिसु(शिगु)-
नापि येन नीतः परामुवतिमुवतेन ॥[१७०*] लं-
- 28 वा(वा)लकानि कुचकंभतडोपकंठप्रभृष्टहारलतिकानि निरंजनानि ॥(१) उरस्त्रागतीस्त्र-
कं(क)रवालविदारितस्य
- 29 योऽन्तःपुराणि परिपंथिजनस्य चक्रौ ॥[१८०*] हतारिनारीनेवांभः³सैकसम्बर्हनादिव ।
त्र(त्र)स्त्राण्डमण्डपं य- ।⁴
- 30 स्य कीर्त्तिवन्ध(व्य)धिरोहति ॥[१८०*] हतारातिषु कोपकालदहनः सौभाग्यनारायणो
वारस्मौ(स्त्री)षु ततोनुजः सम-
- 31 भवसागार्जुनः क्षापतिः । यस्यामानुषसूजितं⁵ भुजव(व)लं दूरान्निसत्त्वा⁶ द्वियां
निद्रातोव रणांगणव्यसनि-
- 32 नो दोर्हण्डकटूलतां ॥[१२००*] यदसमसि(शि)विरान्तमंत्तगंधेभदानप्रसरदनिलसु(शु)थ्यक्षो-
तसो दिग्गजेन्द्राः ।
- 33 अरिनगरनिदाहोहामदि⁷स्थापिधूमप्रसरभयनिमीलज्जोचना नोन्मिषन्ति ॥[१२१॥] तदनु
तदनुजम्भा मू-
- 34 र्त्तिमाश्वोनकेतुः चतरेषु विभवोभूयस्सुणिचोणिपालः । विहृत⁸धनुषि यस्मिन्वाजिनौरा-
जनाति व(व)ज-

¹ Read *śaiḍam*.² Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.³ Read *śaiḍam*.⁴ The syllable *rt* in *nārt* should ordinarily be short.⁵ Read *m=ārjita*.⁶ Read *n=āśmā*.⁷ Read *-kaṇḍāḥ*.⁸ Read *-ripu-*.⁹ Read *-cidhrīta-*.

- 35 भिदपि व(व)लोयान्वाधिकं चापमोक्तु ।[122]*] अथ स्वकायपुण्योपचया समधि-
गतासे(शे)पयंचमहागद्(द्)महा- ॥²
- 36 सामन्ताधितगरपुरपरमेस्व(व)रयोसोलाहारनरेन्द्रजीभूतवाहनान्वयप्रसूतसुवर्णगङ्गध्वजाभि-
मान-
- 37 महोदधित्यागजगच्छपङ्कपडावायेस(श)रणागतवज्रवज्रप्रभृतिसमस्तराजावलौकितम-
38 जामण्डलेस्व(स्व)राधिपतिश्रीमन्मन्मुरारिराजदेव(वा) निजमुजापाञ्जित(ता)नेकमण्डलसहि-
तपुरो- ॥⁴
- 39 प्रमुखचतुर्दस(श)ग्रामस(श)तोसमन्वितकौकिलमण्डलयनुशासति । तत्रैतदोयराज्यचिन्ता-
भर(भारं) नि-
- 40 — — —⁵ महामात्ययोदपैय(य)महामाधिविषदिकयोविदुषैय्यादियोकरणे स च
महा- ।⁷
- 41 मण्डलेस्व(स्व)राधिपतिश्रीमन्मन्मुरारिराजदेवः सर्वानिव स्वसम्ब(स्व)ध्यमनिज्ञानान्यान्-
पि समागा-
- 42 मिराजपुत्रमंत्रिपुरोहितामात्यप्रधानाप्रधाना(न)नियोगिकानियोगिकांस्तथा राष्ट्रपतिविष-
- 43 यपतिनगरपतितगरपतीष⁹ ।¹⁰ तथा हजमननगरपौरविषग्नप्रभृतीष प्रणतिपूजास- ।⁷
- 44 त्कारादेस(श)पूर्वकं संवो(वो)धयत्यस्तु वः ।¹⁰ मन्विदितं यथा ॥ चला विभूतिः
चणभंगि योवनं क- ।⁷
- 45 तान्तदन्तांतरवर्ति जीवितं(तम्) । तथाप्यत्रा परलोकसाधने नृणामहो विषयकारि चे-⁷
- 46 दितं(तम्) ।[123]*] तथा चान्तर्जनिराराक्षसीप्रारब्ध(व्य)प्राप्तं योवनं ।¹⁰ स्वर्गा-
वासावरकपातसममिदृश- ।⁷
- 47 मागमवियोगमवियोगदुःखं ।¹⁰ कदलीकाण्डगर्भेवदसारः संसारः ।¹⁰ सहजजरामरण-

¹ Read "yātanmanāhi".² Here two strokes have been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.³ Read "dhipati".⁴ Mark of punctuation unnecessary. There is inscribed a *chka* before this which is redundant.⁵ Read "manu".⁶ These three letters cannot be read definitely.⁷ Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.⁸ Read "mānakūn".⁹ Read *nagura*- and correct it into *grāma*-.¹⁰ *Daya* unnecessary.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 48 व्याधिसाधारणकं स(श)रीरं¹ । पवनचलितकमलिनोदलगतजललवतरले धनायुधोति-
(यो इति) मत्वा दृढतरविर-
- 49 त्रिवुध्या(बुध्या) संगृह्यतेच्छदानफलं । कृतचेतादापरसु(षु) तपोन्वयं प्रस(श)स्यते ।
मुनयोऽव प्रसं(शं)सन्ति दानमे-²
- 50 कं कलौ युगे³ [॥२४॥*] न तथा सफला विद्या न तथा सफलं तपः ।
यथाऽव मुनयः प्राहुर्दानमेकं कलौ युगे [॥२५॥*]
- 51 तथा चोक्तं भगवता व्यासेन । अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वर्णवी सूर्यसूताद्य
गावः । लोकचर्यं तेन भ-
- 52 वेदि दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् [॥२६॥*] आस्मोटयन्ति पितरः
प्रवृत्तान्ति पितामहाः । भूमिदोष⁴स्मकुले⁵जा-
- 53 तः स नम्रा(नः संता)रयिष्यति [॥२७॥*] भूमिदानं सुपावेषु सुतीर्थेषु सुपर्वेषु ।
अगाधारा⁶पारसंसारसागरोतार-⁷
- 54 णं भवेत् [॥२८॥] धवलान्धातपत्राणि दन्तिनय मदीढताः [॥१*] भूमिदानस्य
पुष्पाणि⁸ फलं स्वर्गसुरदतः⁹ [॥२९॥*] इति
- 55 धर्माधर्मविचारचतुरविरंतनमुनिवचनान्यवधार्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च श्रेयोर्विना मया
स(श)कनृप-
- 56 कालातीतसम्बत्सरस(श)तेषु नवसु एकसप्तत्यधिकेषु विरोधी(धि)सम्बस(त्स)रा[न्त*]र्गीत-
भाद्रपदसु(श)द्वपचदस्वां(श्या) यत्नां-
- 57 कतोपि सम्बत्¹⁰ ८७१ भाद्रपदसु(श)व १५¹¹ सुक्रे संजान(त)सोमग्रहणपर्वणि
सुतीर्थे स्नात्वा गगनैक-

¹ Danda unnecessary.² Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.³ The first *pāda* of this *śloka* does not conform to the ordinary rules of *Anuṣṭubh*.⁴ This letter is redundant.⁵ Read "amat-kulē."⁶ This letter *rā* is redundant.⁷ Read "ādaraṣaṇ."⁸ Read *pushpāṇi*.⁹ Read *svargah Purandara*.¹⁰ Mark the way of writing *t* in the plate.¹¹ Read *Śukrē*. [See p. 54 n. 10 above.—Ed.]

- 58 चक्रचूडामणये कमलिनीकामुकाय भगवते भास्कराय न(ना)नाविधरत्नप्राध्यमर्घ्यं
दत्त्वा(त्वा) भगवन्तं सु-
- 59 रासुरगुरुं त्रिलोकोपतिमुमापतिमभ्यर्च्य यजनयाजनादिपद्मनिरतिभ्यः क्रतुक्रियाकाण्ड-
- 60 शौण्डेभ्यः मङ्गमाख्योदहपैयविरचितत्र(त्र)पुर्वोविष्टेभ्यः । यच्चप्रत्येकं नामगोत्रा-
दीनि ॥
- 61 गौडदेस(श)विनिर्गतसा(शा)ण्डिल्यगोत्रकोद्युमसाखा(शाखः) कोकोपण्डितः पितामह-
पण्डितसुतः मध्यदे-
- 62 सा(शा)न्तप्याति¹मंजुस्थानविनिर्गतवल्लभगोत्रव(व)हृचसाखा(शाखः) देवधरदौचितः[.] यज्ञ-
दौचितसुतः तथा
- 63 भरद्वाजगोत्रमाध्यंदिनसाखा(शाखः) दामोदर[.]*] कैसैयादौचितसुतः तथा भार्गवगोत्र-
व(व)हृचसा-
- 64 खा(शाखः) सूदवैय सोमस्त्र(श्च)र्योपाध्यायसुतः लाटदेसान्तप्याति¹भृगुकच्छविनिर्गतउप-
मन्युगो-
- 65 त्रव(व)हृचसाखा(शाखः) दामोदर[.]*] सूदनदौचितसुतः तथा आत्रेयगोत्रराणायनौसा-
खा(शाखः) नारायणोपासनी दा-
- 66 मोदरोपाध्यायसुतः तथा कुमि(शि)कगोत्रव(व)हृचसाखा(शाखः) श्रीपति[.]*] अग्निहोत्री
कैस(श)वोपाध्यायसुतः त-
- 67 या आत्रेयगोत्रव(व)हृचसाखा(शाखः) श्रीपतिभट्ट[.]*] दुर्गैयाउपासनीसुतः तथा य(ज)-
मदग्निगोत्रव(व)हृचसाखा-
- 68 (शाखः) कनकस्त्र(श्च)र[.]*] वेलादित्योपाध्यायसुतः तथा आत्रेयगोत्रव(व)हृचसाखा-
(शाखः) वेलेय्याउपासनी टी-
- 69 खैयाअग्निहोत्रीसुतः तथा लोकाक्षगोत्रयज्ञसाखा(शाखः) सर्वदेवैय ईस(श्च)रोपाध्याय-
सुतः तथा
- 70 आत्रेयगोत्रव(व)हृचसाखा(शाखः) विष्टपैयोपाध्याय[.]*] सोढलैयोपाध्यायसुतः एवमा-
- 71 दिभ्यः यजनयाजनादिपद्मंकरणाय व(व)लिचरुक्क(का)ग्निहोत्रक्रतुक्रियाद्युप-

¹ Read "ntaṣṭpāti". [What has been read as sh may be the upadhmāniya sign.—Ed.]

Third Plate.

- 72 समर्पणाय¹ च मंदरजविषयां[तःपाति कि]इच्छिताग्रामः समस्तपत्निकासहितः आराम-
 73 कप्तगौसणिका² समन्वितश्च [1*] यस्य चाघाटनानि ॥ पूर्वतः श्रीएनर³पर्वतीय-
 पाणोवाडसीमा ॥
 74 उत्तरतो नौस्वाग्रामसीमा ॥ पश्चिमतो मातरग्रामसीमा ॥ दक्षिणतः सास्विनन- ॥⁴
 75 दी सीमा । एवं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितः स्वसीमापर्यन्तः मल्लणकाठोदकोपेतः पूर्व-
 दत्तदेवदायव्र(ब्र)ह्मदा-
 76 यवर्जः अनादेस्यः(श्र्यः) अनासेध्यः समु[त्पद्य]मानद्रुमपंचदशस(श)तआ(ता)यस्यानः[*]
 यवांकतो- ॥⁵
 77 पि द्रुमाः १५०० पर्वतक्षितिसमकालीनं आचंद्रार्कं यावदुदकातिसर्गेण परमया
 भक्त्या
 78 सा(शा)सन[न*] प्रतिपादितः । तदयं(देवां) भुंजतां भोजयतां कृपतां कर्षयताम्वा
 न केनापि परिपश्यना करणी-
 79 या । यदुक्तं पुरातनमहामुनिभिः । व(व)हुभिर्बुधैः सुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि- ।⁶
 80 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ।[1३०*] सद्यो दानं निरायामं सायस⁷ दीर्घपाल-
 नं(नम्) । अत एव मुनयः प्रहृर्दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपा-
 81 ननं(नम्) ।[३१*] दत्त्वा(त्वा) भूमिं भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ।
 सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नराणां का-
 82 ले क(का)ले माननीयो भव[द्भिः] ।[३२*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रेर्दानानि
 धर्मार्थे⁸ यस(श)स्कराणि । निर्माल्यवान्तप्र-

¹ Read *dy-ut sarppanāya*.² Reading is doubtful. [Reading appears to be *ārāmaka-pūṣi-khaṇi(ni)kā*.—Ed.]³ [Reading seems to be *śrī-Nīra*.—Ed.]⁴ Here two strokes have been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.⁵ Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.⁶ Read *s-āyāsam*.⁷ Read *ata ēva= rahayāḥ* or *evam tu munayaḥ prāhur=* as in other inscriptions.⁸ Read *dharm-ārtha-*.

- 83 तिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददौत ॥[३३]*] इत्यवधार्य समागामिभिर्नृ-
पतिरन्यैर्वा¹ धर्मपालनफललो-
- 84 भ एव करणीयः । न पुनस्तस्मिन्पनपापकलंकाग्रेसरेण केनापि भवितव्यं ॥ एवम-
भ(भ्य)र्थितोपि लोभादज्ञान-
- 85 तिमिरपटलावृ(वृ)तमतिराच्छिद्यादाच्छिद्यमानादनुमोदयति² । स्वयं च महापातकैरुप-
पातकैर्व्या लिप्यते ।
- 86 रौरवमहारौरवांधतमिस्रादिनरकांश्चिरमनुभविष्यति । उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन ॥
स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो
- 87 हरिद्व(हरित व)सुंधरां । स विष्टायां कृमिर्भूत्वा कृमिभिः सह पच्यते ॥[३४]*]
विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु सु(शु)ष्ककोटरवासिनः ।
- 88 [म]हाद्वयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥[३५]*] गामिकां स्वर्णमेकं
वा भूमेरप्येकमंगुलं हरन्नरकमा-॥³
- 89 प्रीति यावदाहृतमङ्गलं(वम्) ।[३६]*] आरामाणां सहस्रेण तडागानां स(श)तेन
च [१]* गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमि-।⁴
- 90 हर्ता न सु(शु)ध्यति ।[३७]*] षष्ठिर्वर्षसहस्राणि⁵ स्वर्गे तिष्ठति मानवः ।
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके ।⁶
- 91 विशेत् ।[३८] — — — — —⁷ ॥ महंस(श)जा[ः पर*]महोपतिवंस(श)-
जा वा पापादपतमनसो भुवि भाविभूपाः ।
- 92 ये पालयन्ति मम धर्ममिम(मं) समस्तं तेषां मया निरती⁸जलिरेष मूर्ध्ना ॥[३९]*]
यथाचैतदेवं दाप- ।⁹
- 93 को लेखकहस्तेन स्वकीयमतमारोपयति । मतं मम महामण्डलेस्व(श्व)राधि-
[पति*]श्रीमन्मुमुक्षुरा-।¹⁰
- 94 जटवस्य महामण्डलेस्व(श्व)राधिपतिश्रीमद्वज्रदेवसूनुः । लिखितं चैतन्नागलैयेनेति ॥ क ॥

¹ Read -nripatibhir=anyair=vā.² Read °mānam=anu°.³ Here two strokes have been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.⁴ Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.⁵ Read shashṭim varsha-.⁶ Daṇḍa unnecessary.⁷ About seven letters are indistinct here.⁸ Read virachitō=mijalir=.

No. 11.—TIRUPPUVANAM PLATES OF JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

Tiruppūvaṇam, a village in the Śivaganga Zamindari of the Rāmaṇḍ District and a station on the Madura-Rāmaṇḍ section of the South-Indian Railway, is situated on the south bank of the river Vaigai, called Vāgavati in Sanskrit. It is 12 miles south-east of Madura and 16 miles west of Śivaganga.¹ The Puṣṭavanēśvara temple of the village is an ancient one; it is celebrated in the hymns of the three Tamil Śaiva saints Tirujñānasambandha, Appar and Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār.² Invited by Kulachēḷirai-Nāyaṇār, the Pāṇḍya minister, and Maṅgaiyārkkarasi, a Chōḷa princess and queen of the Pāṇḍya king known in Tamil literature as Nelvēli-pōrvenṅa-niṅṅaśir-Neḷumāraṇ, saint Tirujñānasambandha is said to have gone to Madura, and to have overcome the Jains under whose influence the king had become a staunch supporter of their cause. He brought the king back to the Śaiva faith, and on this occasion, after accomplishing the mission for which he was sent, the saint, accompanied by Neḷumāraṇ, his queen and minister, visited thirteen other places in the Pāṇḍya country which were held sacred by the Śaivas and sung hymns on them.³ From the hymns on Tiruppūvaṇam, it is gathered that it was, in those days, a flourishing city with palatial buildings, fine gardens and broad streets and contained residences of wealthy families of weavers.⁴ The Śiva temple of the place is stated in the hymns to have been worshipped by 'the three kings of the South', i.e., the Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya.⁵ Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār is also stated to have visited the place in company with the three contemporary sovereigns of the same three families.⁶ The Pāṇḍya king of his time, we are told, was a son-in-law of the Chōḷa. It was at a spot near the city of Tiruppūvaṇam that the Jains had been impaled in the days of Māgavarman, the victor of the Nelvēli.⁷

The Tiruppūvaṇam temple is in possession of **twelve copper-plate⁸ leaves**. Having learnt through the kind offices of the Brahmin lady trustee of the Tiruppūvaṇam temple residing in Madura, that the plates in question are safely preserved in the *karivēḷam* of the temple, I went to the place and made a fruitless attempt to get the plates for comparing the published text and correcting it *in situ*. Frustrated in my endeavour I wrote to the Government Epigraphist for India to obtain the plates on loan and take their impressions and supply me with one set of them for editing the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*. He took prompt action on my

¹ Sewall's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 298.

² Tirujñānasambandha has contributed 'Aṇṇiyār paṇḍam' 11 verses and 'Māḍamar mēṅaiyaṇṇāgi' 11 verses, while Appar has sung 'Vaṇṇiṅṅa tiriṇḷam' 11 verses. Of Sundaramūrti's decade of verses, two are lost; the first verse of his *paṇḍam* commences with 'Tiruvēḷaiyār'.

³ These fourteen places are Tiruvālarāy, Tirupparankuṇṅam, Tiro-Āppayār, Tiruvēḷagam, Tirupputtār, Tirukkoḍunkuṇṅam, Tirukkāpappēr, Tiruppūvaṇam, Tiruchēḷaiyāl, Tirukkurāḷam, Tiro-Nelvēli, Tiravirā-mēṇvaram, Tiruvēḷāṇai and Tiruppuṇavāḷai.

⁴ 'Tēraṇ vidi māḍa-niḍu ten-Īruppūvaṇamē'.

⁵ 'Mūṇṇiyēṇ mudi-ēṭṭe Tennar Śēraṇ Śōḷarga-ḍam vaṇṇam tiriṇṇiyār-oli-ēṇ tēmmiy-ōḷu ten-Īruppūvaṇam'; 'Māṇḍa-ṇṇiy-ēṇ Tennar Śēraṇ Śōḷargaṇ pōṇṇaiṇṇa'.

⁶ P. 1123 of *Periṇṇavāṇam*, 1934 edition.

⁷ 'Bāṭurargaṇ paṇḍ-ēṭṭam Pōṇṇa-ṇṇaṇṇar-maraṇṇi-kaṇṇimē vīṇṇiyadu kaṇṇar-paḍavēḷṇaṇṇē', (*Tiruvēḷaiyāḍaiyār-Tiruvēḷaiyāḍappurāṇam*, 38, v. 50).

⁸ About them Sewall wrote as follows in his *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 298:—

"A copper-plate grant of ten leaves belonging to the temple has been published by Bishop Caldwell in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, p. 142, together with a supplementary plate of two leaves."

The writer must have meant 'sides' by 'leaves', for Burgess and Natesa Sastri correctly note "Five plates only of the *ḷaṇṇam* are there (i.e., in the *Indian Antiquary*) given in *fac-simile* from Sir Walter Elliot's impressions. The whole is here given translated from new impressions obtained with considerable difficulty owing to the ignorant stupidity of the Temple guardians" (*A.S.S.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 21).

suggestion and on 31st January 1939 placed at my disposal two excellent sets of impressions from which I now edit the plates. Dr. Chakravarti took the measurements of the plates and found that what was given in the *Archæological Survey of South India*, Vol. IV, was incorrect. His note is given below :—

"Of the first set, the first ten plates measure approximately $16\frac{1}{2}$ " in length (the plates are not of exactly equal size) while their breadth is roughly $5\frac{1}{2}$ " except of the 4th and 10th which are 6" and $6\frac{1}{2}$ " respectively. The eleventh plate is $17\frac{3}{4}$ " long and $6\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. The plate of Kōnēriṇ-maikondāṇ (supplementary plate) is $17\frac{1}{2}$ " long and 6" broad."

All the plates bear writing on both sides and the lines run from edge to edge in some of them without leaving any vacant margin.¹ There are 15 lines on each of the plates I, II, III, IVa, VIIb, VIIIb, VIIIb, and Xb; 16 lines on IVb, V, VIa, VIIa, VIIIa, IXa, Xa, and XIa; and 17 lines on IXb and XIb. On the whole there are 343 lines of writing in the first set of eleven plates. A ring-hole is bored in the centre of the left side about an inch and a half from the left edge. Though the plates have not got raised rims to protect the writing, the inscription is fairly well preserved excepting some portions of the last four lines of the first face of the sixth plate. A few letters on Va, IVa and b and Xa are also damaged. The existence of the hole is an indication that the plates must have been strung on a ring bearing perhaps a seal also, though there is none at present. In all probability it must have been lost years ago.

The text and translation given in volume IV of the *Archæological Survey of South India* require revision. There are serious misreadings especially in proper names. To point only a few, the volume gives *punarato* for *ṇa-tata imē* (l. 3), *grāmasy=āvadāhik-āptim* for *grāmasy=āghūta-kṣiptim* (l. 4), *Kakaṇṇēri* for *Nakkaṇṇēri* (l. 33), *pāṇakappaḍi* for *pāḍagappaḍi* (l. 38), *janamikaḷ* (*janamikaḷ* ?) for *jaṇmigaḷ* (l. 44), *Kakekuḍi* for *Kaḍukkuḍi* (l. 47), *Sembāṇṇēri* for *Sēyāḷṇēri* (l. 48), *Tiruppu* for *tiṇṇṇu* (l. 49), *ivvūr-pārttaṇṇay* for *ivvūr-pār-Chunday* (l. 60), *Narimaṇṇamānum-Kaṇḍanallūr* for *Narimaṇṇam-āṇa Varagaṇḍa-Nallūr* (ll. 60f.), *ivvūr Maḍār-Sūlaiyaṇ* for *ivvūrppār-Chilaiyaṇ* (l. 61), *paṭalaiyūr* for *Pālaiyūr* (l. 90), *ūḷarum* for *dēvarum* (ll. 91f.), *Mahā-vidhinallūr* for *Kāvidinallūr* (l. 112), *Puliṣāṇi* for *Pullāṇi* (ll. 119f.), *Kēṣavapum* for *Kēṣavum* (l. 128), *Kēṣavay* for *Āḍuvāy* (ll. 130f.), *Sidayil-araya-Baṭṭay* for *Śī-Kaṇḍiḷaya-Baṭṭay* (l. 135), *Valliyaṇ piḍittalai* for *Villiy-āṇa Muḍittalai* (l. 137), *maruvāy-ikkappūḷē* for *maruvāy-Iḍukkāy-ūḍē* (l. 191), *vaḍakku varayum* for *vaḍavāyum* (ll. 195f.), *Paḷaṇḍiyaḷ* for *paḷaṇ-kōyilaḍiyaḷ* (ll. 197f.), *ī-n* for *te* (l. 200), *maralāra* for *Mālār* (l. 219), *Seyyai* for *śevvai* (l. 235), *kkāra* for *kūr* (l. 242), and *kaṇḍiyil* for *agavāyil* (l. 243).

As only the first five plates are numbered, it is not possible to say definitely whether the numbering was done when the plates were engraved or at a subsequent date. The caligraphy of the numerals seems to indicate that the numbers must have been incised at a somewhat later date. It behoves us therefore to see if the rest of the plates are in order and whether the set is complete.² On examination, we find that the face commencing with the line *nōkki* of the seventh plate is the second, for it reads well with the syllables at the end of the other face *karaiyē-te* which must therefore be the first face of that plate. And the first line of the first face has the syllables *l-karaiyē* which reads in continuation of the last syllables of the sixth plate, viz., *ikkāḷiṇ-mē*. In volume IV of the *Archæological Survey of South India*, by reading the second face of the seventh

¹ [Like Leiden Plates the writing on these plates also seems to have been done by the process known as *à ciré perdue*. (See above, Vol. XXII, p. 213).—Ed.]

² This is easily done by reading through the first and last lines of each face of the plates and marking out the second face by the fact of the first line reading in continuation of the syllables at the end of the other face. This done, we know the first face of each plate. Then we have only to see where the syllables at the end of the second face of one plate run on with the first syllable of the first face of another.

plate after the end of the sixth plate and then reading the first face after the second, a mistake has been committed.¹ The order of the rest of the plates as given there is correct and none of the plates is missing. Another defect in the published text is that it has omitted to give one full line found on the second side of the ninth plate. This mistake has occurred as two consecutive lines (ll. 272-3) commence with the same syllables *ku nōkki-chochēru Mīḷa-gaṇṇu-ku*. There are many instances where final consonants have been treated as the first combined consonant and *vice versa*. These defects and the summary treatment of the contents in the *Archæological Survey of South India*, Vol. IV, make the re-publication of the inscription a great desideratum.

Excepting the first five lines of the first plate, first side, which are in **Sanskrit** verse written in **Grantha** characters, the rest of the inscription is in **Tamiḷ** language and alphabet. Though the orthographical peculiarities found in the record are common to the epigraphs of this period, a few of them deserve to be noted here. There are numerous instances where the *sandhi* rules are not observed. In the Tamiḷ portion Grantha letters are used in many places where Sanskrit words occur. For instances see *Vēda*, *Sāstra* (l. 16) and *brahmadēya* (l. 19). The superscript *r* is marked by a short slanting stroke engraved on the top of the letter, e.g., *ru* (l. 2), *rima* (l. 13). Punctuation is denoted by what is called single or double *piḷḷaiyār-iḷḷi* and *visarga*-like mark; see, for example, lines 3 and 5. Medial long *ī* is well distinguished from the short by being given a closed loop on the right of the concave curve on the top of the letters (ll. 5, 6, 9, 12, 39, 40, 42). *Rk* and *rt* are often used for *rk* and *ru*; see, for example, *Mīḷagaṇṇu-ku* (ll. 272-3), *Māraṇkīrti* (l. 270) and *Kappakīrti* (l. 269). The words *mūlaiyir-tiru* (l. 288), *ellaigir-tiru* (l. 284) and *ēmbaṇṇu* (l. 309) ought to be *mūlaiyir-riru*, *ellaigir-riru* and *ēmbaṇṇu-ṇu*. There are instances of doubling of consonants where unnecessary and of omission to double them when necessary; e.g., *cheṇṇu-kKaṭṭi*² (l. 281). Another noteworthy feature is the use of the accusative for the locative in words like *vōykkūlaiy-iṇṇu* and *kūlaiy-iṇṇu*. In these cases, Tamiḷ would require *ōkūlil*. Influence of Sanskrit has perhaps to account for the departure in these cases.

The inscription is in **two parts** of which the **first**, which is very brief, is in Sanskrit and covers only five lines. It gives the mythical genealogy of the Pāṇḍyas traced from Hari (Vishnu) through Atri, Moon, Budha and Purūṇavas, and states that Rājagambhīradēva, in the **25th year** of his reign, on the day of Svātī, corresponding to a Sunday and the eleventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month in which the Sun was in Dhanuṣ, ordered the determination of the boundaries of the village which was called after his name, by circumambulating it with a female elephant. It is to be noted that not even the king's immediate ancestors are mentioned in the record. The king is said to have been apprised of the formation of the new village by Sundarēśa. Who this person is it is not possible to say definitely, as the corresponding Tamiḷ portion omits this fact altogether. Since the formation of the *kūṇḍ* is generally conveyed to kings by officials such as Secretaries and Ministers and sometimes even by princes who were in attendance on them, we may not be wrong in thinking that Sundarēśa was one such person of distinction. We know from a record of Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara I (with *Pūvāṇḍiḷḷatti* introduction) found at Chaturvēdimaṇḍalam³ that the king had a brother-in-law by name Aḷagapperumāl, and our plates also enable us to gather that Piḷḷaiyār Aḷagapperumāl held a high position, for a person under him bearing the official designation *adigāram* acted as *kaṇkāṇi* in the settlement of boundaries

¹ This defect was noticed by me when I arranged the plates in order and got them strung on a wire. It was independently noticed by Dr. Chakravarti also when he had the impressions taken of the inscription on the plates.

² No. 298 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28.

of the new village. It is not unlikely that *machchupāṇār* Aḷagapperumāl and *Piḷḷaiyār* Aḷagapperumāl indicate two different persons. Sundarēśa being a good Sanskrit rendering of the name Aḷagapperumāl, there is a possibility of one of the two persons of that name being referred to. But of this we cannot be certain. If a prince is meant, can it refer to Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I who, at the time of the record, might be supposed to have been serving the king? The **second part** which is in Tamil, opens with the usual eulogy of king Jaṭāvarman Kulasekhara commencing with the words *Pūvīṅkiḷatti* and runs to the end of the eleventh plate. It consists of two principal sentences, the first beginning from the end of line 5 (plate Ia) and ending with the beginning of line 139 (plate Vb) with *sāvadu*, and the second commencing with the words *paḍiṇ-mūṇṇ-āvadīṇ-edir* in line 139 (plate Vb) and ending with the word *niṇṇadu* in line 338 (plate XIb). These two sentences are followed by the names of the writer of the document and the signatories who attested it and these cover up lines 338 to 343 in the last plate. The composing of this Tamil part of the inscription consisting of 338 lines of writing and covering nearly all the 22 sides of the plates, obscures the clear understanding of the various transactions involved and detailed in it. The main sentence, which gives the principal and **immediate object** of the inscription is *Kulaśēkaradēvaṅku yāṇḍu 13-vaḍu nāl nāl-āyirattu muṇṇūṇṇu arupa-diṇāl* (ll. 14f.) *piḍi-naḍanda ellaikku or °paḍikku arav-ōlai śeyḍu kuḍutta pariśāvaḍu* (l. 73 and l. 138) meaning "this is the deed drawn up and given in the thirteenth year and four thousand and three-hundred and sixtieth day of the reign of Kulaśēkharadēva (*embodying*) the boundaries as circumambulated by the female elephant". The noting down of the boundaries of the entire village from point to point is thus the main object of this set of eleven copper-plates; and it may be said that it is the last of a series of actions involved in the constitution and grant of the new village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam as *brahmadēya*. The document was drawn up by the persons authorised in the royal order issued on the day specified in the Sanskrit portion as *nijē vatsarē paṇcha-vimśē Chaṇḍāmśāv=ātta-chāpē Kanakapati-tiḥau kṛishṇa-paksh-Ārkivāra-Svātī-yōgē* and repeated in the Tamil portion in the words *paḍiṇ-mūṇṇ-āvadīṇ-edir paṇṇirāṇḍām-āṇḍu Dhaṇu-nāyarṇu nālān-tiyadiyūm apara-pakshattu ēkādaśiyūm Saṇi-kkiḷamaiyūm peṇṇa Śōḍi-nāl* (ll. 139ff.). This earlier **date** had been calculated by the late Professor Kielhorn and found to agree with **Saturday, 29th November A. D. 1214**. As such, the 13th year and 4360th day of the king's reign (=the 26th year, or more correctly 25 years and 40 days) which relates to the drawing up of the boundary deed, must be later than A. D. 1214, November 29, by such number of unexpired months and days as remained in the 25th year (i.e., 12th current year after the 13th) of the king's reign *plus* 40 days of the 26th year (i.e., 13th year opposite the 13th). The formation of the *brahmadēya* and the grant of it had already been effected when the order for the *kariṇi-bhramāṇa* was given on the 29th November A.D. 1214. This is plain by the statement *nikki uḷḷa nilam muṇṇuḍaiyārum paḷam pērum veḷḷāṇ-vagaiyūm mudalun-taviṇṇu oru-nāḍum or-ūrum oru puravum ākki Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam=ēppun=tirunāmattāl brahmadēyañ=cheydaruḷi* (ll. 70-72) meaning 'the remaining lands had been constituted as the *brahmadēya* village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam so called after the sacred name (*of the king*) and included in Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu: the previous owners, old names, the classification as *veḷḷāṇ-vagai*, cultivating ryots and *mudal* of the lands removed and classed under one *nāḍu*, one *puravu* and one village'. We shall refer to the significance of this in the sequel. With regard to the royal order issued on the 29th November A.D. 1214, it must be said that while the Sanskrit portion stops with mentioning the immediate circumambulation of the village which was called after the king's name (*sv-ābhīdānasya grāmasy=āghāṭa-kṣiptim=prati sapadi karēṇum gamayitum=avadat Rājagambhīradēvaḥ*), the Tamil portion is more explicit and states what ought to be done further. It tells us that the circumambulation of the four boundaries of the said village must be effected in the presence of the superintendents (appointed for the purpose), and,

for the boundaries thus gone round, a deed also must be drawn up and given. This is clear from the passage *irvūr nāṅg-ellaiyūn=kaṅkāniḡalōduṅ=kūḍa=ppiḍi-śūḷndu piḍi naḍanda ellaikku aṟav-ḍlai śeydu kuḍukkav-eṇṇu tiruvāy-molindaruḷiṇṇamaiyil* (ll. 72-74).

We have referred above to three dates that occur in the inscription and have shown that two of them are identical and relate to the day on which the boundaries of the new village were ordered to be determined by the king and that the third, which is expressed in years and days, and which is later than the other two was the day on which the document was drawn up. The identical nature of two of the dates being assured by the details, the mention of the year in two ways, viz., *pañcha-vimśe* (the 25th) and *paḍiṇ-mūṇṇāvadīṇ edīr paṇṇīraṇḍu* (the 12th year opposite the 13th) shows that the number of years given after the word *edīr* must be added to the number expressed before it. Two other dates occur in the inscription, viz., *paḍiṇ-mūṇṇāvadīṇ-edīr paṭṭām-āṇḍu-varai* (up to the 10th year opposite the 13th) and *paḍiṇ-mūṇṇāvadīṇ edīr paḍiṇ-on-ṛām-āṇḍu-mudal* (from the 11th year opposite the 13th), in connection with the clubbing together of the villages and lands in the new village and the grant of it as a *brahmadēya*. The first refers to the state of the items of lands as they stood up to the 23rd year and the second refers to the fact that the *brahmadēya* had to take effect from the next year, i.e., the 24th year. Evidently the omission to recognise this particular fact, viz., that the 25th year of the king's reign is expressed by *paḍiṇ-mūṇṇāvadīṇ-edīr paṇṇīraṇḍu*, though recognising the identical nature of the astronomical details given both in the Sanskrit and Tamil portions, has led the late Pandit Natesa Sastri, who seems to have taken all the years to be one and the same, to postulate the following theory :—

“ Nothing definite can be made out of this phrase (*paḍiṇ-mūṇṇāvadīṇ edīr paḍiṇ-on-ṛām-āṇḍu*) for the present. Some are of opinion that one of them refers to the age of the king and the other to the number of years he had reigned, but this *Śāsanam* contradicts that theory ; for in IIa, l. 10, we have the 10th year opposite the 13th year, and in Vb, l. 2, the 12th year opposite the 13th year. The following theory may be suggested :—The description of the day of letting loose of the elephant in Ia and of the day in Va (correctly Vb) exactly coincides ; and fortunately in Va (Vb) instead of merely stating in the 13th year, it is said in the 12th year opposite the 13th year ; from these and bearing in mind that at the commencement of the *Śāsanam* it is stated “ in the 13th year, 4364th day ”, and that according to the rough Hindu calculation of

360 days for every year, $4364 \div 360 = 12$ years and 44 days, I think that “ in the 12th year opposite the 13th year ”, may mean, after the completion of the 12th year in the 13th year of the reign. Similarly “ 11th year opposite the 13th year ” may mean after the completion of the 11th year, i.e., in the 12th year of the reign. Similarly 10th, in each case the present year of the reign is also added ”.¹

Against this, Burgess noted : “ This theory of the Pandit's is ingenuous, but will not do : the 13th year *cannot* coincide with parts of three years. Can it be 1310, 1311, and 1312 Śaka that is meant by the dates ? If so, the number of *days* may refer to the reign ”.²

Except in showing the difficulties felt in explaining the double dates, these theories have no value whatsoever to us now, and we pass on with the remark that the singling out of a particular year—in this case the 13th year—still remains to be definitely and satisfactorily made out.

That the determination of the boundaries commenced on the very day the order was given might be inferred from line 140. I would consider that there is an omission of the words ‘ *piḍi naḍappittu* ’ after ‘ *śūḷndu* ’ in the extract given above for the reason that the document, while repeating the same in another place, has the phrase ‘ *piḍi naḍatta=ppiḍi naḍandapaḍikku* ’ (l. 138). There are still other defects in this part of the document. It omits to state to whom the order

¹ A. S. S. I., Vol. IV, p. 30, n. 4.

² *Ibid.*

was issued and what formalities were observed by the recipients. Judging from other copper-plates it may be said that the order must have been addressed to the assembly of the district of Rājagambhīra-vaṇaṇḍu. It could not have been issued to the assembly of any of the sub-divisions in it, for the villages and lands that had been clubbed to form the new village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, belonged to more than one sub-division. Then again, the inscription does not state to whom this document of boundaries was ordered to be given or was granted. The verb *kuṭukka* (shall be given) in the passage extracted above, has no object. But it may be reasonably presumed that it should have been directed to be given to the donees and must have been left in the possession of the *sabhā* of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam representing the vast number of one thousand and eighty donees. If this was the case, there arise the questions as to how the Tiruppūvanam temple has come to be in possession of it, whether it is the original document that was granted, or only a copy, and if a copy, whether such a copy could not be found elsewhere. The answer to these questions is given below in the introduction to the article on the supplementary plate.

The inscription tells us that eleven persons were appointed to superintend the settlement of boundaries. Their names (ll. 74-83) are given in Appendix A. I. Of these eleven persons, one (No. 4) was the agent of the *Tiruvāykkōḷi* officer Poṇṇaṇ Sūriyadēvaṇ *alias* Jayadhara-Pallavaraiyaṇ, another (No. 5) was the *kaṅkāṇi* of Poyyāmoḷidēvar, a third (No. 6) was the *kaṅkāṇi* of Śrīrāmaṇ Tiruvuḍaiyaṇ *alias* Pottappichehōḷar, the fourth (No. 7) was the *kaṅkāṇi* of the *māṇiūttaṇam* officer Śivalavaṇ Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷaṇ *alias* Kāliṅgarāyaṇ, the fifth (No. 8) was the *kaṅkāṇi* of Maḷavarāyaṇ, the sixth (No. 9) was the *adigāraṇ* of Piḷḷaiyār Aḷagapperumāl and the seventh (No. 11) was one of the *aṇakkar* of Aḷagiyapūṇḍiyaṇār, who was scrutinising the affairs of the District of Śōḷapūṇḍiya-vaṇaṇḍu. Along with the 11 *kaṅkāṇis*, 65 others representing the villages adjacent to Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, most of them being connected with the formation of the new village, went with the elephant and fixed the boundaries. Their names and their native villages and *nāḍu* (Appendix A, II to XVI) are given in plates IVa (l. 93) to Vb (l. 138). The details of the boundaries from point to point commencing with a spot on the north-eastern corner and ending with the same spot are set forth in plates Vb (l. 140) to XIb (l. 338). This document mentioning the details of boundary of the village, *i.e.*, this inscription, was drawn up by one of the officials (No. 1 of App. A, I) and was attested by three others (Nos. 2 to 4 of the same Appendix) (ll. 338-343).

The duty of the eleven superintendents, who were mostly officials drawn from various parts of the country and were unconnected with the villages that were combined together to form the *brahmadēya*, must have been to see that the procedure was correctly observed. The actual work was left to be done by the local people. Of the sixty-five others, seven including one who was a resident of Tiruppūvanam, led the elephant, while the others showed the boundaries of their respective villages. The ceremony of circumambulation with seventy-six responsible persons going with an elephant and covering a large area, must have been an imposing one: and by the very nature of the troubles involved in the execution of the task, it must have been done in several stages and taken a long time to finish. The wide extent which was covered by the newly constituted village may, to some measure, be conceived by the fact that it included in it as many as one hundred and forty old villages and lands which lay not in one sub-division but in five separate divisions, *viz.*, Kiraṇūr-nāḍu, Panaṅgalūr-nāḍu, Tiyaṇḍaikkūḍi-nāḍu, Mēṇḍi-nāḍu and Puṇapparaṇai-nāḍu (Appendix B). The party for the settlement of boundaries had to pass through a number of roads, rivers, and canals on their way. From Śeyyakulattūr there passed three roads, one to Vēmbaṅḍi (ll. 333f.), another to Kaḍambaṅḍi

(l. 142), and the third to Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭai (l. 145). From Mānavīramadurai there were roads running to Vēmbaṅguḍi (ll. 143f.), Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭai (l. 147), Neṭṭūr (l. 154), and Piḍāvūr (ll. 149f.). Between Kaṇṇaṇūr and Dēḍa(va)koṭṭai (l. 225), there was another road. From the village of Miḷagaṇūr there were roads leading to Iruṇchīrai (l. 258) and Koṭṭakīrti in Kāṇai-Irukkai (ll. 244f.). Two other roads connected Vēḷāṇēri and Aravaṅkuḍi (ll. 205f.), and Iḍaikkāṭṭūr and Vēmbaṅguḍi (ll. 319 & 330).

The inscription may be said to express in action the abstract laws laid down by the ancient law-givers in the determination of boundaries of villages and lands. The number of villages that were directly concerned in this matter were as many as sixteen.¹ As I have already discussed the laws to be observed in such cases it is needless to reiterate them here.²

The early part of this inscription, which forms as it were the preamble of this document of boundaries, informs us how the new village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam came to be formed and what old villages and lands were taken up to constitute it. On a date, which is not specified, while the king was sitting on the seat called Maḷavarājaṇ in the hall of the bed-chamber of his palace at Madurai, situated in the sub-division of Māḍakkuḷam, he ordered that a village called Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam after his name, should be formed consisting of one thousand and two hundred shares and be given as a *brahmādēya*, with effect from the eleventh year opposite the thirteenth of his reign, to one thousand and eighty Brāhmaṇas, who were versed in the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and were capable of expounding them, each being given one share, and the remaining one hundred and twenty shares being set apart for the temple and for those that had to do service. The date that is not specified here may be taken to be the tenth year opposite to the thirteenth of the king's reign, since it is stated that the grant had to take effect from the eleventh year opposite the thirteenth. The names of the lands and villages that had been taken up and included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam as given in lines 19 to 69 are noticed in a separate appendix (B). This list of villages ends with the remark *āga ivvūrgaḷiṟ=paḷan-dēvadāṇam paḷlichchandam kārāṇmai-ōṇa nilam nikki*, i.e., 'excluding from these villages such lands as are old *dēvadāṇas*, *paḷlichchandas* and *kārāṇmai*'. This general remark applies to all villages other than the ones which, though being *dēvadāṇas*, etc., had been specifically stated in the body of the list as having been taken up for inclusion in the new village. Such are the three *dēvadāṇa* villages, Vāgaikuḍi (l. 20), Muttūranāroṭṭai (ll. 59f.), and Śīrukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr (l. 68) which belonged to the temple of Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār. Some of the villages and lands of this list find mention in the description of boundaries, being situated on the boundary line. We learn from the description of boundaries that Marudūr lay just to the west, and Śaṅkaramaṅgalam just to the south of Mānavīramadurai, that Nirambaiyūr was to the east of Sōmāttūr, that Vēḷāṇēri was to the south of Karuṅguḷam, that Miḷagaṇūr was to the north of both Koṭṭakīrti and Kāṇai-Irukkai, that Karpakīrti in Kāṇai-Irukkai was situated just to the west of Mēr-Cheḷi, and to the south of Puvaṇinallūr, that Neṟkuṇṇam was immediately to the east of Kuvaḷaivēli, that Vāgaikuḍi was to the north of both Tirumāliruṇjōlainallūr and Śīrukuḍi *alias* Vīrakāmug-amaṅgalam, and to the east of Veḷḷūrkuruchchi and to the south of Mānābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam which lay to the north of Tiruvāvaṇam situated just to the east of Veḷḷūrkuruchchi, and lastly, that Kuḍaṇjāḍi was to the south of Sundankuruchchi. From the boundaries given, we also learn that Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam had on its west Kīraṇūr-nādu,

¹ Mānavīramadurai, 2. Marudūr, 3. Mēr-Paśalai, 4. Kīṭ-Paśalai, 5. Poliyūr, 6. Kaḷḷikuḍi, 7. Iruṇchīrai in Kāṇai-Irukkai, 8. Miḷagaṇūr, 9. Mālaṅguḍi, 10. Śīrukuḷattūr, 11. Śūrakuḍi, 12. Viḍattal, 13. Veḷḷūrkuruchchi, 14. Perumpuliyūr, 15. Vēḷūr and 16. Tiruppūvaṇam.

² Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 30ff.

on the north Paṇaṅgalūr-nāḍu, on the east Tīyandaikuḍi-nāḍu, and on the south Puṟappaṟaḷai-nāḍu. The inscription mentions the rivers Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallabhappērāṟu (l. 161), Paṟalaivāṟu (l. 198), Kaḷavaḷināḍaṇāṟu of Paṇaṅgalūr (l. 318) and Paṟalaikkāl (l. 193) and states that three of the *dēvadāna* lands of the temple of Tiruppuvaṇamuḍaiyār, named Muttūranāroṭṭai, Vāgaikuḍi and Śīṟukilāṅkāṭṭūr, had been added on to the new village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam as well as certain specified lands which formed the *dēvadāna* of the temples of Paśalaināthar and Śrī-Vaikunda-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār of Mēṟ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (ll. 48—51).

Like the three *dēvadāna* villages of Vāgaikuḍi, Muttūranāroṭṭai and Śīṟukilāṅkāṭṭūr, the whole village of Miḷagaṇūr had been taken up and included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. In exchange for the last, the following other villages were given, *viz.*, Kuvaḷaivēli, Pudukkuḷam, Māraṇkīrti, Kāvīdinallūr, Kaḍambamaṅgalam, Śāttiyār-ēmbal in Achchāṅkāṭṭirukkai, and that part of Araiyaḷuḷam in Kāṇai-Irukkai which remained after removing the holding (*kāṇi*) of Mandari Rāman *alias* Pallavaraiyar (ll. 110—114). Care was taken to have the previous owners of these villages removed, their old names changed and the original constitution altered and the whole, like the lands and villages that were included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, grouped together and the newly formed village of Miḷagaṇūr was given the name Rājēndraśiṅganallūr. It was placed under the division Achchāṅkāṭṭirukkai and entered as such in State accounts (ll. 114—116). The persons that were entrusted with the formation of this new village are given in group IX of Appendix A: they were among the party that accompanied the female elephant. It is worthy of note that in the constitution of this village also, which was not a Chaturvēdimaṅgalam, the same precaution was taken, as in the other, to bring the different units under one control and to make it homogeneous. The words used, *viz.*, *oru-nāḍum or-ūrum oru-puravum ākki*, clearly indicate that it became a distinct constituency with single class of interest as Chaturvēdimaṅgalam was.

With the aid of this and a few other allied records, we propose to consider here firstly the constitution of the Chaturvēdimaṅgalam referred to in the preamble and what it implies, secondly whether the king represented in the plates had any other introduction than the one beginning with *Pāviṇkīlatti* and thirdly the geography of the districts and divisions of the Pāṇḍya country mentioned in the plates. On all these matters the existing notions seem to need correction.

Like the founding of temples, construction of tanks, provisions made for the requirements of various shrines, the opening of educational institutions with competent teachers in various branches, erection of feeding houses for the poor and the learned, and provisions made for doctors and hospitals to minister to the needs of the sick,—furthering the cause of the study of the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* was considered a meritorious act by South Indian kings and chiefs and it found a tangible expression in the form of Chaturvēdimaṅgalams, *brahmadēyas*, *agaras* or *agrahāras* and the like. One can easily pick out the names of hundreds of Chaturvēdimaṅgalams by running through the inscriptions contained in the volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions* ranging from the seventh century A.D. to the time of the Vijayanagara kings. If it is remembered that each one of this class of villages had been originally granted to a very large collection of eminent men who had studied the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and that each one of the villages had an administrative body called the *sabhā*, as we know from numerous instances, consisting of several committees and a general body of representative members, whose number in some cases was very large and who, by the qualifications insisted on, always kept up a high standard of Vedic learning, there could be no denying the fact that in South India, at any rate, there was a regular and systematic study of the *Vēdas* and the branches of subjects connected with them, and there were

hundreds of thousands of persons who carried the torch of Vedic learning in the way it used to be handed down. We would like to point out that the donees of the newly constituted *brahmadēya* village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅgalam numbered as many as one thousand and eighty and that they had not only studied the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* but were capable of expounding them. The cumulative conjunction *um* in the phrase *Vēdamum śāstramum pōy* and the use of the adjectival phrase *eyākhyātākkaḷāy irukkum* qualifying *Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭargaḷ* leave no doubt that the subjects of the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* were studied not only with a view to grasping their meaning but in such a thorough manner as to entitle the votaries to be styled *eyākhyātās*, i.e., exegetes. Though these phrases are sufficient in themselves, we would point out some further instances from inscriptions which more clearly explain that these subjects were thoroughly studied in those days. These inscriptions use the additional word '*poruṭpaḍa*', i.e., 'with meaning' before the verb '*pōy*' had gone through'. One of the inscriptions of Tiruttāṅgāl,¹ dated in the 9th year and 216th day of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulasēkhara with *Pāṇḍikilattī* introduction (the same king that figures in the large Tiruppūvaṇam plates), registers a royal order issued on the representation of the king's officer Kāliṅgarāyar for creating a *brahmadēya* village called Kulasēkhara-chaturvēdimāṅgalam by joining together four *dēvadāna* villages about Tiruttāṅgāl with lands and house-sites allotted to 54 Brāhmaṇas who were versed in the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and were capable of expounding them. The village-site where the Brāhmaṇas had to reside was named '*Pugalōgaganḍanallūr*'. We may refer to another inscription² dated in the 8th year and 215th day of the reign of Māgarvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II with the introduction *Pāmalār-tiruvum* which tells us that the great-grandfather of Śrī-Rāmaṇ Aḷagan alias Aḷagiyaṇḍiya-Brahmādhirājan had originally established, in the name of Vēṇḍuḍaiyār, a village called Ravivarman-chaturvēdimāṅgalam and settled in it forty-eight Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas who had learnt with meaning (*poruṭpaḍa*) the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and were capable of expounding them (*eyākhyātākkaḷāy-irukkum*), and twelve Bhaṭṭas who had to recite the *Vēdas* in the temple of Uḍaiyār Tirunelvēḷi-Uḍaiyār, thus making in all sixty persons. On the representation of these sixty persons and on the recommendation of the officer Ayyaṇ Maḷavarāyar, the king granted all the lands situated in Kaṇṇaṇūr alias Mānābharaṇappāḍi, within certain specified boundaries, excluding from them the old *dēvulānas* and *paḷlichehundas*, to be included in Ravivarman-chaturvēdimāṅgalam in order that the sixty persons settled in the village may get sixty shares, the temple of Śrī-Rāma-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār may have two shares, Pāṇḍimāḍēvīṣvaramuḍaiyār may have two shares and Topḍaimūṇ-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār may have one share. It is expressly stated that in this case, as indeed in others, the prior owners of lands as well as the classification under other heads had been removed and the whole constituted as one village with one *purava*, one classification, etc. The point for note is that the Chaturvēdimāṅgalam was entirely a Brāhmanical village. And as we know that the *sabhā* was the functioning body in such a village, there is no room for thinking that the members in it could be of any other class. The inscription clearly tells us that the interest in the constituency vested with one class of people, all others being expressly stated to have been removed and changed. One of the inscriptions of the time of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I gives the names of as many as 144 Brāhmanical Villages (*brahmadēyas*), which had to supply persons for the post of treasurers, temple-servants and accountants to the Rājarājāśvara temple at Tanjore.³ Without even a single exception, each one of these villages is stated to have had a *sabhā*. Numerous transactions of the *sabhā* are

¹ No. 543 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.

² No. 446 of S. I. I., Vol. V.

³ S. I. I., Vol. II, No. 69.

recorded in inscriptions giving the names of the members present in the meetings, numbering in some cases thirty and forty, and all of them are Brāhmaṇas¹ as the titles and the *gōtras* show.

Still another mediæval Pāṇḍya inscription² dated in the 13th year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, with the characteristic title Ellāntalaiyāṇa-Perumāḷ, gives very interesting details regarding the formation of another similar village called Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam to settle down 108 Brāhmaṇas, many of whom were well-versed in the *Vēdas* and *Sūtras* and were capable of expounding them. For the housing accommodation of these and their families, as well as the men who were in charge of the village library and the village servants, four *vēḷis* of land were purchased and set apart as village-site and it included in it the temple premises also. In purchasing the lands, the rights and privileges of the old tenants and title holders were completely bought up. Land for grazing the cattle was also provided for. For the maintenance of the 108 Brāhmaṇa families and others, 147½ *vēḷis* of land in the village of Rājāsikhāmaṇinallūr *alias* Puḷiyāṅguḍi were acquired. The following *erittis* were also provided for:—three for teachers of the *Vēdas*, one for teachers of the *Sūtras*, one and three-fourths for two doctors, half for *ambadiyas*, half for the village accountant, one-fourth for a drummer, one-fourth for a blacksmith, half for carpenter, one-fourth for goldsmith, three-eighths for *irāṅkolli*, three-eighths for barber, one-fourth for a washerman, three-fourths for a village watchman, and one-eighth for *veṭṭiyāp*. Further, it is said that three-fourths of the *nattam* land outside the Brāhmaṇa quarter, was set apart for *Vellāṅ-kāṇṇāḷar* and the remainder for other professional people. All taxes were remitted and it was stipulated that from the 14th year of the king's reign, *i.e.*, from the first year of the constitution of the new *agrahāra* village of Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, 500 *kalam* of superior paddy had to be measured out every year to the temple at Chidambaram.

The contents of this inscription, as well as those of others of this class, some of which we have noticed above, show clearly that the constituency of Chaturvēdimaṅgalam was purely one of Brāhmaṇas, self-sufficient in every way; and other classes of people were given separate accommodation in the *nattam* lands and were there for performing specific acts. In this limited constituency having a fixed extent of land, be it great or small, which had been completely bought up with all rights, and with their old names, prior holdings and different heads of classification entirely removed, and vested with and owned by one class of people as one unit under the different and distinguishing name Chaturvēdimaṅgalam, there is absolutely no room for thinking that in the *sabhā* which, as we know from numerous inscriptions, was the administrative body functioning in such a village, there could have been any member that belonged to any other class of people. Though from the qualifications laid down in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions for membership in committees and from the actual names of persons that are mentioned as members of *sabhās* in numerous other epigraphs, we could gather that the *sabhā* was the administrative body functioning in Brāhmaṇical villages and that it had only Brāhmaṇa members, more direct evidence is afforded in No. 3 of *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VIII. This inscription states that a royal order having been issued by the Chōḷa king Rājādhirāja I to the officer Śōḷa-Pāṇḍya-Mūvēndavēḷar to the effect that from the interest to be given in paddy by Brāhmaṇa-*ṅraḷ* (Brāhmaṇical villages) on sums received by them on loan from the treasury of the temple at Conjeevaram provision may be made for two Śivabrāhmaṇas performing worship and four Śivabrāhmaṇas performing *parichāraka* work, he directed the person that was looking after the

¹ Nos. 986 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V; No. 133 of Vol. IV; and 291 of Vol. VIII.

² No. 277 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1913; and the review in part II of the *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1914, p. 92.

temple affairs (*Kōyil-Śrīkāryam*) to make the *nimandas*. In the *nimanda* that was actually made in pursuance of this order, instead of '*Brāhmaṇa-ūrga*' as at first mentioned, we find the '*sabhās*' of the five villages Śīrukachchippēdu, Uttamaśōla-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, Parāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, Mīlalaīmaṅgalam and Aparāyita (Aparājita)-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. The substitution of the '*sabhās*' of these five villages for '*Brāhmaṇa-ūrga*' makes it plain that the *sabhā* was the functioning body in Brāhmanical villages. This class of constituency, as indeed any other such as *ūr*, *nagara*, etc., was not a promiscuous jumbling of varied interests as one finds at present. Unless one confounds ancient institutions with modern ones, no different and contrary view could be validly put forth. The different appellations such as *ūr*, *nagara*, *sabhā*, etc., by which the administrative bodies of villages were called, show the different nature of their constitution. If the village was one of Veḷḷāṇ landlords with the necessary families of farmers, artisans, barbers, potters, washermen, doctors, etc., it had the assembly of the *ūr*, the members of which body were Veḷḷāṇ landlords. If the village was one of merchantmen, traders and men engaged in manufacture and industry, it was subject to the assembly of the *nagara*. And if it was a Brāhmanical village having in it mostly Brāhman landlords with such families of farmers, etc., as were necessary for the well-being of the village and the cultivation of the lands in it, it had the *sabhā* for its management. The very formation of the different kinds of villages and the different appellations by which the functioning bodies, viz., *ūr*, *nagara* and *sabhā*, were chosen to be so termed sufficiently indicate that there was no admixture of all classes of men in any one of them. Some of the functions discharged by the various assemblies might be similar and even identical; but it cannot account for a medley of members in any one of them. To judge from the transactions that have come down to us it seems that each one of the functioning bodies known by the different names which they bore, was a pure and unadulterated assembly functioning for a particular group or constituency. It will be unreasonable to think that in the council of the *ūr* or the *sabhā*, the landlords were represented by the potter, barber, washerman and the *ryots* who cultivated their lands and did some kind of work or other receiving the *ryitti* assigned therefor. Though in the generality of cases, a village is described as being situated in a sub-division of a district there were some which were directly under a district. These villages appear to have been considerably big towns having in them several large quarters and hamlets subject to the control of various constitutional bodies; they may be likened to Presidency towns like Madras, Bombay, etc. Even here, the different bodies functioned for different classes.

Though the inscription under publication does not throw light on the political history of the time to which it relates, the information which this and the allied records cited above furnish, viz., that the class of villages going by the name-ending Chaturvēdimaṅgalam consisted exclusively of Brāhman land-owners and had an administrative body known by the special term *sabhā*, has been shown above to be of great value. The further information contained in the inscription that the donees who numbered one thousand and eighty were reputed for knowing 'with meaning' the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and were capable of expounding them, and this especially in the century that preceded the advent of Śāyana, is sure to be welcomed by scholars. We need hardly say that by *Śāstras* are meant the subjects forming the *Vēdāṅgas*.¹ Had the inscriptions cited above not stopped with mentioning the fact that the Chaturvēdimaṅgalams referred to therein were divided into shares and given to the number of Brāhmanas specified, viz., 1080, 108 and 60 who had studied the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and were *vyākhyātās* of them, but had furnished also their names, we would be in a position to know their attainments. The Tanjantōḷ-

¹ The author of the *Amarakōśa* (3, 3, 179) defines *Śāstras* as *Niddis* and *granthas*, and the commentary of Mahābhāṣya adds that by *granthas* are meant *Vyākaraṇasādhyaṅga* (Nirṇayaśāgar Edition, 1907, p. 327).

tam plates,¹ though incomplete, besides saying that the chief Dayāmkha after duly informing the Pallava king Nandivārman Pallavamalla² got the village which acquired the name Dayāmkhamaṅgalam granted to no less than 308 Brāhmaṇa scholars of *Vēdas* and *Smṛitis*, give us the names of the donees. The list of persons,³ though only partially preserved, gives the names of 108 *Chaturvēdins*, 28 *Trivēdins*, 24 *Shaḍaṅgavids* and about ten *Kramavids*, all of whom must have known the meaning of the hymns. It will be strange if a *Shaḍaṅgavid* did not know the import of the *mantras* for the very object of the *Niruktabhāṣya*, one of the *Shaḍaṅgas*, was to fit a student to easily grasp the sense of the hymns.⁴ As the first part of the name of each one of the villages of this class is a sure indicator of the name of the king or chief that founded the village and thus points also to the time when it came into being, and as the second part testifies to the attainment in the Vedic lore of the donees of the village, we are enabled to say from the names of Chaturvēdimaṅgalams preserved in inscriptions that in different parts of South India there were large numbers of Vedic scholars from the 7th century down to the 13th. The names Sindhavishṇu-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,⁵ Mahēndravarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,⁶ Naraśiṅga-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,⁷ Paramēśvara-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,⁸ Śivachūlāmaṇi-maṅgalam,⁹ Vijayāṅkura-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,¹⁰ Avaninārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,¹¹ Ēkadhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,¹² Vayiramēga-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,¹³ Mārapidugudēvi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,¹⁴ Vidyāvinīta-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,¹⁵ Pallavaṇmahādēvi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,¹⁶ Aparājita-chaturvēdimaṅgalam¹⁷ and others establish the patronage extended by the Pallava kings to men of Vedic learning from the 7th to the 9th century A.D. That the same spirit animated the Chōlas who were the political successors of the Pallavas, accounts for the foundation and grant of villages and cities going by the names Viśāyālaya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,¹⁸ Kōḍaṇḍarāma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,¹⁹ Parāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,²⁰ Jananātha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,²¹ Gaṇḍarāditya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,²² Arinjigai-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,²³ Śōlamārttāṇḍa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,²⁴ Rājāśraya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam²⁵ and those that were called after the Chālukya-Chōlas that followed Adhirājendra, and for the continuance of the study of the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas* from the eighth century to the thirteenth, patronised as it was by the kings and chiefs who had high regard for it.

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 517 f.

² These plates were at first relegated to Nandivarman III (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 517 f.), but while editing the Pattattālamāṅgalam grant, I pointed out that they must correctly be assigned to Nandivarman Pallavamalla (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 117).

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 531-535.

⁴ The selection of *śikṣā* for comment is supposed to have been made with such care that with a perfect understanding of their significance and with a thorough grasp of the lucid etymological explanation of the words occurring in them as furnished by the author of the *Nirukta*, it was believed that the student of the *Vēdas* would be able to know the meaning of other *mantras* without difficulty. The hymns and words treated in the *Nirukta* and the comment offered on them were considered sufficient to form a ready reference for other *mantras*. *Śikṣā parijāñīteṣu śikṣyāt mantrārthāḥ parijāñīteṣu te tva jñāpaka bhavanti.* (Durga's commentary on the *Nirukta*: Introduction).

⁵ No. 265 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.

⁶ No. 9 of the same collection for 1930-31.

⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 402, 404, 405.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. [28].

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. [23].

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 325.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 529n.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. [27].

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. [28].

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. [22], 321.

¹⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 3.

¹⁸ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 327.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. [23]n. and No. 20 of 1928-29.

²⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 228.

In some cases, the term Chaturvēdimāṅgalam seems to have been contracted into Maṅgalam and such are those that had for their functioning body the *sabhā*. As instances may be cited Varaguṇamaṅgalam, Triyambakamaṅgalam, Kaṭṭāraimaṅgalam, Paraiśumaṅgalam, Māramaṅgalam, Avanipaśēkaramaṅgalam and Kaḍuṅgōmaṅgalam mentioned in a Pāṇḍya grant of the time of Varaguṇa II.¹ All these places were in the Tinnevely District and their foundation by Pāṇḍya kings takes us from the sixth to the ninth century A.D., when Kaḍuṅgō, Mūṇavarman, Varaguṇa and Śrīmāra flourished. The Pāṇḍya king Parāntaka Neḍuṇjaḍaiyaṇ (A.D. 770) is said in the Vēlvikuḍi plates to have founded Śrīvaramaṅgalam,² so termed after one of his surnames. Maṅgalam was further contracted into Maṅgai as in Varaguṇamaṅgai and Śrīvaramaṅgai.

If we carefully study the constitution of Dayāmukhamaṅgalam as detailed in the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla³ of the 8th century A.D. and compare it with what is said about the constitution of the villages as described in the mediæval Pāṇḍya inscriptions cited above, we can clearly see that the principles followed were the same both in the 7th and 13th centuries A.D.

i. The newly constituted village was, in each case, divided into a number of shares, the number being some more than the number of donees intended to be provided for. In the Tiruppūvaṇam plates, the principal donees numbered 1,080 and the shares made were 1,200. In the grant of Ravivarman-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, the principal donees numbered 48 while the actual number of shares made were 65. In the case of Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, the principal donees numbered 108 and the actual number of shares made were 147. In the earlier Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates it was intended to provide chiefly for 308 persons but extra shares are actually mentioned.

ii. The donees in all the grants of Chaturvēdimāṅgalams (or simply Maṅgalams in the earlier grants) were Brāhmins well versed in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras*. While some of the mediæval Pāṇḍya records speak of the donees as *Vēdamum Sāstramum pōy vyākhyātākkaḷāy irukkum*, others add the word *poruḷpaḍa* before *pōy*. In place of this description, we have in the earlier Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates: *Vēda-traya-smṛiti-jushām vidushām dviḷānām*.⁴ In the list of donees, we notice there were more persons styled *Chaturvēdi* than *Trivēdi* or *Shaḍaṅgaḍi*.

iii. All the records state that the villages had temples in them, or contemplate the construction of temples in them, meant for the use of the donees and make provision for them.

iv. In the Tiruppūvaṇam plates, the extra shares, numbering 120, are stated to be for *dēvadāna-paniśey-virutti-panṇu*. Here *dēvadāna* may either be taken independently or as qualifying the next *paniśey*. The phrase may be construed in two ways, viz., (i) 'shares meant for the *dēvadāna* and shares for the maintenance of those who had to render service or (ii) shares for the maintenance of those that had to render service pertaining to the *dēvadāna*'. The former meaning is obtained by taking *dēvadāna* and *paniśey-virutti* as separately qualifying *panṇu*, and the latter is obtained by considering *dēvadāna* as qualifying *paniśey-virutti* which qualifies *panṇu*. As it is seen from the other records cited above that the extra shares were meant both for the temple and for the various kinds of servants, we think it better to adopt the former view. The grant of Ravivarman-chaturvēdimāṅgalam provides 12 shares for 12 Bhaṭṭas who had to recite the *Vēdas* in the temple of Uḍaiyār Tirunelvēli-uḍaiyār and two shares each for the

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 114.

² K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer's *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan*, p. 132.

³ S. I. I., Vol. II, pp. 517 ff.

⁴ S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 520, V. 9.

temples of Śrī-Rāma-Viṣṇagar-Ālvār and Pāṇḍimādhēvīśvaramuḍaiyār and one share for Tonḍaimān-Viṣṇagar-Ālvār. The earlier Dayāmukhamāṅgalam grant provides five shares for Tiruvaḍigal, i.e., Viṣṇu, and two shares for Mahādēva.

v. The grant of Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam provides three *erittis* for the teachers of the *Vēdas*, one for the teachers of the *Sūtras*, one and three-fourths for two doctors, half for *ambaiyias*, half for village accountants, one-fourth each for drummer, potter, blacksmith, goldsmith and washerman, half for carpenter, three-eighths each for *irāṅkollis* and barber, three-fourths for village watchman and one-eighth for *veṭṭiyāy*. The earlier Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates provide one share each for the reader of the *Mahābhārata* and the drummer, one share for each of the three *mādhyaṣṭhas*, two shares for a doctor, three shares for the maintenance of the head-slucce and the village reservoir, besides some shares allotted to a number of persons who appear to be servants and performers of worship in temples.

vi. Other *erittis* such as those for doctors, watchmen (or police), library, etc., provided for in the constitution are of wider interest meeting as they do the requirements of health, education, police, etc.

To an earlier date belong the Kūram plates of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I. The village of Kūram in the Chingalpet District bore the surname Vidyāvinīta-chaturvēdimaṅgalam¹ evidently so named after the donor Vidyāvinīta, a Pallava chief and subordinate of Paramēśvaravarman I. The same chief built the Śiva temple of Vidyāvinīta-Pallava-Paramēśvara in the centre of the village of Kūram and requested the king to make a grant to it. In compliance with this request, Paramēśvara I made the gift of the village of Paramēśvaramāṅgalam divided into 25 shares of which 20 shares were given to 20 Brāhmaṇas versed in the four *Vēdas*, 3 shares to two persons who had to perform the divine rights and look after the temple repairs, one share was set apart for supplying fire and water to a *maṇḍapa* and one share for the reading of the *Bhārata* in that *maṇḍapa*.² Though the grant relating to the constitution and gift of the village of Vidyāvinīta-chaturvēdimaṅgalam has not come down to us, yet a reference found in the Paramēśvaramāṅgalam grant, which was issued in the reign of the same king, i.e., Paramēśvaravarman I, indicates that it was bestowed on 108 families of Brāhmaṇas that were studying the four *Vēdas*.³ The Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman register the grant of the village of Udayachandramaṅgalam to 108 Brāhmaṇas: In it provision is made for a physician and for one that had to perform worship (in temple).⁴

The foundation of the numerous Chaturvēdimaṅgalams and the grant of them as *brahma-dēyas*, or *agrahāras* by successive generations of kings of various dynasties that held sway in South India, as evidenced by the names of villages noticed above, though the grants relating to them have not yet come to light, are sure indications of the progress of the Vedic culture and testify to the increase in the numerical strength of the Vedic exegetes from the end of the sixth century to the end of the thirteenth,—the three Pāṇḍya grants of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulāśekhara I (A.D. 1190-1215), Mājavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II (A.D. 1235-1251) and Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1251-1271) taking us almost to the time of the advent of Sāyaṇāchārya, the prodigious commentator on all the *Vēdas*, and reflect on the mass of material that must have been available in his day and the number of scholars that must have existed then.

¹ S. I. I., Vol. VII, Nos. 22 and 33-A.

² S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 147 and text-lines 51-2. Provision for fire and water corresponds to 'hot and cold weather charges'.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 150, text-line 49 I.

⁴ S. I. I., Vol. II, pp. 372-3.

Besides the grant of *brahmadāya* villages of the description given above, the kings and chiefs also provided richly for colleges wherein the *Vēdas* were taught.¹ Rural administrative assemblies and even private individuals were not wanting in making contributions, according to their might, to the cause of Vedic learning.² The charities of the Vaiśya Dāmayan Mādhavan recorded in the Tirumukkūdal inscription of Virarājendra included provision for the teaching of the *Vēdas*. One of the early epigraphs of Uttaramallūr,³ which is partially built in, makes provision for a *Bhōṭṭa-ṣṛitti* by a lady named Saṅgaichehāni also called Uttaramallūr-Naṅgai, stipulating that the holder of the *ṣṛitti* must be one that has no share in the village but is well versed in at least one of the *Vēdas*, in the *Vyākaraṇa* and the two *darsanas* of the *Mīmāṃsā* as well as the *Nṛṭta* (*Nirukta*)-*bhāṣya* and is capable of expounding the *Vyākaraṇa*, *Nyāya-bhāṣya* with *vārttikas*, and *Vaiśeṣika* with *Tikā*, and that he must remain in the *maṭha* erected by that lady on the bank of a tank which she had caused to be dug. The inscription also speaks of an examination to be held at the end of a course of three years. There is thus room for thinking that all through the Hindu period of Indian history, the study of the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas* and their exposition must have been pursued zealously.

We have now to consider how many of the mediæval Pāṇḍya kings bore the name Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara and settle also which one among them is the king represented in the larger Tirup-pūvaṇam plate. During the past several years, a large number of inscriptions belonging to this period have been collected and noticed in the *Annual Reports on South-Indian Epigraphy*. None of them gives any genealogy: most of them give only the regnal years and not the corresponding years of any known era. It is mainly due to the efforts of the late Professor Kielhorn, Swamikannu Pillai and Sewell in verifying the astronomical details found in some of them that epigraphists have been able to register the important facts and events revealed in inscriptions about these kings in some chronological order.⁴ The fact that several members of the family had been ruling at one and the same time and over the same tract, besides swelling the number of kings that could possibly cover a given period of years, has made it difficult to attribute particular achievements to particular kings. If we leave out the mere texts of some of the inscriptions of these mediæval Pāṇḍya kings published in the volumes of the *South-Indian Inscriptions* (Texts), the records of almost all of them remain still to be critically edited. The notices made in the *Annual Reports* on the Madras collections are our only guide. But these reports, however valuable they are, cannot be substitutes for full texts of inscriptions, as they could not furnish all the information the inscriptions contain.⁵ At present, two kings of the name Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara are taken cognisance of and they are assigned the accession dates A.D. 1190 and A.D. 1237. To the first king of that name all records commencing with the introductions *Pūciṅkiṭṭi*, *Pūtalamaṇḍan* and *Pūtalavanitai* are being assigned. The second rests purely on the results of the astronomical calculations. The reasons for the assignment of the three different introductions to Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara I are not known. We need not concern ourselves with ascertaining as to when this idea started and why all the three introductions were

¹ See above, Vol. XXI, pp. 222-3. The Bāhār plates (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 513E.) provide for a *Vidyāsthāna*. See also *An. Rep. on Epigraphy, Madras*, for 1918, part II, pp. 145 E.

² See Nos. 312 and 316 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 322.

⁴ It was the late Mr. Swamikannu Pillai that took up all the dates and made a serious attempt at fixing the initial years of reign of several kings, of course having before him the results of the labours of Kielhorn.

⁵ For instance it is beyond the scope of the reports to give the names with other details of the numerous officials and chiefs figuring in the inscriptions and it is needless to say how such information would be of immense help in the critical publication of any single inscription of a particular king. The geographical items occurring in inscriptions are also too numerous to mention in such a publication.

attributed to the same sovereign. It is proposed first to examine the correctness or otherwise of such an assignment. For this purpose, it is highly necessary to have separate lists of inscriptions of the three different introductions, and we present underneath such lists. They are not exhaustive but are sufficient to serve our need. If the result of our examination prove that the introductions belong to more kings than one, a fresh endeavour will have to be made to separate the facts known about each king from the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* which have been putting them under the single head of Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara I.

A. Pātalaṃaṇḍai.		B. Pātalaṃaṇḍai—contd.	
No.	Date.	No.	Date.
296/S. I. I., V	2+1st year.	507/16	3rd year and 2,766 days.
437/29-30	3+1+1st year.	No. 506 is connected with this.	3+7th year
464/16	4th year and 50 days.		
707/16	4+1st year.	672/16	3+7th year.
614/26	4+1st year.	673/16	3rd year and 2,593 days.
449/16	4+1+1st year.	674/16	3rd year+2,594 days.
450/16	4+1+1st year.		3+7th year.
534/16	4+4th year.	349-350/16	—
	4th year+1,745 days.	C. Pūṣiṅḱiṭṭi.	
297/27-28	9th year.	No.	Date.
293/S. I. I., V	9th year and 44 days.	607/26	2nd year.
438/29-30	9+1st year.	290/23	3rd year.
		540/16	3rd year and 291 days.
459/09	14th year.	31-32/24	3+1st year.
660/16	14th year and 345 days.	33-34/34	3+2nd year.
327/08	15th year.	27-28/24	3+3rd year.
333/16	—	435/29-30	3+3rd year.
		368/29-30	3+3rd year.
B. Pātalaṃaṇḍai.		302/S. I. I., V.	3rd year+1,002nd day.
No.	Date.		3+4th year.
720/16	2nd year.	337/16	3+4th year.
301/S. I. I., V	2nd year and 35 days.	29/28-29	3+4th year.
428/S. I. I., V	3rd year+504 days.	484/16	9th year.
664-666/16	{ 3+7th year. 3rd year and 2,638 days. 3+7th year.	436/29-30	9th year.
370/16	3+7th year (2,690 days)	543/22	9th year and 216 days.
		302/29-30	9th year+925 days.

C. <i>Pāṇikīṭṭi</i> —contd.		C. <i>Pāṇikīṭṭi</i> —contd.	
No.	Date.	No.	Date.
303/29-30	9+1+1st year.	685/16	13th year+2,230 days.
519/11	9+1+1st year.	687/16	13th year+2,313 days.
313/23	9+3rd year.	78/28-29	13th+6th year (13th+2,140 days.)
634/16	*+3rd year.	35/27	13th+7th year.
655/16	*+3rd year.	613/26	13th+8th year.
90/28-29	13th year.	592/16	13th+8th year (13th+3,090 days).
540, 549, 550/16	13th year and 148 days. 13+1st year.	37/24	13th+9th year.
412/S. I. I., V.	13+1st year.	40/24	13th+9th year.
31/27	13+1st year.	375/29-30	13+10th year.
269/29-30	13+1st year.	319/23	13+10th year.
295/29-30	13th year+500 days.	123/08	13+11th year.
275/29-30	13th year+902 days.	616/26	13+12th year.
431/29-30	13+3rd year.	99/07	13+12th year.
20/27	13+3rd year.	415/S. I. I., V.	13+13th year.
581/15	13+4th year.	322/23	13+13th year.
378/29-30	13+5th year.	54/27	13+13th year.
684/16 This is connected with No. 685/16	13+5th year.	296/27-28	13+14th year.
545/22	13+5th year.	59/28-29	13+14th year.
677/16 } These are connected with	13+5th year.	60/28-29	13+15th year.
679/16 } No. 678/16.	13+5th year.	279/29-30	13+47** days.
509-510/16	13th year+1,445 days.	466/16	* 1st year.
678/16	13th year+2,230 days.	94/07, 553/16, 25/24, 29/28-29 and 268/27-28.	
680/16 and 682/16	13th year+5th (13th+2,330 days).		
683/16	13th year+2,312 days.		

By a glance at list A, it will be observed that six of the inscriptions, which are dated after the 4th year and perhaps also another, single out the 4th year of reign and count fresh regnal years or days from that date. And in going through list B, it will be seen that the year 3 is singled out in almost all the inscriptions. Similarly a glance at the dates of the inscriptions in list C will show that the years 3, 9 and 13 are marked years. In the last list, all the inscriptions after the 3rd year up to the 9th year are marked as 3 *plus*, those after the 9th up to the 13th year are marked 9 *plus*, and the rest dated later than the 13th are marked as 13 *plus*. The special treatment, which these years get in the respective introductions, seems strongly to point out that the kings represented in them might be different. Secondly, there is not much in common in the three introductions. In fact, nothing of importance is recorded in any of them. It is further worthy of note that the latest regnal years in the three introductions are different. The first, i.e., *Pātala-*

maṇḍandai extends to 15 years, the second, i.e., *Pūtalavaṇṭai* to 11 years, and the third, i.e., *Pūvīṇkiḷatti* to 28 years. Again, these lists show that there is no room for considering that a single king employed one of the introductions up to a certain year of his reign, then adopted the second and lastly the third. Neither could it be said that in a particular locality preference was given to one or the other of the introductions, for we find that in the same place more than one of the introductions are used. All the reasons recorded above indicate clearly that the kings who used them must be different. Can palaeography be adduced as a ground for ascribing the three introductions to one sovereign? That ground is of little value in a case where there were more kings than one ruling at the same time and over the same tract: and after all it can at best show only a period of time and no fixed years. As far as I am able to judge, there is a gradual development in characters from the inscriptions with *Pūtalamaṇḍandai* introduction through *Pūvīṇkiḷatti* to *Pūtalavaṇṭai*. The difference between the first and the last only is somewhat marked, but may be due to the skill of the scribes or other causes.

We shall now see whether the evidence of the astronomical details furnished in the above collection and their verification support or controvert the finding we have arrived at above or remain neutral. In the collection of 16 epigraphs with *Pūtalamaṇḍandai* introduction there is but a single one that supplies us with details of date fit for calculation, while there are at least three in the *Pūtalavaṇṭai* group and 6 in the *Pūvīṇkiḷatti* epigraphs. All of them except one of the *Pūtalavaṇṭai* group have been examined and their equivalents determined as noted under:—

No. 297/27-28 *Pūtalamaṇḍandai*. 9th year, Mīna, dvitīyā, Saturday, Rōhiṇī. This date was calculated for Jaṭavarman I of *Pūvīṇkiḷatti* introduction with A.D. 1190 as the date of accession and equated to A.D. 1199, February, 27, Saturday, with the remark that Rōhiṇī was not current on the day. The date is irregular.

No. 370/16 *Pūtalavaṇṭai*. 3+7th year, Mārgaḷi 20 tēdi, Sunday, saptamī, Uttara-Bhādrapadā. 7th Year is given in the inscription as 2,690 days. This date correctly works out to Sunday, 16th December, A.D. 1246 and it was 20 Mārgaḷi. The note of the late Mr. Swamikannu Pillai against this is "The Epigraphist says that the introduction is that of Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara I, but the day of solar month which is a characteristic indication points only to the later reign, that of Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara II of A. D. 1237".

No. 720/16 *Pūtalavaṇṭai*. 2nd year, Mīna 22, śu. 10, Wednesday, Pushya. "On Wednesday, 16th March A.D. 1239 (=22 Mēsha), śu. daśamī ended at .53 and Pushya at .19 of day. This was the 2nd year of the same Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara as the above."

No. 301 of S. I. I., Vol. V (*Pūtalavaṇṭai*)—2nd year, Tulā, ba. 6, Thursday, Mṛigaśīrṣhā. Not calculated. See below, p. 82 for equivalent.

No. 80/28-29. *Pūvīṇkiḷatti*. 13th year, Āṇi 19, śu. trayōdaśī, Tuesday, Mūlam. "Probably A.D. 1250, June 14, Tuesday; f.d.n. .39. The tithi was, however, *chaturdaśī* which was current till .85 of the day."

No. 337/16. Do. 3+4th year, Karkaṭaka, 13 tēdi, śu. 12, Monday, Jyēshthā=A.D. 1196 (which was the 7th year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara who ascended the throne in A.D. 1190), Monday, 8th July (=13 Karkaṭaka) on which day śu. 12 ended at .89 and Nakshatra Jyēshthā at .44 of day.

No. 545/22. Do. 13+5th year, Kanni 9, śu. 14, Thursday, Śatabhishaj =A.D. 1207, September 6, Thursday; .97; .44.

No. 313/23. *Pūvīṇkiḷatti*. 9+3rd year, Vṛiścika 27, Friday, dvādaśī, Śōdi =Friday, 23rd November, A.D. 1201. As pointed out by Swamikannu Pillai (*An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1924, p. 88), the solar month-date is Vṛiścika 27 according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta. The framer of the inscription must have obtained it from a *Pañchāṅga* calculated according to that system. There are instances of this kind.

No. 322/23. *Pūciṅkīlatti*. 13+13th year, Karkāṭaka 25, ba. 10, Tuesday, Kārttigai=A.D. 1215, July 21, Tuesday. The *tithi* ba. 10 commenced at .97 of the day and the *Nakṣatra* Kārttigai ended at .86 of day.

The Large Tiruppūvaṇam plates. *Pūciṅkīlatti*. 13+12th year, Dhanu 4, ba. 11, Saturday, Svāti. Saturday, 29th November, A.D. 1214. (Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 890.)

In the above, it will be noted (i) that the particulars of date furnished in the *Pūṭalamadandai* collection do not work out correctly for Jaṭavarman Kuṣāśekhara I whose reign commenced in A.D. 1190, (ii) that the two dated inscriptions of *Pūṭalavapitai* group examined so far work out correctly for Jaṭavarman Kuṣāśekhara II who began his reign in A.D. 1237, and are incorrect for Kuṣāśekhara I whose accession fell in A.D. 1190, and (iii) that all the dated inscriptions in the *Pūciṅkīlatti* group have correct equivalents for the king with the initial year 1190. Apparently under the belief that the three different introductions belonged to one king, i.e., Jaṭavarman Kuṣāśekhara I, the Epigraphist informed the calculator that the introduction of No. 370 (*Pūṭalavapitai*) is that of Jaṭavarman Kuṣāśekhara I. Having considered this information also, the late Swamikannu Pillai noted that the day of the solar month—which is a characteristic indication—points only to the later reign, i.e., Jaṭavarman Kuṣāśekhara II of A.D. 1237. Thus, the evidence of the astronomical details leaves no doubt as to the introduction *Pūṭalavapitai* being one of Jaṭavarman Kuṣāśekhara II, and is positively against the earlier king whose accession fell in A.D. 1190 and who had the introduction *Pūciṅkīlatti*. The late Swamikannu Pillai's calculations and our finding that the records of Jaṭavarman Kuṣāśekhara with the introduction *Pūṭalavapitai* belong to a later reign is still further supported by two other inscriptions as we shall presently show. In the latter part of a *Pūṭalavapitai* record of Teṅkarai whose text is given in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume V, No. 301, are given the details 2nd year, Tula, ba. 6, Thursday, Mṛigaśīrṣhā. For Jaṭavarman Kuṣāśekhara I, whose accession took place between 8th April and 29th November, A.D. 1190, we cannot find a suitable date answering to these details in A.D. 1191 or 1192 which were respectively the current and expired 2nd year of his reign. But for Jaṭavarman Kuṣāśekhara II, whose reign commenced between 24th July and 16th December, A.D. 1237, and whose 2nd year fell in A.D. 1238, the details work out correctly. In A.D. 1238, Tula, ba. 6 ended at .90 and Nakṣatra Mṛigaśīrṣhā at .35 of day on Thursday, September 30. Like the two records calculated by Swamikannu Pillai, this one also proves that the introduction *Pūṭalavapitai* belongs to Jaṭavarman Kuṣāśekhara II and not to the first of that name. The other inscription which supports our finding is part of a triple record with *Pūṭalavapitai* introduction and is dated in the 3+7th year of reign and mentions Vikrama-Chōla.¹ Vikrama-Chōla figuring herein could be no other than the Koṅgu Chōla prince, who, a few years later, ascended the throne in A.D. 1255. That princes of other dynasties who were related to the Pāṇḍyas were staying with and serving the Pāṇḍya kings before the time of their own accession is amply borne out by some of the inscriptions noticed in this paper.

It remains now to determine to which other Jaṭavarman Kuṣāśekhara the introduction *Pūṭalamadandai* belonged. An inscription from Tirupputtūr in the Ramnad District of Tribhuvanaṇḍakravartin Kuṣāśekharadēva without the title Mājavarman or Jaṭavarman, is dated in the year opposite the fourth and furnishes astronomical details—Karkāṭaka 27, Rōhiṇī, Saturday. This date was calculated by the late Swamikannu Pillai and found to agree correctly with A.D. 1166, 23rd July, Saturday.² From the method of dating of the record alone, it may be said that it is one belonging to the reign of Jaṭavarman Kuṣāśekhara with *Pūṭalamadandai* introduction for, as had been observed by me already, the inscriptions of his reign had that characteristic

¹ Nos. 672 to 674 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

² *Indian Ephemeris*, Part II of Vol. I, pp. 87-88.

feature, viz., of counting fresh regnal years after the 4th. Thus, it is now clear that the three different introductions belong to three different kings who bore in common the title Jaṭavarman and the name Kulasekhara. The earliest of these kings was the one that had the *Pātalamadandai* introduction, the middle one adopted the *Pūṇipikāṭai* introduction, while the last used the *Pātalamadandai* introduction. The first counted his regnal years from A.D. 1162 and had a reign of at least 15 years as at present known extending up to A.D. 1176-77, a special event in his career marking out the end of the fourth year of his reign (=A.D. 1166-7). This year the students of Pāṇḍya history know to be the year of commencement of the civil war in the Pāṇḍya country. There is thus no doubt that this must have been the Kulasekhara who killed Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and waged a prolonged war against his son Vira-Pāṇḍya and the allied forces of the Sinhalese generals sent by Parākrama-Bāhu of Ceylon. The importance of the year is brought out by the fact that the members of the assembly (*Mūlapariśad*) of Tirupputtūr in the Ramnad District wished to pay their respects to His Majesty the Pāṇḍya sovereign and utilised the amount realised in making tax-free, a land given to the temple in order to meet the expenses of their journey to Madura, the capital of the empire.¹ It is not unlikely that other villages also sent in their representatives to the capital for the same purpose. Perhaps it was then that Kulasekhara launched on the momentous programme of war against Parākrama, laid siege to the city of Madura with a view to capture it, and forced Parākrama to sue for help to the king of Ceylon. We learn from the *Mahāvamsa* that the first event in this war was the siege of Madura by Kulasekhara-Pāṇḍya. There is an echo of the fact in a lithic record of the South Koṅgu king Rājakesarivarman Kulōttuṅga (A.D. 1149-83) who, it may be said, was interested in the welfare and success of Kulasekhara, that young king being his sister's son. This lithic record which comes from Neruvūr² states that the Koṅgu king, set out on an expedition against Madura with the express object of capturing it for his nephew (*marumagan*) Kulasekhara-Pāṇḍya, and that on the said occasion directed the *sabhā* of the place to make a *brahmadēya* gift of some lands in Maṇimaṅgalam, which had been his camping ground, as a *yātrādāna* to his *purōhita* Ājvār Śrībalidēva. The year of this important record is specially worthy of note. It is dated in the 17th year of the reign of Rājakesarivarman Kulōttuṅga³ corresponding to A.D. 1166-7, the very year of commencement of the Pāṇḍyan civil war and one that was marked 4+1st year of the reign of Kulasekhara. Thus, the evidence of all sources, viz., those furnished by the *Mahāvamsa*, the Neruvūr and Tirupputtūr inscriptions and the computation of astronomical details with the solar day, which the calculator regards as a characteristic indication, occurring in an epigraph dated in the 4+1st year, which kind of dating, we note, is a characteristic feature of the inscriptions with *Pātalamadandai* introduction, bear out the particular importance of that year and single out the Kulasekhara of the Pāṇḍyan civil war. If more evidence is needed to further corroborate the identity of Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara of *Pātalamadandai* introduction with Kulasekhara of the civil war, it is supplied by a Tenkarai inscription with that identical introduction, dated in the 3rd year of reign, telling us that the chief Sōḷaṅ Śilambaṇ *alias* Virachōḷa-Laṅkēśvaradēva, a *sāmanta* of prince (*Perumāḷ*) Virachōḷadēva of Ten-Koṅgu was already in the vicinity of Madura.⁴ Koṅgu-Chōḷa inscriptions leave no doubt as to Virachōḷa being a prince of that dynasty that eventually succeeded Rājakesarivarman Kulōttuṅga noticed above. And the year of the inscription, which is A.D. 1164, shows that the chief was there immediately prior to the commencement of the war and the purpose is evident; and the Neruvūr inscription explains it by telling us as to what followed. It speaks of the premeditated action of Kulasekhara.

¹ No. 101 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1908.

² No. 336 of the same collection for 1927-28.

³ S. J. I., Vol. V, No. 296.

Before proceeding further, it may be advantageous to consider here the relationship of some of the mediaeval Pāṇḍya kings found in inscriptions. Tamil epigraphs, when they intend to convey definite relationship, use appropriate and unambiguous terms to denote them. We meet with terms like *tiruttagappanār*¹ or *ayyar*² for father, *annāḷi*³ or *aṇṇar*⁴ for elder brother, *akkaṇ*⁵ for elder sister, *dēciyār*⁶ for queen, *maṇṇār*⁷ or *piḷḷaiyār*⁸ for son, *maṇḷār* or *peṇ-piḷḷai*⁹ for daughter, *marumaṇṇār*¹⁰ for nephew or sister's son, *maittuṇṇār*¹¹ for brother-in-law, *amanāṇ*¹² for uncle, *appāḷar*¹³ for great grandfather, etc. To denote simply a predecessor, be he distant or near, or any elder or senior member, deceased or living, the terms *periyavar*, *periyadēvar* or *periyannāyṇār* are employed. In dealing with the Tinnevely inscription of Mājavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, I pointed out, by two telling instances, that *periyadēvar* or *periyannāyṇār* cannot definitely indicate a father.¹⁴ One of the inscriptions found at Puravari near Nagarcōil, dated in the 16th year of the reign of the Pāṇḍya Mājavarman Śrīvallabhadēva speaks of a son of the king by name Kulaśēkharadēva¹⁵ and another inscription found at Kōṭṭaikkaruṅḡḷam in the Tinnevely District, dated in the 2nd year and 600th day of the same king's reign, states that the Vīrēśvaramuḍaiyār was re-named Kulaśēkhara-Iśvaramuḍaiyār after the name of the king's father, thus letting us know that Mājavarman Śrīvallabha's father was also called Kulaśēkhara.¹⁶ Here, therefore, there are two Kulaśēkharas, one being the grandfather of the other. Both of them may be tentatively assumed to have borne the title Jatāvarman from the fact that the middle member Śrīvallabha was styled Mājavarman. One other fact that is known is that Mājavarman Śrīvallabha flourished about the middle of the 12th century A.D. being a contemporary of Vīratavivarman-Tiruvāḍi, in all probability a ruler of Vēṇāḍu, for whom a date Kollam 336 (A.D. 1161) has been discovered.¹⁷ There is thus every possibility of Mājavarman Śrīvallabha's son being that Kulaśēkhara in whose reign, in about A.D. 1166-7, the civil war in the Pāṇḍya country commenced. As we have already shown that the war must have been started in the reign of Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara who had the introduction *Pūṭalamuḍandai*, our assumption that Mājavarman Śrīvallabha's son Kulaśēkhara might be a Jatāvarman becomes strengthened and his ancestry also settled. With this information before us, we cannot but assign the Kalladakurichi inscription,¹⁸ dated in the 2nd year of the reign of Jatāvarman Tribhuvanchakravartin Kulaśēkharadēva, which mentions *periyannāyṇār* Śrīvallabhadēva, to Jatāvarman Kulaśēkharadēva with *Pūṭalamuḍandai* introduction, and regard the Śrīvallabha referred to therein as being identical with Mājavarman Śrīvallabha of A.D. 1161, the father and predecessor of king Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara with *Pūṭalamuḍandai* introduction.

With the materials available to us from inscriptions and other sources we have shown the significance of the end of the 4th year of the reign of Jatāvarman Kulaśēkhara that started the civil war and noted that it marks the day of triumph of Kulaśēkhara over his adversary Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, who, it is said, had been put to death even before the arrival of the forces from Ceylon.

¹ No. 271 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28.

² Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.

³ Nos. 425, 426 and 448 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1913, and *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 529.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.

⁵ Nos. 314 and 315 of 1923.

⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 296.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ No. 31 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI.

⁹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 234.

¹⁰ No. 336 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28.

¹¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 293 and 421.

¹² No. 327 of 1916.

¹³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 446.

¹⁴ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.

¹⁵ No. 50 of 1890.

¹⁶ No. 271 of 1927-28.

¹⁷ *An. Rep. on Epigraphy, Madras, for 1896*, p. 5, paragraph 15.

¹⁸ No. 116 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.

The year under consideration is thus the last year of the reign of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya. While Kulasekhara is represented by inscriptions, there is every reason to expect the records of his adversary also. And I think there could not be any possible objection to say that the ill-fated Parākrama-Pāṇḍya is the Mājavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya with the introduction *Tirumogaḷ-puṇḍara*. In this connection, it may be noted that no other Parākrama-Pāṇḍya with a different introduction assignable to this period has at all come to light. So far as is known at present, his reign extends to 12 years, and if the year A.D. 1166 marks the end of his rule, his accession must be placed in A.D. 1154. The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri expressed the view that Mājavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya must have been a predecessor of or co-regent with either of the two Śrivallabhas, and, judging from the position which the introduction of Mājavarman Śrivalabha occupied in a record belonging to the time of Mājavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya found at Kuruvitturai,¹ he said it was evident that the latter was a predecessor of the former.² The conclusion we have arrived at above, viz., that Mājavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya reigned from A.D. 1154 to 1166 well establishes this inference. The *Mahāvamsa* tells us that Parākrama had a son named Vira-Pāṇḍya who was set up on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Sinhalese generals according to the instructions given to them by their king Parākrama-Bāhu. Inscriptions of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III refer to an unnamed son of this Vira-Pāṇḍya and say that he fought along with his father against the Chōlas and shared his defeat more than once. It is a question if the setting up of Vira-Pāṇḍya on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Sinhalese generals could be taken seriously, and whether it was at all recognised by the people, even if it were a fact. For all that we see Vira-Pāṇḍya had not the usual coronation ceremony. Neither are there any inscriptions attributable to his reign. From the moment of his father's death he had been contesting with Kulasekhara for kingdom and crown. And so long as the reign of Kulasekhara lasted, Vira-Pāṇḍya's rule may be said not to have commenced. Since we know from the records with the introduction *Pūtala-maṇḍai* that Kulasekhara held the reins of government till at least A.D. 1176, it may be said that Vira-Pāṇḍya commenced his rule in this year. To this end, the information furnished in two inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II, both dated in the 12th year and 157th day, i.e., the 13th year also leads us. The records under reference come from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu in the North Arcot District and Tirumayānam in the Pudukkōṭṭai State and are almost exact copies. Though the latter record is fragmentary, Mr. Venkatasubba Aiyar has, by carefully comparing it with the damaged portions of the former inscription, been able to fill in certain lacunae in it. He tells us that the Pāṇḍya king Kulasekhara, ignoring the good deeds done to him, proved a traitor, made an alliance with the king of Iṇam and conspired with him against the Chōlas. And some letters and presents despatched to the officers of Kulasekhara, hinting that the Sinhalese king was an ally of their master, were intercepted by the Chōla king who directed the chief Pallavarāyāṇ to reinstate on the Pāṇḍya throne Vira-Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, the former protégé of Ceylon.³ Vira-Pāṇḍya's reign which thus commenced in and synchronised with the fall of Kulasekhara in A.D. 1176, did not last long, for we know from the Tirukkōḷlambūdūr inscription that by A.D. 1182 he drove Mājavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya to the necessity of suing for help to the Chōla king Kulōttuṅga and this cost him his own crown and kingdom.⁴ We have no direct information as to who this Mājavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was, but, as had been assumed, he might be the son of Kulasekhara.

We now pass on to notice another clear relationship mentioned in the inscriptions of the mediaeval Pāṇḍya kings. Numerous epigraphs of Jātavarman Śrivalabha with the introduction

¹ No. 328 of the Mad. Ep. Colln, for 1908.

² *An. Rep. on Epigraphy, Madras*, for 1909, p. 84, paragraph 25.

³ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 187-8.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 430.

Tirumalaṇḍaigum are registered in the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy*. Four of these mention Sundara-Pāṇḍya as the king's son, and the fifth states that a royal order was issued by Sundara-Pāṇḍya without specifying his relationship to the king.¹ They are dated in the 4th, 17th and 19th years, the last being of the 9th year of reign. Knowing the fact that Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha had a son named Sundara-Pāṇḍya, there is a possibility of taking Māgavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, in whose 9th year record, a copy of a grant made in the 3rd year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha is registered,² to be this prince. If this were the case, Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha would have to be assigned to the period A.D. 1193 to 1216, as the highest regnal year furnished for him in inscriptions is 23.³ This is very unlikely to judge from the contents of some of the inscriptions of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha. That he was not far removed from the time of the Chōla king Kulōttuṅga I can be inferred from the fact that a chief of Adaḷaiyūr-nāḍu⁴ by name Mummudiśōḷaṅ Virasēkhara figures both in a 4th year inscription of his and in a 49th year record of Kulōttuṅga.⁵ That he must have been quite near in point of time to Māgavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya is made evident from the fact that a certain chief named Śēramāṇ Tōḷaṅ figures in the epigraphs of both these sovereigns. It is said that at the instance of this chief Parākrama-Pāṇḍya made a gift of the village of Śēṅuḷam *alias* Viraiyaviṭṭaṅkanallūr to the Mūlasthāṇam-uḍaiyār temple at Kaṭṭikkallūr :⁶ and he figures as a signatory in a grant of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha.⁷ It is further worthy of note that a grant made by the same chief is mentioned as a past transaction in a record of the 9th year of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara with *Pūtalamaṇḍandai* introduction. Thus, Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha appears to have ruled not long after Kulōttuṅga I, and immediately following Māgavarman Parākrama, either as co-regent with or slightly before Kulaśēkhara of the civil war. Further, it is found that the chief Kāḷiṅgarāyan was one of his principal advisers as well as of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I (*Pūciṅkiḷatti*).

From what we have discussed above it will be clear that there were the following lines of Pāṇḍya kings in the mediaeval period :—

- (i) the line of Māgavarman Śrīvallabha headed by Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya. To it belonged Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara whose inscriptions have the *Pūtalamaṇḍandai* introduction, the king that was principally concerned in the civil war. His accession took place in A.D. 1162. On his side were the kings of the two Koḷgas and the Chōlas. Māgavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was probably his son and successor. The termination of Kulaśēkhara's rule was brought about by the Chōla Rājādhirāja II in A.D. 1176, on his proving a traitor to the cause of his benefactor; and in the short period from this date and A.D. 1183, the date of accession of Māgavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, Virapāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, ruled.
- (ii) The line of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya which counted himself, his son Virapāṇḍya and the latter's son whose name is not revealed in Chōla inscriptions. There are strong grounds for supposing that this unnamed son must be Māgavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

¹ Madras Epigraphical Collection, No. 493 of 1900, Nos. 266 and 277 of 1927-28, No. 371 of 1929-30 and No. 326 of 1908.

² No. 683 of the same collection for 1905. The gift was made to the temple of Tiruvēḍagamudaiya-Nāyaṅār at Tiruvēḍagam in Pāṇḍur-kūṛram.

³ No. 355 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.

⁴ No. 39 of the same collection for 1909.

⁵ No. 32 of the same collection.

⁶ No. 130 of the same collection for 1910.

⁷ S. I. J., Vol. V, Nos. 294 and 295.

The attitude of this king, even at the very first year of his accession to throne, not only towards the Chōlas but also towards the kings of the two Koṅgu countries, who had all along been the allies of Kulaśekhara and Vikrama and formed formidable obstacles in the way of Vīra-Pāṇḍya and his supporters, presupposes a chapter of enmity between them; and his deeds are a rehearsal in the reverse order of what had passed in the past. He kept both the kings of Koṅgu in prison and in chains and led them on to his capital to do honour to his triumphant return to the city. The humiliation which he caused to the Chōlas was no less.

- (iii) In the line of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha, there was his son Sundara-Pāṇḍya who was old enough to be associated with him in the government of the country. This prince perhaps never succeeded to the throne, and if he did, he must have had a very brief reign in which he did not leave any inscriptions. Who his successor was, it is not possible to determine at present. But it appears certain that there was another Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha.

We cannot be sure if Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara with *Pūviṅkilatti* introduction belonged to any one of the three lines noticed above or came of a different line. In dealing with the Tinnevely inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II,¹ I pointed out that it is not absolutely certain that Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I and Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I had a common father in Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya.

The simultaneous existence of more than one king reigning over the Pāṇḍya country leads us to think that one among them must have held the chief power and that the rest were subordinate to him, though independent in their own spheres. What determined the claim for the prime position in the kingdom, we are yet to learn. All that we could gather from the account of the civil war is that there was some fixed principle followed in the choice of or claim for the position of honour. It has been shown above that when the civil war commenced, *i.e.*, in A.D. 1167, Kulaśekhara, one of the claimants to the throne at Madura, had completed four years of his reign and Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, the other claimant, had reigned for 12 years. The Sinhalese chronicle and the Chōla and Koṅgu inscriptions lead us to think that the throne of the premier ruler at Madura fell vacant in A.D. 1167 and the succession to it was disputed by the rivals. For aught we see, most of the kings of the mainland supported the cause of Kulaśekhara while the other received succour from the neighbouring island. It still remains to be known who it was that ruled in Madura till A.D. 1167. If seniority among the rulers determined the succession to the throne, there could not have been rival claims. Though Parākrama had reigned for 12 years on the date in question, it was Kulaśekhara that was supported by most of the kings in the south. This suggests that the principle was different. Future researches alone can enlighten us on the issue.

Now about the length of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I and about his successor. The highest regnal year² furnished for Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I in inscriptions is 30 which takes us to A.D. 1219-20. In about A.D. 1218-19, as will be shown presently, he seems to have fallen seriously ill and much concern was felt about his recovery. An inscription discovered at Kaṇṇaṇūr (in the Tirumeyyam Taluk of the Pudukkōṭṭai State) states that, on the representation of Piḷḷaiyār Aḷagapperumāl, king Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I issued an order in the 3rd year of his reign reducing the royal share of taxes due from two villages in

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.

² No. 246 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State collection.

Turumā-nāḍu in Kāṇa-nāḍu for the welfare and recovery from illness of Ulaguḍaiya-Nāyanār.¹ The question is who are meant by Aḷagapperumāl and Ulaguḍaiya-Nāyanār. At first sight it might appear that Aḷagapperumāl must have been the son of Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāḡḍya I and that by the term Ulaguḍaiya-Nāyanār, Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāḡḍya himself must be meant. This is wrong. Since Aḷagapperumāl figures in the large Tiruppāvaṇam plates with the prefix *Piḷḷaiyār*, there is reason to take him to be the son of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I. He might have been continued to be called *Piḷḷaiyār* in later days also. In the plates, his high status is indicated by his having had under him an official bearing the designation 'adigārum.' As Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I was living at the time of the Kaṇṇaḡūr inscription, we think the term Ulaguḍaiya-Nāyanār must refer to him and not to Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāḡḍya I. The concern of the prince about the father is natural. Another important fact that the inscription under reference reveals is that Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāḡḍya I, whose accession took place in A. D. 1216 and who appears to have been issuing records in his own name only from the 3rd year of his reign had been nominated already during the time of Kulaśēkhara I and he might be said to have had a share in the government of the country even before his nomination. As we have no inscription dated later than the 29th year for Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I which, by the way, is the same as the third year of the reign of Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāḡḍya I, he must have succumbed to the disease referred to in the Kaṇṇaḡūr record. The Sanskrit verse at the beginning of the plates under publication tells us that the king was apprised of the fact of completion of the formation of the village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam by Sundarēśa (*Sundarēśād-avagata*). From the facts just noticed, it seems likely that by Sundarēśa is meant here Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāḡḍya I. Sundara's war against Kulōttuṅga III must have been conducted under the standard of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I or at least it must have been countenanced by him. In this connection, it may be noted that some of the persons that held offices under Kulaśēkhara figure also in the records of Sundara. On the whole the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I appears to have been a prosperous one, undisturbed by any wars except in the closing years. The king seems to have had good regard for Vedic learning and patronised the scholars proficient in it by founding big villages and granting them as *brahmadāyas* provided with all facilities for good living. Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam is one of the biggest villages that was ever founded. To some extent the peace in the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I must be attributed to the decline of the Chōḷa power which may be said to have commenced in the last decade of the 12th century A. D. not long after the interference of Kulōttuṅga III in Pāḡḍyan affairs ending in the accession of Vikrama-Pāḡḍya Māḡavarman, when the Chōḷas lost their hold on Conjeevaram, the second great city of the empire. In the latter part of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III there were several factions in the Chōḷa country and though the heads of these factions recognised in a way the supreme authority of the Chōḷa emperor there is not much doubt that the peace of the country was greatly disturbed by the part played by the parties. The differences among them, which remained unremoved for a long time, contributed largely to the rapid weakening of the empire and gave the enemies of the Chōḷas, who had suffered seriously before, an opportunity to wreak their vengeance. The time was favourable for the Pāḡḍyas to muster their strength and resources to try final issues with the Chōḷas in order to wipe out their disgrace. Just three years before the

¹ No. 250 of the same collection. In another inscription of Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāḡḍya I (date lost), *Piḷḷaiyār* Aḷagapperumāl figures as consecrating a God in the temple of Tiruvēṅṡarāśāl in Pudukkōṭṭai State and making a gift of land to it. It is added that the prince was in possession of the District at the time (No. 327).

end of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara I, the Pāṇḍyas under the lead of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, won laurels in the field against the Chōlas and the kings of the two Koṅgu countries, and this practically brought the civil war to a culmination.¹ That this war was directed against the Chōla and Koṅgu kings prevents any possibility of taking Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara I and Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I to be the descendants of Kulasekhara of the civil war with *Pātalamāṇḍai* introduction.

Now we come to the consideration of the **geographical names**. The inscription under edition mentions a good number of districts and sub-divisions. They are: (1) Miḷalai-kūṟṟam, (2) Muttūṟru-kūṟṟam, (3) Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanāḍu, (4) Madurōḍaya-vaḷanāḍu and (5) Śōḷapāṇḍiya-vaḷanāḍu among Districts; and (6) Māḍakkuḷam, (7) Alagiyaḷapāṇḍiyakkuḷam, (8) Rājaśiṅgaṅkuḷam, (9) Vaḍatalai-Śembi-nāḍu, (10) Poliyūr-nāḍu, (11) Karuṅguḍi-nāḍu, (12) Puṟappaṟaḷai-nāḍu, (13) Tiyaṇḍaikkūḍi-nāḍu, (14) Kīṭ-Śembi-nāḍu, (15) Paṇaṅgalūr-nāḍu, (16) Kāñai-Irukkai, (17) Kiraṇūr-nāḍu, (18) Tiruvāvaṇam, (19) Mēṟkuḍi-nāḍu and (20) Kaḷavaḷi-nāḍu among sub-divisions. The villages under No. 1 are Parāntakanallūr and Taṇḍalai. No. 2 had Kappalūr, No. 3 Veliyāṟṟūr, No. 4 Madurai, No. 5 Śiṟu-Paṣalai, No. 6 Madurai, No. 7 Māṇaṇūr, Śiṟukuḷattūr, Vellūṟkuṟuchchi and Vellūr, No. 8 Rājēndiram and Tiruppūvaṇam, No. 9 Āyḱkuḍi, No. 10 Aruṅguḷam and Poliyūr, No. 11 Kīḷ-Neṭṭūr *alias* Kīṭtiviśālayaṇallūr, No. 12 Puttūr, Kaḷḱḱkuḍi and Miḷagaṇūr, No. 13 Kīṭ-Paṣalai *alias* Dāṇaviṇōḍanallūr, Mēṟ-Paṣalai *alias* Śrīvalla-bha-chaturvēḍimaṅgalam and Māṇavīramaṅgalam, No. 14 Mālaṅguḍi, No. 15 Aḍikarai, No. 16 Iruṅchīṟai and Mittiravēli, No. 17 Viḍattal *alias* Mānābharaṇa-chaturvēḍimaṅgalam, Vellūr, Nakkamaṅgalam, Vāgaikuḍi, Tiruvāvaṇam, Tuttiyūr and Kiruṅgākkōṭṭai, No. 18 Marudūr and No. 19 Mēṟkuḍi and Aṇṇalvāy.

Of the Districts, **Miḷalai-kūṟṟam** and **Muttūṟru-kūṟṟam** have a separate history which is worth noting and which, owing to the formation of modern districts, has been badly misconceived. As regards the position of these two ancient territorial divisions, whether they were in the Chōla country or not, we have to know the southern limit of the Chōla country which would determine at once the northern boundary of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.² It is stated in the Tamil *Śōḷamaṇḍalaśatakam*³ that the boundaries of the Chōla country were the river Vellāru in the north and south, Kōṭṭaikkarai in the west and the sea in the east. A verse attributed to the Tamil poet Kambar calls the northern boundary Eṇāṭṭu-Vellāru⁴ and thus distinguishes it from the

¹ A later record of the time of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I dated in the 21st year of his reign (=A.D. 1237) tells us that owing to the imposition of taxes on *dēvadāna* lands during the time of the Kannaḍiyar there was no money in the treasury of the temple at Kōṭṭaiyūr in Kāṇa-nāḍu and that the temple authorities had to sell away some of the temple lands (No. 310 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State collection). About the same time, we have an inscription at Tiruḱōḱarṇam, dated in the 20th year of Rājarāja III which registers gifts made for the merit of the sons of Sōmaladēviyār the queen of Narasiṅha and the mother of Sōmēśvara of Dōrasamudram (No. 183 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State collection). These two inscriptions testify to the fact that the Hoysalas aided the Chōlas against the Pāṇḍyas.

² For the present we leave out of consideration the minor principalities: they will be dealt with separately.

³ The verse runs as follows: it is given here for easy reference:—

Śelluṇ-kuṇapār-rirai-vēlai teṇpār-chelitta Vellāru
Velluṇ-Kōṭṭaikkarai viḷaṅgu mēlpāl vaḍapāl Vellārē
Ellaiy-oru-nāṅgiṇuṇ=kādam=irupā-nāṅguṇ=iḍam peridā
Mallal vā|vu taḷaitṭ=ōṅguṇ vaḷaṇ-chēr Śōḷa-maṇḍalamē ||

⁴ The following is the stanza:—

Kaḍal kiḷakku=tterku=kkarai-pura|Vellāru
Kuḍa-tiśaiyir-Kōṭṭaikkaraiyām vaḍa-tiśaiyil
Eṇāṭṭu Vellār=irupattu-nār-kādam
Śōpāṭṭukk-ellaiyeṇa-chchol ||

other Vellāru which formed the southern boundary of the country. Students unacquainted with the ancient Indian morality of warfare, which in most cases left the territories unaffected by the results of war, might think that the boundaries given above only represent what they were at the time when the author of the *Śōlamāṇḍalātatakam* and Kambar flourished, and as such, cannot be taken as true for earlier times. This notion is not correct. One can indeed see positive proof afforded by the statements of the two authorities, who were removed from each other in point of time and yet described in identical terms the boundaries, thus showing that the limits given were those in the past ages, not of their own. Annexation of territories did occur but they were rare. Whether rare or frequent, it must be further noted that such instances did not affect the geography of the place; and this will be made clear as we proceed. Another fact that is likely to mislead the student is the ancient practice of naming conquered territories after the names or surnames of the victor. It might be said that the fresh names given to places did not wipe out the older ones but were added on to them as later surnames to indicate, by the mere mention of the name with its surname, to whom or to which country the places originally belonged and who acquired it or re-named it in later times. Thus, in the double names such as Koṅḡ-āṇa Viraśōḷa-maṇḍalam, Gaṅga-maṇḍalam-āṇa Nigariśōḷa-maṇḍalam, Tonḍai-nāḍ-āṇa Jayaṅgoḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam, Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu, etc., one is clearly enabled to know what the ancient name of the district or province was in spite of its passing into other hands in later days. Here it might be added that it is the original name that survives in each case at the present day and not the later ones. For example, though the Pallavas ceased to be a ruling power after the Chōḷa Ādiya I conquered their country in the 9th century A.D. and Rājarāja I gave that country the new name Jayaṅgoḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam, it is the ancient name Tonḍai-nāḍu or Tonḍai-maṇḍalam that persists. Similarly, in the case of the Pāṇḍya country, which was first conquered by Parāntaka I in the 10th century A.D. and was re-named Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu in the 11th century, the name Pāṇḍi-nāḍu or Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam exists even today. The conquerors themselves carefully minded preserving the original names. Thus in the stamp of double names impressed on the places in inscriptions, there is sure indication as to what ancient dominion the places at first belonged.

Vellāru being the southern limit of the ancient Chōḷa dominions, the territory lying to the south of it must have belonged to any other kingdom than Śōpāḍu or Śōḷa-maṇḍalam. That it was actually so is proved both by inscriptions and by the Tamil literature as will be seen in the sequel. Now we shall take up that portion of the Arantāṅgi Taluk which lies to the south of the Vellāru river, and therefore clearly outside the Chōḷa dominion, and see to what country it belonged. Roughly, this tract is something like a triangle with one of its points turned southwards ending in Tiruppupavāṣal and having its base in the north running from west to east along the course of the river Vellāru as it flows into the sea just at the north of Maṇamēḷkuḍi and east of Taṇḍalai. Out of this triangle, a portion on the north-western side falls in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. It will be observed that the line $79^{\circ} 5'$ cuts this triangle almost into two halves, one in the east and the other in the west. The portion on the eastern side forms the seaboard and extends from the mouth of the Vellāru in the north to the mouth of the Pāmbāru in the south. The western portion adjoins the Pudukkōṭṭai State and the Rāmnād and Śivaganga Zamindaries and in this region the river Pāmbāru is seen to mark the western boundary of a portion of the southern part of the modern Arantāṅgi Taluk. Almost the whole of this tract of land was included in Mīḷalai-kūram. This Mīḷalai-kūram is a natural division, an island formed by the rivers Vellāru and Pāmbāru and the sea. Over it there reigned in early times a chieftain named Vēḷ-Ervi, of ancient

stock, and famous for the munificence of gifts which he made.¹ He was the immediate ancestor or a near relation of Vēl-Pāri who, like him, had earned a similar renown which made the Śaiva saint Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār celebrate him in one of the Tēvāram hymns.² Vēl-Evvi is said to have been defeated by the Pāṇḍya king Talaiyālaṅgāṇattu-seruveṇṇra-Nedūṇjeliyaṇ.³ Vēl-Pāri's liberality was such that he is said to have presented away all the 300 villages over which he was lord.⁴ If there is truth in these statements, the family of Evvi and Pāri should have ceased to exist as a ruling power in or immediately after the time of the Pāṇḍya Nedūṇjeliyaṇ and the tract of country formerly subject to them, of which the principal one was Miḷalai-kūrṇam, should have passed into the hands of the Pāṇḍyas and included in their dominion, *i.e.*, Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. It is quite in agreement with this that the inscriptions refer to Miḷalai-kūrṇam as a district of the Pāṇḍya country. This ancient district of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam had three divisions named after the directions in which they lay, *viz.*, Kīl-kūrṇu, the eastern division which adjoined the sea, Mēl-kūrṇu, the western division which included in it the villages adjoining the river Pāmbāru, and Naḍuvir-kūrṇu, which lay between these two. There are enough geographical references to the various divisions of this ancient district and the villages situated in them; but they lie scattered and unrecognised in the vast number of South Indian epigraphs. A mere collection of the references found in lithic records of past ages, arranged and classified under the three divisions named above, followed by the identification of the places mentioned therein and spotting them in a map is sure to remove much of our ignorance and misconception relating to this district and prove to be of value in locating easily fresh places that future discoveries might bring to light. The popular idea that all places included in the modern District of Tanjore must have belonged to the Chōlas or, in other words, that the Tanjore District represents the ancient Chōla dominion is wrong and must account for the misconception that Miḷalai-kūrṇam with its sister district of Muttūrṇu-kūrṇam should have been in the possession of the ancient Chōlas and included in their dominion. From what has been said above, it will be clear that excepting perhaps a small portion to the north of the Vellāru river, the rest of the Arantangi Taluk lay outside the Chōla dominion and that this tract was first subject to the rule of Vēl-Evvi and subsequently passed into the hands of the Pāṇḍyas and was ever afterwards geographically included in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam and formed a major portion of two of the divisions of the ancient district of Miḷalai-kūrṇam. The following is almost an exhaustive list of the villages in Miḷalai-kūrṇam found in the inscriptions of the South Indian epigraphical collection.⁵ They are noted under the respective divisions to which they belonged and in such an order as would admit of easy identification.

¹ "Ombāv-igai mā-Vēl-Evvi" and "Toṇ-mudir Vēlir" are the expressions used in describing him in *Puṇam* 24.

² Verse 2 of Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṇār's hymn on Tiruppugalūr.

³ *Puṇam* 24. The words used are "Miḷalaiyoḍu * * * * Muttūrṇu tanda korra-nīl-kuḍai-kkoḍi-ūṭr-
chCheḷiyaṇ."

⁴ *Puṇam* 110. The relevant portion runs thus:—

Kaḍand-aḍu-tāṇai mūviruṇ-kūḍiy-
uḍaṇṇaraiyāyūṇum Pārambu kolaṅk-aridē
Munnūr-ūrttē taṇ-Pārambu-naṇ-ṇāḍu
Munnūr-ūrum paṇiḷar perraṇar.

In an inscription, Tiruvādvūr is said to have been situated in Teṇ-Pārambu-nāḍu, a subdivision of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. (No. 423 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII.)

⁵ There is a valuable contribution in the *Koṅgumalar* (Vol. IV, pp. 80f.) by Mr. K. S. Vaidyanathan on 'Vēl-Evvi and his country' where he has collected together most of the references to Miḷalai-kūrṇam and Muttūrṇu-kūrṇam found in inscriptions and Tamil classical works and has successfully established that these two Districts originally belonged only to Vēl-Evvi.

Mījalal-kūrram.¹

Kīl-kūrru.	Naḍuvir-kūrru.	Mēl-kūrru (Vaḍa-Pāmbārru-nāḍu)
Taṇḍalai. ²	Avudaiyārkkōyil ¹⁴ or Tirupperundu- rai <i>alias</i> Pavitrāmāṇṇikka-chatur- vēdimaṅgalam.	Aśvatattūr. ²¹
Maṇamēlkuḍi <i>alias</i> Kulōttuṅgaśōḷapattinam. ³	Tachchanemmal. ¹⁵	Ālappirandān-Bāmlūr. ²²
Maṣṣakkūḍi. ⁴	Tuṇḍalūr. ¹⁴	Mājavār-māṇṇikkam. ²³
Embal <i>alias</i> Kaliyugarāmanallūr. ⁵	Amarāḍi (or 'ḍakki) maṅgalam. ¹⁴	Śōdamaṅgalam. ²⁴
Poppaṇṇi. ⁶	Paravilmaṅgalam. ¹⁵	Enāṅgalūr. ²⁵
Vaiṅganagar. ⁷	Vijāṅkōṭṭūr <i>alias</i> Vikramaśōḷanal- lūr. ¹⁷	Mūmmūr.
Śeyyāṇam <i>alias</i> Parākramapāḍḍiya- nallūr. ⁸	Pullūrkkūḍi. ¹⁶	Taṇṇir-Aṇḍakkūḍi <i>alias</i> Daraḷ- vichchādīranallūr. ²⁶
Koḷuvapūr. ⁹	Parāntakanallūr <i>alias</i> Kulōt- tuṅgaśōḷanalūr. ²⁰	Sundarapāḍḍiya nallūr. ²⁷
Vetchiyūr <i>alias</i> Mummaḍiśōḷanal- lūr. ¹⁰	Pudukkūḍi. ²⁰	Vaikundanallūr. ²⁸
Vijattūr <i>alias</i> Jayaṅgōḷaśōḷanal- ¹¹ lūr.		Nūlambūr. ²⁹

The villages are arranged from north to south in the above list to dispense with the necessity of a map.

If the southern portion of the modern Arantangi Taluk is divided into two halves by drawing a vertical line north-south one can find without any exception all the places of the Kīl-kūrru in the eastern half which adjoins the Bay of Bengal, and all the places of the Naḍuvir-kūrru on the western half, with the exception of Parāntakanallūr *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷanalūr. The last men-

¹ This District was sometimes called Gāyavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu (No. 442 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30), which was one of its Divisions (531 of 1926). Besides the villages noted under each of the three Divisions, a few more are mentioned as being in Mījalal-kūrram without specifying the Division to which they belonged. These are Muppālai (No. 230 of 1926), Karuvīl (No. 125 of 1912), Okkūr (No. 247 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII), Veḷḷūr (No. 393 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII), Vittūrparru and Ādūṇi (No. 211 of the same Volume), Pārūr (No. 67 of Mad. Ep. Colln. for 1910), Tiruvindaḷūr (No. 547 of 1916), Perunāvalūr (No. 406 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V), Irumbāḷi (No. 265 of 1928-29), and Aḍumbār (No. 66 of 1927).

² Below, text-line 76.

³ No. 448 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 210.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

⁷ No. 380 of the Mad. Ep. Colln. for 1929-30.

⁸ No. 462 of the same collection and No. 301 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁹ No. 460 of the Mad. Ep. Colln. for 1909.

¹⁰ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 372; Vol. V, Nos. 301, 446; and *A. S. S. I.*, pp. 48 and 52.

¹¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 372; *A. S. S. I.*, pp. 48, 52; and Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909, No. 461.

¹² Nos. 502 and 503 of the same colln. for 1925.

¹³ No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

¹⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 301 and No. 425 of Mad. Ep. Colln. for 1911.

¹⁵ Mad. Ep. Colln. No. 15 of 1924 and No. 694 of 1916.

¹⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 301.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 432.

¹⁸ Mad. Ep. Colln. No. 270 of 1929-30, No. 30 of 1905, No. 2 of 1931-32 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 372 and Vol. V, No. 301.

¹⁹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 301 and 987 and Pudukkōṭṭai State collection, Nos. 126 and 376.

²⁰ Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30, No. 457.

²¹ Mad. Ep. Colln. for 1926, No. 551.

²² Same collection for 1929-30, No. 240.

²³ Nos. 324, 492 and 591 of Pudukkōṭṭai State collection.

²⁴ No. 411 of the same collection.

²⁵ No. 372 of the same collection.

²⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 301.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 987.

²⁸ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 301.

²⁹ No. 519 of 1925 and Pudukkōṭṭai State collection No. 124.

tioned place is now changed in name and is called Irumbānāḍu. It is in the Pudukkōṭṭai State and the inscriptions of the place show that it bore the name Parāntakanallūr. The places noted above under Mēl-kūṟru, also called Vaḍa-Pāmbāṟu-nāḍu, do not fall in the Arantangi Taluk. Three of them, viz., Mājavarmāṅgikkam, Śēndamaṅgalam and Epāṅgaḷūr are in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. The finding of so many of the villages of Mīlalai-kūṟram in South Arantangi Taluk and the adjacent part of Pudukkōṭṭai State convincingly proves that this was the region subject to the rule of the Vēḷ chieftain Evvi in the first instance. That this Kūṟram is invariably stated in inscriptions from the time of Parāntaka I, i.e., from the beginning of the tenth century¹ downwards as being situated in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam shows that it was acquired by the Pāṇḍya from Vēḷ-Evvi and included in that territory. It is particularly worthy of note that even though the Chōḷas obtained possession of the Pāṇḍya territory later in the days of Parāntaka I as is clearly indicated by the existence of the Chōḷa inscriptions, traces of the inclusion of the Kūṟram originally in the Pāṇḍya country did not disappear but were on the other hand preserved and there is every reason to hold that the Vēḷ chieftain must have been subordinate to the Pāṇḍya king. Else the district would not have been termed as one in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. It would simply have been called Mīlalai-kūṟram just like Urattūr-kūṟram. All that the Chōḷa conquest meant was that the Chōḷa suzerainty was acknowledged by the Pāṇḍya king and his subjects. Some of the places of Mīlalai-kūṟram have a history of their own which every student of Tamil literature must be aware of even though he may not know where the places themselves are. This history affords another strong proof that the region comprising the South-Arantangi Taluk was in early days included in the Pāṇḍya country. Maṇamēḷkuḍi is the place of nativity of Kulachehirai-Nāyanār, the prime-minister of the Pāṇḍya king. Nelvēli-pōr-veṅra-niṅṇāśir-Neḍumāṟaṇ (i. e., Neḍumāṟaṇ who acquired lasting fame by the conquest in the battle of Nelvēli), the king that was converted to the Śaiva faith by the efforts of Saint Jñānasambandha, the contemporary of Śiruttōṇḍa who was the general of the Pallava king that conquered Vātāpi which event we know as having taken place in the first half of the 7th century A.D. There is no room for thinking that the minister might have come from any other country than the Pāṇḍya. Speaking of him, Śēkkiḷār, the author of the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam* and the minister of the Chōḷa king of his day, distinctly states that Maṇamēḷkuḍi was in the Pāṇḍya country and the minister hailed from there.² Inscriptions testify to the correctness of his geographical description.³ Similarly, Āvuḍaiyārkōyil is connected with the history of Māṅgikavāchaka, another Pāṇḍya minister.

Now about Muttūṟru-kūṟram, which like Mīlalai-kūṟram was subject to the rule of the Vēḷ chief Evvi and was included in the Pāṇḍya country. The very fact that the two districts were subject to the sway of one ruler suggests at once that Muttūṟru-kūṟram must lie adjacent to Mīlalai-kūṟram, which, as shown above, occupied South-Arantangi Taluk and parts of Pudukkōṭṭai State and Rāmnād District. In determining the region in which this district lay and for knowing to which kingdom it belonged in early days, nothing will be so valuable as a collection of the epigraphs which refer to this district and identifying the places mentioned therein. The inscriptions which mention Muttūṟru-kūṟram are not many, but even the few that we have, are sufficient for

¹ No. 230 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, dated 37th year of Parāntaka I mentions Muppālai in Mīlalai-kūṟram in Pāṇḍi-nāḍu.

² *Periyapurāṇam* (Kulachehirai-Nāyanār, vv. 1 and 8). The following are the verses:—Paṇṇu tol-puḷaḷ-pPāṇḍi-naṇ-pāttidai-cheṇ-ṇelār-vayal-tū-karumpi-ayal-puṇṇu pūḡa-ppurambaṇai sūṇḍadu maṇṇu vaṇmatyaṇ-ār Maṇamēḷkuḍi. || Inṇa nali-oḷukkattipāl tṛlā-tTēṇṇavaṇ Neḍumāṟaṅku śir-tiḷaḷ maṇṇu mandirikaṅku mēl-āḷiyār oṇṇaḷar-cheṇ-urudikkaṇ nūṟṇāḷ. ||

³ See foot-note 5, page 91 above.

locating it, since we know that it was contiguous to Mīlalai-kūṛṅgam. The earliest inscription which mentions the district as being in the Pāṇḍya country is a record of the Chōla king Parāntaka I.¹ A few others call the province, in which Muttūṛṅgu-kūṛṅgam was situated, by the names Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam² and Rājarāja-Pāṇḍi-nāḍu.³ The villages mentioned in the inscriptions as being in Muttūṛṅgu-kūṛṅgam are Kaṭṭivayal,⁴ Añjukōṭṭai,⁵ Kappalūr⁶ *alias* Ulagaṇḍaśōḷanallūr, Aḍaṅgārimaṇḍalam,⁷ Muttūr⁸ *alias* Uyyakkoṇḍaśōḷanallūr, Arayattūr,⁹ Sundarapāṇḍiya-chaturvēdimaṇḍalam,¹⁰ Māvalūr,¹¹ Kuruvaṇḍimidi¹² *alias* Jinēndramaṇḍalam, Tittāgam,¹³ Teṇṇalai,¹⁴ Tiruppuṇavāyil,¹⁵ and Andanūr-Śirukambūr.¹⁶ The Taluk that adjoins the southern portion of Arantangi, in which we have traced most of the places of the various divisions of Mīlalai-kūṛṅgam, is Tiruvāḍāṅgai of the Rāmnād District. On the north-eastern side of the Tiruvāḍāṅgai Taluk runs the river Pāmbāru which separates Rāmnād District from Arantangi Taluk of the Tanore District. Just as expected, we actually find almost on the western bank of this river, the villages Kaṭṭivayal, Añjukōṭṭai, Kappalūr, Muttūr, Aḍaṅgāri and Andanūr-Śirukambūr.¹⁷ Tiruppuṇavāyil (Tiruppuṇavāśal) is in the extreme south of Arantangi Taluk itself and adjoins the sea.¹⁸ We have also the testimony of the Chōla minister Śēkkiḷār to the fact that Tiruppuṇavāśal was included in the Pāṇḍya country.¹⁹ If there was room for misconception in the case of Mīlalai-kūṛṅgam on account of its inclusion in the Tanjore District, there is none in the case of Muttūṛṅgu-kūṛṅgam. Tiruvāḍāṅgai Taluk of the Rāmnād District could never have come under the early Chōla dominion. It is in this Taluk and in the Tirupattūr Taluk that the river Pāmbāru flows, on whose banks we have traced most of the places included in Muttūṛṅgu-kūṛṅgam.

Muttūṛṅgu-kūṛṅgam is believed by some to have been taken by the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjeṣṭhiyan from Iruṇḍōvēl. We shall now consider the question if this District could ever have been included in the territory of Iruṇḍōvēl, who, like Vēl-Evvi and Pāri flourished in early days and was one among the chieftains defeated by the said Pāṇḍya. Tamiḷ literature and inscriptions both bear

¹ No. 266 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.

² Nos. 425 and 429 of the same collection for 1913.

³ No. 46 of the same for 1930-31.

⁴ Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907, No. 266.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 408.

⁶ The same collection for 1913, Nos. 425 and 429, *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 373 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 313.

⁷ Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1918, No. 78.

⁸ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 426.

⁹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 212.

¹⁰ Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916, Nos. 17 and 33.

¹¹ No. 60 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State Collection.

¹² Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907, No. 408.

¹³ Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926, No. 399.

¹⁴ Same collection for 1930-31, No. 46.

¹⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 213.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 436, and Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30, No. 295.

¹⁷ Añjukōṭṭai is to the north-east of Tiruvāḍāṅgai, Kaṭṭivayal is east by north of Añjukōṭṭai and about three miles to the west of the Pāmbāru river and Śirukambūr is to the west of the Pāmbāru river and north of Kaṭṭivayal. Kappalūr lies to the west of the Pāmbāru river and in the centre of the northern part of Tiruvāḍāṅgai Taluk.

¹⁸ Jñānasambandha and Sundaramūrtti-Nāyaṇār describe it in these words:—

"Peruṇ-kadar-kāṇḍavāy-ppuṇḍarigam malar-ppoygai śōḷṇḍa Puṇavāyil"

"Kadar-kāṇḍavāy-ppuṇḍarigam tōṇṇiṇḍam-perumāṇ Puṇavāyil."

¹⁹ Verses 884 to 893 mention the places in the Pāṇḍya country visited by Jñānasambandha before returning to his place. Among these Puṇavāyil is one (v. 891).

evidence to the fact that the territory over which Irungōvēl-chiefs ruled was called Kōpādu¹ and that its capital was Koḍumbālūr.² The question reduces itself to this 'Could Muttūgru-kūrram have been included in or was even adjacent to Kōpādu?'. Kōpādu is situated in the modern Pudukkōṭṭai State. A geographical analysis of the inscriptions of that State will show that Kōpādu and its several divisions and sub-divisions occupied the whole of the Kuḷattūr Taluk and the northern portion of the Tirumeyyam Taluk. The southern part of the Tirumeyyam Taluk which is the southernmost part of the Pudukkōṭṭai State, had in it another ancient district called Kāṇa-nādu and this Kāṇa-nādu³ is stated to be a division of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. It was contiguous to Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanādu. So then, between Kōpādu which is reputed to be the territory of Irungōvēl chiefs and Muttūgru-kūrram, there lay the two ancient districts of Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanādu and Kāṇa-nādu, both belonging to Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. This analysis will convincingly establish that the distant Muttūgru-kūrram which we have located in the north-eastern part of the Tiruvāḍānai Taluk of the Rāmsād District could never have been included in or was contiguous to Kōpādu, the territory over which Irungōvēl held sway, intercepted as it was by two other districts of the Pāṇḍya country.

Geographical analysis of the inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State.

Kōpādu—

- (a) Appalvāyil-kūrram :—Irumbāli, Madinūr, Teliṅgakulakālapuram (in Ten-Kōpādu) *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷapattinam and Viśalūr.—all in Kuḷattūr Taluk.
- (b) Kūḍalūr-nādu :—Paṇaiyūrkuḷam, Śēvalūr, Siṅṅaiyūr,—all in Tirumeyyam Taluk.
- (c) Kuṅṅiyūr or Kuṅṅiśū-nādu :—Kāḷanivāsal, Mēl-Maṇalūr, Parambaiyūr, Punnanguḍi, Śikhānallūr, Tirunalakkunṅam,—all in the Kuḷattūr Taluk.
- (d) Ollaiyūr-kūrram :—Āṅkuḍi *alias* Āmanallūr, Iḍaiyārrūr, Kāraiṅyūr, Kīḷa-Taṇiyal, Korrayūr, *alias* Uttamaśōḷapuram, Nerinjikkūḍi, Ollaiyūr *alias* Madurai, Ollaiyūrmaṅgalam (Oliyamaṅgalam), Rājendraśōḷapuram, Śāttanūr, Sundaraśōḷapuram *alias* Dēsiyugandapattinam (Sundaram), and Viṇṭūkki *alias* Rājendraśōḷapuram,—all in Tirumeyyam Taluk.
- (e) Uṇṇattūr-kūrram (Vaḍa-Kōpādu) :—Ālattūr, Koḍumbālūr, Kūḷai-kuḷattūr, Mēnelvēli, Nīrpaḷani, Payyūr, Pudukkūḍi, Śīrapattinam *alias* Vikramaśōḷapperunderu and Tiruviraiyāṅkuḍi (Tiruvilāṅguḍi).—all in the Kuḷattūr Taluk.
- (f) Vaḍa Śīruvāyil-nādu in (e) :—Ilaiyāvūr, Kīraṇūr, Kumāramaṅgalam,—all in the Kuḷattūr Taluk.
- (g) Vayalaga-nādu :—Pulvayal and Vayalagam. Both are in Kuḷattūr Taluk.

Kāṇa-nādu—

- (a) Kāṇa-nādu :—Ādanūr, Andanūr, Kōṭṭaiyūr, Malayakōyil, Mēlūr, Muniyandai, Pēraiṅyūr, Perundurai, Peruṅkaraikkūḍi, *alias* Tiruvaraṅḡulanallūr, Pudivalam, Śōḷapāṇḍi-yapuram, Teṇ-Kāṭṭūr, Tirumeyyam, Tulaiyānilai, Viraiyāchohilai. These villages are in Tirumeyyam Taluk.

¹ One of the earliest sovereigns of Kōpādu celebrated in Tamil literature is the renowned Śaiva devotee Iḍaṅḡaḷi-Nōyaṅār, of whom it is said that he was the head of the Vēḷir family, ruled from Koḍumbālūr and was a lineal descendant of Āditya (v. 2 of *Iḍaṅḡaḷi-Nōyaṅār Paraiṅam*). The Māvaṅkōyil inscription of Koḍumbālūr, besides testifying to the antiquity of this Vēḷir family, records the part played by some of the members in the history of South India (*Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras, for 1903, p. 87*).

² Koḍumbai (Koḍumbālūr) lay on the way to the Pāṇḍya country from the Chōḷa territory (*Śīlapadikāram, Kōḍukkiḷḷōḍai, l. 71*).

³ Tirumeyyam in Kāṇa-nādu has one of the eighteen famous Vaiṣṇava temples of the Pāṇḍya country. This also shows that Kāṇa-nādu was in the Pāṇḍya territory.

(b) *Seṅguṇṇa-nāḍu* :—*Ālaṅguḍi*, *Āṅguḍi*, and *Mēlanilai*.

(c) *Turumā-nāḍu* :—*Ānamandai*, *Kaṇṇanūr*, *Tirunāvalūr* and *Turumā*,—all in *Tirumeyyam Taluk*.

Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷaṇāḍu¹ and **Madurōḍaya-vaḷaṇāḍu**² mentioned in the plates are two other districts of the Pāṇḍya country. The former covered a very large portion of the Tirupattūr Taluk of the Rāmnād District, a part of the Pudukkōṭṭai State and seems to have extended also into the Śivaganga Zamindari. It had several sub-divisions of which six are known, *viz.*, (1) *Kalvāyil-nāḍu*, (2) *Śōlapāṇḍya-vaḷaṇāḍu*,³ (3) *Kiḷ-Kuṇḍāru*, (4) *Tēṇārruppōkku*, (5) *Tiruttiiyūr-Muṭṭam*, and (6) *Adaḷaiyūr-nāḍu*. Of the villages of (1) *Kalvāyil-nāḍu*, *viz.*, *Nelvāyil*⁴, *Pollamaṅgalam*⁵, *Kulaśēkharapuram*,⁶ and *Sundarapāṇḍiyapuram*,⁷ are in the Pudukkōṭṭai State while *Ilaiyāttakudi* *alias* (or near) *Kulaśēkharapuram*,⁸ *Irappiyūr*,⁹ *Korramaṅgalam*¹⁰ and *Kuṇṇattūr*¹¹ are in the Tirupattūr Taluk. The villages in (2) are *Kāraiyyūr*,¹² *Tirukkōṭṭiiyūr*,¹³ *Śōlamārttāṇḍa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam*,¹⁴ *i.e.*, *Śivapuri*, *Kaṇṇamaṅgalam*,¹⁵ *Karuṅḡalattūr*,¹⁶ *Mēlūr*,¹⁷ *Pūḍikkudi*,¹⁸ *Śirudaiyūr*¹⁹ and *Śirudai*.²⁰ The village *Aḷagūpuri*,²¹ was situated in (3). In the sub-division of *Tēṇārruppōkku* was the village *Niyamam*²² (*Nāmam*). *Tiruttiiyūr-Muṭṭam* had two divisions; in the eastern division (*Kiḷai-Tiruttiiyūr-Muṭṭam*) were the villages *Śiruvayal*,²³ *Anṇiyūr*,²⁴ *Dēśaṅḡulam*,²⁵ *Koḍuṅḡulam*,²⁶ *Vēppaṅḡulam*,²⁷ and *Vēṇṇiyūr*,²⁸ while *Mēlai-Tiruttiiyūr-Muṭṭam* had *Pāḡapēri*²⁹ in it. The village of *Tirukkūṇṇakkudi*³⁰ (*Kuṇṇakkudi*) was in *Adaḷaiyūr-nāḍu* in which passed the river *Tēṇāru*.³¹ The villages of *Ilai-Kaḍambaṅḡulam*³² (modern *Śaṇṇavaram*), *Piḷar*³³ and *Korramaṅgalam*³⁴ were in *Tiruttiiyūr-Muṭṭam*: but it is not known whether they belonged to the eastern or western division.

¹ No. 617 of 1905 states that this is a district of Pāṇḍimaṅḡalam.

² No. 319 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28.

³ Though the term *vaḷaṇāḍu* is usually employed to denote a district, it indicates a sub-division here. Owing to the large size of *Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷaṇāḍu*, it seems to have been split up into two parts in later days.

⁴ Nos. 252 and 258 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State Collection.

⁵ No. 267 of the same collection.

⁶ No. 491 of the same collection.

⁷ No. 346 of the same.

⁸ No. 38 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926 and No. 182 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII.

⁹ No. 4 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926.

¹⁰ No. 80 of 1916 of the same collection.

¹¹ No. 85 of 1916.

¹² No. 133 of the same for 1907.

¹³ No. 284 of the same for 1923. Nos. 291-2 for 1929-30 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 529.

¹⁴ Nos. 16 and 20 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1923-29.

¹⁵ No. 36 of the same collection for 1916.

¹⁶ No. 64 of the same for 1928-29.

¹⁷ No. 201 of the same for 1924.

¹⁸ No. 200 of the same for 1924.

¹⁹ No. 304 of the same for 1929-30.

²⁰ No. 224 of the same for 1924.

²¹ No. 101 of the same for 1924.

²² Nos. 1, 77 and 83 of the same for 1924.

²³ No. 55 of the same for 1924.

²⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 180.

²⁵ No. 58 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1924.

²⁶ No. 25 of the same for 1909.

²⁷ No. 203 of Pudukkōṭṭai State Collection.

²⁸ No. 14 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

²⁹ No. 12 of the same.

³⁰ No. 50 of the same collection for 1924.

The sub-divisions of Madurōdaya-vaṇāṇḍu and the villages situated in them are noted below :—

- (1) Kāñai-Irukkai which had in it Uḷakkuḍi,¹ Iruñchirai,² Kottakīrti,³ Vēḷṇēri,⁴ Kaṇṇakīrti⁵ and Irāśiṅganallūr.⁶
- (2) Māḍakkuḷakkīl which had in it Koḍimaṅgalam,⁷ Madurai,⁸ Śiguveṇkuṇṇam⁹.
- (3) Vēḷurkuḷakkīl, with Kundadēvi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.⁷
- (4) Rājaśiṅgaṇkuḷakkīl which had in it Rājēndiram,¹⁰ Tiruppūvaṇam,⁹ Ambalattāḍi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.¹⁰
- (5) Karunilakkuḍi-nāḍu which had in it Tīruttaṅgāl.¹¹
- (6) Iḍaikkūḍi-nāḍu which had in it Mēlai-Śeḷuvaṇūr¹² *alias* Śatrubhayaṅkaranallūr.
- (7) Veṇḇuḷa or Veṇḇil-nāḍu which had in it Kumārāpavitra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam¹³ and Śeṅkāṭṭīrukkai-Iḍattuvaḷi.¹⁴
- (8) Puṇapparaḷai-nāḍu which had in it Puttūr,¹⁵ Kaḷḷikuḍi,¹⁶ Miḷagaṇūr¹⁶ and Nirmaḍaiyūr.¹⁷
- (9) Kallaga-nāḍu which must have had at least two sub-divisions as the name Ten-Kallaga-nāḍu is applied to one of them which contained the villages Dēśipattāṇam *alias* Vikramaśōḷapuram¹⁸ (Vikramaṅgalam), Śēndaṇēri-Kaṭṭikaḷḷūr (Tenkarai)¹⁹ and Parā-kramaṇḍiḍiyapuram.²⁰

It will be noted that four of the sub-divisions given in the Tiruppūvaṇam plates without mentioning the district to which they belonged were actually in Madurōdaya-vaṇāṇḍu. These are Māḍakkuḷakkīl, Rājaśiṅgaṇkuḷakkīl, Puṇapparaḷai-nāḍu and Kāñai-Irukkai.

A word of explanation is necessary for treating as sub-divisions geographical terms ending in 'kuḷakkīl', of which we have as many as four instances. In mentioning villages, inscriptions usually give first the district, then the sub-division and lastly the village. Districts generally have the suffix *vaṇāṇḍu* and the sub-divisions end in *nāḍu*. Sometimes in place of *vaṇāṇḍu*, the term *kūṇṇam* is employed; and if it had not any sub-divisions with distinct and different names, it is itself divided into two or more divisions according to the directions in which they lay, such as east, middle and west, north and south, etc. This is also the case even with regard to some

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 372.

² Below, text-lines 108, 245, 246 and 250.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 446.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 370.

⁵ Below, text-line 16.

⁶ No. 66 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

⁷ No. 447 of the same collection for 1906.

⁸ Below, text-line, 92.

⁹ Below, text-line, 133.

¹⁰ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 423.

¹¹ No. 574 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.

¹² No. 317 of the same for 1927-28. Taṅgāl occurs as a village in the Pāṇḍya country in the *Śilappadigāram* Canto XXIII, l. 75.

¹³ No. 331 of the same collection for 1918.

¹⁴ Nos. 403 and 414 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1914.

¹⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 302 and Vol. IV, No. 372.

¹⁶ Below, text-lines 108 and 111.

¹⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 302 and 431.

¹⁸ Nos. 613, 614 and 616 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926.

¹⁹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 294 and 298.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 295.

sub-divisions which are large enough to be so apportioned. For instance the district of Mīlalaikūṅṅam had no separate sub-divisions: in the place of the latter, we have Kīl-kūṅṅu, Naḍuvīrkūṅṅu and Mēl-kūṅṅu, i.e., the eastern, middle and western portions. Similarly, the sub-division Śembi-nāḍu had Vaḍatalai-Śembi-nāḍu, Kīl-Śembi-nāḍu, etc., i.e., the northern and eastern portions of Śembi-nāḍu. Districts are sometimes omitted in inscriptions and villages are mentioned with the sub-divisions to which they belonged. From the fact that the geographical items Māḍakkulaḱḱīl, Rājēndraśiṅgaḱḱīl, etc., immediately follow a *vaḷanāḍu* or district and are followed in turn by villages, they have to be treated as sub-divisions. It will not be right to take the terms ending in "*kuḷakkiḷ*" to mean "to the east of any particular tank". In these items the particle *kiḷ* does not mean "east" as opposed to "*mēl*" "west" but stands for "under or in". Hence we have inserted the four items ending in *kuḷakkiḷ* as sub-divisions and assigned them their places under the districts to which they belonged. In this connection, it is worthy of note that we have not come across even a single instance where a village is stated to be situated to the west, north or south of Māḍakkulaḱḱam, Rājēndraśiṅgaḱḱam, etc.

Of the other sub-divisions mentioned in the plates, Vaḍatalai-Śembi-nāḍu in which Āyḱkuḱi *alias* Aḷaḱiyapāṇḍiyanallūr was situated, is seen from other inscriptions to have had the villages Iyamanīśvaram,¹ Mēlai-Koḍumaḷūr² or Koḍumaḷūr *alias* Uttamapāṇḍiyanallūr, Kīlai-Koḍumaḷūr³ *alias* Madurōdayanallūr, Māvilaṅgai,⁴ Nallūrkuruchchi,⁵ Peruṅḱirinallūr⁶ and Deyvaohēlāinallūr otherwise called Paṅṅaḱulaḱḱam. Except Iyamanīśvaram (Ēmanīśvaram) which is in the Paramaḱuḱi Taluk, the rest are found in the Mudukulaṭṭūr Taluk of the Rāmnāḍ District. The name of the division shows that Śembi-nāḍu had other divisions. In fact, inscriptions refer to Kīl-Śembi-nāḍu in which were the villages Āṅṣikuḱi,⁷ Kaḷari *alias* Kaḱḱavanallūr,⁸ Kaḱḱambaṅḱuḱi,⁹ Nallāṅḱuḱi,¹⁰ Muruvāy *alias* Śrīvallaḱḱhanallūr,¹¹ Paṅṅiṭṭirāṅḱikkapattinam,¹² Nallirakḱai *alias* Vīrapāṇḍiyanallūr,¹³ Tirappullaṅḱi¹⁴ and Śembiyāḱ-Perāmbūr;¹⁵ Śrīdēśam which had in it Tiru-Uttarakōśamaṅḱuḱi, as other divisions of Śembi-nāḍu. Most of these villages are in the Rāmnāḍ Taluk.

Kaḷavaḷi-nāḍu was divided into two parts North and South. In Vaḱa-Kaḷavaḷi-nāḱu were Aḷagaimānagar,¹⁶ Kōḱaipirāṭṭinallūr,¹⁷ Kuṅḱattūr¹⁸ and Puṅḱuḱi.¹⁹ Ten-Kaḷavaḷi-nāḱu had in it Muḱikonḱapāṇḍiyanapuram²⁰ and Pullūrri²¹ *alias* Śrīvallaḱḱhanallūr. That Kaḱḱambaṅḱuḱi was a village in Kaḷavaḷi-nāḱu and bore the name *Malayaṅḱyāḱkōṭṭai* is learnt from two inscriptions.²² Ārāḱaiyūr was another village in the same division.²³

¹ S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 395.

² Madras Epigraphical Collection, Nos. 399 of 1907 and 531 of 1926.

³ S. I. I., Vol. V, Nos. 440 and 441; and Nos. 469 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909 and 304 of 1922.

⁴ No. 392 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1914.

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 301.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 399.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 398.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 402.

⁹ Madras Epigraphical Collection, No. 283 of 1923, No. 5 of 1924 and No. 378 of 1929-30.

¹⁰ No. 316 of the same collection for 1923.

¹¹ Nos. 11, 23, 27 of the same for 1924.

¹² No. 291 of the same for 1923 and No. 18 of 1924.

¹³ No. 47 of the same for 1923.

¹⁴ No. 229 of the same for 1924.

¹⁵ Nos. 1 and 3 of the same for 1924.

¹⁶ No. 306 of the same collection for 1923.

APPENDIX A.

Names of persons that conducted the settlement of boundaries.

Serial No.	Names of persons.	Village.	Sub-division.	District or Province.
	<i>I. Kapāśya (ll. 74-93).</i>			
1	Arāyaṇ Nārāyaṇ of Kaṭṭikurochchi.	Parāntakanallūr .	Naḍuvir-kūṟṟu .	Mīlalai-kūṟṟam.
2	Parāntakaṇ Tiruppāvagaṇḍaiyāṇ	Taṇḍalai . .	Kīl-kūṟṟu . .	Ditto.
3	Karuṇākaraḍēvaṇ Puṇḍarāyamaṇḍaiyāṇ.	Māraṇūr <i>alias</i> Palamaṇḍa- iḍḍittanallūr.	Alaḡiyapāṇḍiayaku- lakkiṭṭi.	....
4	Pillai Ālvān <i>alias</i> Poṇḡambalak- kūṭṭaṇ who was the <i>kāṇḍēṇi</i> of Tiruvāykkāṭṭi Poṇḡaṇ Sūriya- ḍēvaṇ <i>alias</i> Jayadhara-Pallava- raiyar.	Karuppūr . . Puṭṭūr . .	Tirumūṇaippāḍi-nāḍu . Puṇḍapparaḷai-nāḍu .	Śōḷamaṇḍalam.
5	Veḷḷaṇ Śāṭṭaṇ, the <i>kāṇḍēṇi</i> of Poyyā- mōḷḍēvaṇ.	Kīl-Nettūr ¹ <i>alias</i> Kīrttiṇḍalai- yanallūr.	Karuṇaḡuḍi-nāḍu .	....
6	Nārāyaṇaṇ Śāṭṭaṇ who was the <i>kāṇḍēṇi</i> of Sāmudāyama Śrīramaṇ Tiruvuḍaiyāṇ <i>alias</i> Pottappich- chōḷar.	Veḷḷiārrūr ² Kappalūr ³ <i>alias</i> Uḷaḡalandāśō- lanallūr.	....	Kēraḷaiśōḡa- vaḷanāḍu Muttūṟru-kūṟṟam.
7	Arāyaṇ Tirumalai-ḡḍaiyāṇ who was the <i>kāṇḍēṇi</i> of Mōḷḡirittāṇam Śivalayaṇ Alaḡiyamaṇavāḷaṇ <i>alias</i> Kāḷiḡarāiyar.	Araṇkaḷam Āyḱkuḍi ⁴ <i>alias</i> Alaḡiyapāṇ- ḍiyanallūr.	Peḷḷiūr-nāḍu Vaḡatalai-Śembi- nāḍu.	....
8	Arāyaṇ Karumāḡikkam who was the <i>kāṇḍēṇi</i> of Maḷavarāiyar.	Kīl-Paśalai <i>alias</i> Dānaviḡōḍanallūr.	Tiyandāḱkuḍi-nāḍu .	....
9	Uyyavandāṇ Poṇḡaṇ <i>alias</i> Mānā- bharāṇa-Mūvēṇḍavēḷḷar who was the <i>adigāṇam</i> of Pillaiyār Alaḡap- perumāḷ.	Kappalūr <i>alias</i> Uḷaḡalan- daśōlanallūr.	....	Muttūṟru-kūṟṟam.
10	Nambī Poṇḡambalakḱūṭṭaṇ <i>alias</i> Virāśiṇḡaḍēvaṇ.	Śirupāḷaiyūr <i>alias</i> Kāvēriṇaḷ- lavaṇallūr.	....	Śōḷapāṇḍiya-vaḷa- nāḍu.
11	Malaḱkiṇḡiyāṇḡṟāṇ Alaḡaṇ <i>alias</i> Viḷaiya-Vicchāḍiraḍēvaṇ who was one of the <i>aṇḱakkar</i> of	....	....	....
	Śōḷapāṇḍiyaṇḡāṇḡṟāṇ-kūṟṟiyam- kūṟṟi Alaḡiyapāṇḍiyanār.	Rāḷēṇḍiraṇ . .	Irāśiṇḡaṇḱuḷakkiṭṭi .	....

¹ Nettūr is in the Śivaganga Taluk.² This is in the Tirupattur Taluk.³ This is a (Z) village in Tiruvāḍānai Taluk.⁴ Paramakudi Taluk.

Serial No.	Names of persons.	Village.	Sub-division.	District or Province.
II (II. 93-96).				
12	Mādhavaṅ Divākara-Bhaṭṭaṅ	Mādhavirāmadurai	Tiyandankuṣi-nāḍu	....
13	Nārāyaṅaṅ Nārāyaṅa-Bhaṭṭaṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
14	Śrī(Śrī) Mādhavaṅ Nārasiṃha-Bhaṭṭaṅ.	Ditto	Ditto	....
15	Gōvindaṅ Tiruṇḷakanta-Bhaṭṭaṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
16	Jātavēdaṅ Subrahmaṇya-Bhaṭṭaṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....

Note.—Inclusive of the five persons of Mādhavirāmadurai named above (in Section II), the following others that are mentioned in the next six sections (III to VIII) who were concerned in the formation of the new *śrīma-dēya* also went with the elephant.

III (II. 96-98).				
17	Ādityaṅ Śāṇḍapirāṅ-Bhaṭṭaṅ of Tirukkuṇḍalai.	Marudūr alias Mado-rōdaya-chatur-vēdimaṅgalam.	....	....
18	Śrī-Kriṣṇaṅ Aḷagiyarāghava-Bhaṭṭaṅ.	Ditto	....	....
19	Kāḷiyāṅ Vēppaikkūṭṭa-Bhaṭṭaṅ	Ditto	....	....
IV (II. 98-100).				
20	Āhṭāṅṇi Śrīraḅṅaṇṭha-Bhaṭṭa-Śōma-Kāṭhakayāyār.	Mē-Paṇḍalā ¹ alias Śrīvallaḅha-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam.	....	....
21	Nārāyaṅaṅ Nārāyaṅa-Bhaṭṭaṅ	Ditto	....	....
22	Śrī-Vāṇḍēvaṅ Nāṅṇapirāṅ-Bhaṭṭaṅ	Ditto	....	....
23	Śrī-Rāmaṅ Paraṁātma-Bhaṭṭaṅ	Ditto	....	....
V (II. 100-103).				
24	Arayaṅ Uyyaṇṇōrōduvāṅ alias Śēmbiyadaraṇṇaṅ.	Kiṭ-Paṇḍalā ¹ alias Dāpavēṇḍanallūr.	....	....
25	Kēśavaṅ Nārāyaṅaṅ	Ditto	....	....
26	Karunḍāṅḱkam-Korṇaṅ	Ditto	....	....
27	Kalvāyī Kēśavaṅ	Ditto	....	....
28	Periyāṅ Purāṅ	Ditto	....	....
29	Nāṅṇaṅ Aḷaṅṇaṅ	Ditto	....	....
30	Vāṇḍēvaṅ Śūriyadēvaṅ	Ditto	....	....

¹ Melappaṇḍalai and Kiṭappaṇḍalai are (I) villages in the Śrīraṅga Taluk.

Serial No.	Names of persons.	Village.	Sub-division.	District or Province.
VI (ll. 103-106).				
31	Appaṇ Sūriyadēvaṇ	Polṇṇūr <i>alias</i> Pārthivakēśuri- nallūr.	....	....
32	Udayaṇ Yaṇṇuṇḍēvaṇ <i>alias</i> Aḷaḷiyapāṇḍiya-Viḷupparaiyaṇ.	Ditto	....	....
33	Sūriyaṇ Varantaruvaṇ <i>alias</i> Saṅgirāmaṇḍiṅga-Pallavaraiyaṇ.	Ditto	....	....
34	Sundarattōḷḷaḷiyaṇ Sōmadēvaṇ	Ditto	....	....
VII (ll. 106-108).				
35	Dayānilai Uyyavandāṇ <i>alias</i> Chōdiraiyaṇ.	Kaḷḷikkōḍṇ <i>alias</i> Puruvuvaiṇallūr.	Parappagaḷai-nāḍu	....
36	Aṇukkaṇ Ariyaṇ	Ditto	Ditto	....
37	Appaṇ Arumōḷḷēvaṇ <i>alias</i> Šembiyaṇ- Viḷupparaiyaṇ.	Ditto	Ditto	....
38	Puṭṭūr-kilavaṇ Battāṇ <i>alias</i> Purap- paraḷaiṇāḍu-kilavaṇ.	Ditto	Ditto	....
VIII (ll. 108-110).				
39	Paliyānilai Sūriyadēvaṇ <i>alias</i> Tamiṇāḷḷukilavaṇ.	Iruṇḱhipai ² <i>alias</i> Indiraśamāna- nallūr.	Kāḷai-Irukkai	....
40	Veḷaṇ Iruṭṭai <i>alias</i> Rājakuṇḱara- Pallavaraiyaṇ.	Ditto	Ditto	....
IX (ll. 110-120).				
41	Šadiraṇ Seivaṇ	Miḷḷagaṇūr ³	....	....
42	Rāmaṇ Aḷagaṇ	Ditto	....	....
43	Šōpaṇ Mōkkaṇ	Ditto	....	....
44	Nāgaḍēvaṇ Rāmaṇ <i>alias</i> Bājanārā- yaṇ-Mōvūṇḍavēḷḷaṇ.	Ditto	....	....
45	Arāṇaiyaṇ	Ditto	....	....

¹ This is a (Z) village in the Śivagaṅga Taluk.² Tradition has it that an early Pāṇḍya king bound with chains and imprisoned the clouds at this place which is on that account also known as Kuṭṭunallūr-Iruṇḱhipai. See V. 38 of Tiruvāḷavāyudaiyār Tiruvāḷayōḍai 44, p. 162. "Tadippaṇa vilaiṅga pūṭi-ṭunind-iruṇḱhipai vaitṭaṇ-ore-ḷappapaṇat Kuṭṭunallūr-Iruṇḱhipai-ṇbar-
iṅṇu". The place is near Māṇḍamadurai. A later inscription (No. 399 of S. I. I., Vol. VIII) mentions Iruṇḱhipai-
vaḷaiṇāḍu and locates Maṇṇaiyōṛkōṭṭai in it.³ This is an (I) village in Śivagaṅga.

Serial No.	Names of persons.	Village.	Sub-division.	District or Province.
46	Araiyāṅ Pallāṅai who had the kūṇippurra of Pallāṅai Mādēvaṅ <i>alias</i> Nujambā-darāyar.	Achehaṅkātṭi-rukkaṅai Tirumālirukṇōlāi Mālaṅguḍi ¹	Kiṭ-Sembi-nāḍu.	....

Note.—The persons mentioned in this group were concerned in the formation of the new village of Miḷagaṅūr surnamed Rājēndranallār by clubbing together the villages and lands given in exchange for the old village of Miḷagaṅūr that was taken up and included in Rājagamabhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

X (ll. 120-123).				
47	Śāttāṅ Kaṇavadi	Śirukūṭattūr ² <i>alias</i> Parākrama-pāṇḍiyanallār.	Alagiya-pāṇḍiya-kulakkil.	....
48	Sandarattōḷuḍaiyāṅ Dēvaṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
49	Śāttāṅ Kaṇḍaṅ <i>alias</i> Tirumālirukṇōlāi Dēvaṅ.	Ditto	Ditto	....
50	Vēḷāṅ Sandarattōḷuḍaiyāṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
51	Śivallavaṅ Pērāyiramoḍaiyāṅ <i>alias</i> Māraṇmāṭṭu-Vēḷāṅ.	Ditto	Ditto	....
52	Dēvaṅ Śivallavaṅ Arattamikkidāsaṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
XI (ll. 123-124).				
53	Udaiyadivākarapaṅ Śrī-Kārimāra-Bhaṭṭaṅ of Ilavimaṅgalam.	Śīrakūḍi ³ <i>alias</i> Vīrakāmu-gamaṅgalam.	....	....
54	Nārāyaṇaṅ Subrahmaṇya-Bhaṭṭaṅ	Ditto	....	....
XII (ll. 125-127).				
55	Uyyanigrāḍi Periyāḷvāṅ	Vidattal ⁴ <i>alias</i> Mānā-bbaraṅga-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.	Kiraṅūr-nāḍu	....
56	Śēndapirāṅ Karumāṅgil-Bhaṭṭaṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
57	Gōvindaṅ Māṇēndukaiyaṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
58	Āḍityaṅ Ilukāra-Bhaṭṭaṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
XIII (ll. 127-128).				
59	Vēḷāṅ Kōvaṅ	Vēḷṭurkurochehi ⁵	Alagiya-pāṇḍiya-kulakkil.	....
60	Āḍi Perāṇ	Ditto	Ditto	....

¹ Most of the places in Kiṭ-Sembi-nāḍu are, like Mālaṅguḍi, situated in the Ramnad Taluk of the Ramnad District.

² There is a village called Śīrukūṭam in the Śivaganga Taluk.

³ This place is in Śivaganga.

⁴ There is a Vidattakūṭam in the Śivaganga Taluk.

⁵ This is perhaps Vēḷṭurkurochehi in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Serial No.	Names of persons.	Village.	Sub-division.	District or Province.
61	Vēḷaṅ Alagaṅ <i>alias</i> Sundarapāṇḍiya-Muvēndavēḷaṅ.	Vēḷūrkeṇṇēbehi	Aḷaḷiyapāṇḍiya-kuḷakkīḷ.	....
62	Vēḷaṅ Śrījānākō	Ditto	Ditto	....
XIV (ll. 129-131).				
63	Āṭvāṅ Upādhyāyar	Marudūr	Tiruvāṇaṇam	....
64	Karumāṇṭikkam Ulagamuṇḍāṇ Bhaṭṭaṇ.	Perumpuḷiyūr	....	....
65	Mayūravāhanan Āḍuvāṅ-Bhaṭṭaṇ	Marudūr	....	....
XV (ll. 131-132).				
66	Rāmaṅ Uyyavandāṅ	Vēḷūr <i>alias</i> Aḷaḷiyapāṇḍiyanallūr.	Kiraṅgūr-nāḍu	....
67	Perrāṅ Pāttāṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
68	Dēvaṅ Nambi	Ditto	Ditto	....
69	Śōraṅ Nāttāṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....

Note.—The persons mentioned in sections X to XV were all concerned in clobbering the villages in the *brahmadēya* of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimangalam.

XVI (ll. 133-138).				
70	Āṇaitāṇam Pammaṅ Aḍiyāṅkunai-laperumāṅ <i>alias</i> Pallavadaraiyaṅ.	Tiruppāṇaṇam	Iraḷḷiṅgaṅkuḷakkīḷ	....
71	Meyppe Malaiyaṅ Śōraṅ <i>alias</i> Viṇjattaraiyaṅ.	....	....	....
72	Dēvaṅ Tillai <i>alias</i> Madurōḍāya-Pallavaraiyaṅ.	....	....	....
73	Śikayilāya-Bhaṭṭaṅ <i>alias</i> Śivallava-Pallavaraiyaṅ.	....	....	....
74	Kaṇavadi Śrāmaṅ <i>alias</i> Sundara-pāṇḍiya-Pallavaraiyaṅ.	....	....	....
75	Erāṅ Periyāṅ <i>alias</i> Pāṇḍiyaṅ Pallavaraiyaṅ.	....	....	....
76	Pōṇru Aravamudaiyaṅ Villi <i>alias</i> Muṇḍittalakoṇḍa-Pallavaraiyaṅ.	....	....	....

Note.—The seven persons of group XVI conducted the female elephant.

APPENDIX B.

List of villages and lands included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Rājagambhīra-vaṇaṇāḍu.

(Lines 19 to 69.)

Kīraṇūr-nāḍu.

Nakkamaṅgalam.—The village of Kīraṇūr in the Śivaganga Taluk was perhaps the chief place in the division.

Vāgaikuḍi.—This was a *dēvadāna* of Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār.

Tiruvāvaṇam.

Tuttiyūr.—There is a village called Tuttikulam in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Kirūṅākkōṭṭai.—This village is in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Kāḍuvetti, Muṭṭam, Korraṇēri, Taḍaiyili-Tiyāgi-ēmbal, Vellattaivenṇāṇ-ēmbal, Naḍuvirkōṭṭai and Kājaṇ. Eṭṭi-kuruchchi are lands in Kirūṅākkōṭṭai.

Paṇaṅgalūr-nāḍu.

Adikarai.—A village in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Mittiravāli.

Vēlaṅguḷam.—A village in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Omaḷagiyaṇ-ēmbal.—A land in Vēlaṅguḷam.

Śōlaiyēri.—Now called Śōlaisēri in Śivaganga Taluk.

Kuḍaṇjāḍi.—This village is in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Aruvarai-Pudukkuḷam.

Kiṭ-Chūrai.

Mēr-Chūrai.

Piḍārikuḷam.

Paṇaṅgalūr *alias* Paṇḍitapaṇḍaranallūr.

Śeyyakulattūr.—Its present name is Śeykulattūr (in Śivaganga).

Śingāṇēriyuḍaiyaṇ-kāṇipparru.—A land in Śeyyakulattūr.

Vaṇjiyūr.

Karkurichchi.—This village in Śivaganga is now spelt Kalkuruchchi.

Ariyaṅkuruchchi.—This is also in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Āraikkuḷam.

Arugaśāḍi. Viragaṅgappērayaṇ-ēmbal, Vīrapāṇḍiyappērayaṇ-ēmbal, Moliyaṇ-ēmbal, Ambalakkōṭṭaṇ-ēmbal, Śiṭṭapēmbal and Paṇṇīrāyira-ppērayaṇ-ēmbal, are lands in Āraikkuḷam.

Uvaṇiyamaṅgalam.

Pudaichhāṇkuḷi.—This is a land in Uvaṇiyamaṅgalam.

Tīyandaikkuḍi-nāḍu.

Uḡaṭay.

Kōṭṭai.

Śivigaiyaṇkuḷi, and Uḷumbandai are lands in the above village.

Ulagaraṇi.—Still bears the same name. It is in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Karaiyūr.

Kuṇṇēli.

Matṭaḍakkiyēri.

Śaṅgappērayaṇ-ēmbal.

Puttēmbal.—This may be Puttēndal in Śivaganga Taluk.

Kalaiyaṇēri.—This may be Kaliyaṇēndal in Śivaganga Taluk.

Seṅkuḷi.

Orukkoraṇēri.

Kalvāyilmaṅgalam.

Pullaṇēri.

Śēṇḍaṇēri.

Nakkaññeri.

Pārkuḷam.—This is a (Z) village in Śivaganga Taluk.

Uyyāṇ-Śūriyaṇ-ēmbal.

Maruṇṇakuḷi.—This is in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Nāvarkuḷi.

Kaṇḍiyūrnāḷḷivāṇ-ēmbal.

Śiru-Nakkaññeri.

Śūḷmaṇi.—Now called Śūḷmaṇi in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Purṇṇakuḷam.—Now called Puttukuḷam in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Śiruvayal.

Koṇṇakuḷam.—Now called Koṇṇakuḷam in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Pullamaṇḍalam.

Karkuḷam.—Now called Kalkuḷam (in Śivaganga).

Karamākuḷam.—There is one Karuṇḷam in Śivaganga Taluk.

Eyili.

Paḷaiṇcheṇṇakuḷam.

Puḷiyāṇkuḷam.—Still so called. In Śivaganga Taluk.

Pūḍukuḷam.

Vēḷṭarkuṇṇeholi.

Vāyṭṭalaṇṇallūr.

Kāḍuvetṭi.—This is the name of a land in Vāyṭṭalaṇṇallūr.

Māḡavṭramadalarai.—This is Mānāmadural.

Maruḍūr.

Śaṇḡaṇ-ēmbal.

Śaṇḡamaṇḍalam.—Now called Saṇḡamaṇḍalam in Śivaganga.

Tiyaṇḡr-Śūlaiyēri.—There is a Tiyaṇḡr in Śivaganga Taluk.

Kūḷṇkūḷṭūr *alias* Puravari-chaturvēdimaṇḍalam.—In Śivaganga Taluk.

Mār-Paḷalai *alias* Śrivalḷabha-chaturvēdimaṇḍalam.—In Śivaganga Taluk.

Pirāṇḍiyēri.—There is a Pirāṇḍakuḷam in Śivaganga Taluk.

Kaḷṭṭukuḷi.—There is a Kaḷṭṭi in Śivaganga Taluk.

Sēṭṭalēri.—A *deśam* of Tiruppaḷalaināḍar of Mār-Paḷalai *alias* Śrivalḷabha-chaturvēdimaṇḍalam.

Tiruppu-Śoṇḡaṇ-ēmbal.—This may be Sundāṇ-ēmbal in Paramakuḷi Taluk.

Tattaṇ-ēmbal.—Now called Tattanēṇḍal in Paramakuḷi Taluk.

Vēmbōḷ-ēmbal.

Pāppaṇ-ēmbal.—There are villages called Pappanēṇḍal in Paramakuḷi Taluk as well as in Sivaganga Taluk.

Eḍirūḷḷappōṭayaṇ-ēmbal.

Vēḷṇkāl.—A *deśam* of Śrī-Vaikunda-Viṇṇagar-Ājvār of Mār-Paḷalai *alias* Śrivalḷabha-chaturvēdimaṇḍalam.

Kaṇḍeholi-ēmbal.

Tiruppu-Paḡaiyaṇḡri.—There is a Paḡaiyaṇēṇḍal in Śivaganga.

Kiḷ-Vēḷiyārrūr.

Mēḷ-Vēḷiyārrūr.

Maṇḡaiyūṇkuḷam.

Nēlvēli.—This may be Nemmēli in Paramakuḷi Taluk.

Tappilattaraiyaṇ-ēmbal.

Sōmāṭṭūr.—This is in Paramakuḷi Taluk.

Aravaṇkuḷi.

Karuṇḷam.—This is in Paramakuḷi Taluk.

Ḥḡṭṭūr.

Taḷḷipṭai.

Kāṇḡhiraṇkuḷam.—This is in Śivaganga Taluk.

Mōṇkuḷi-nāḡu.

Mōṇkuḷi *alias* Kalijayamaṇḍalam.

Mēṇ-Mōṇkuḷi.—Kūḷa-Mōḷkuḷi and Mēḷa-Mōḷkuḷi are villages in the Sivaganga Taluk.

Maḡḡajūr.

Korrapēri.—There is a village named Kottañkuḷam in Śivaganga and Paramakudi Taluks.

Muttūranāroṭṭai.—A *dēvadāna* of Tiruppūvaṇamudaiyār.

Aṇṇalvāy.—Now called Annavasal in Śivaganga Taluk.

Śundaṇ-ēmbal.—Now called Sundanēndal in Śivaganga Taluk.

Narimaṇṇam *alias* Varagaṇḍanallūr.—There is a village named Nariyēndal in Śivaganga Taluk.

Śilaiyaṇēri.—Śilaiyaṇ is a village in Śivaganga Taluk.

Uriyappi, Tāḷi-ēmbal, Korrapēri, Sūriyaṇ-ēmbal and Sōmaṇēri are lands and tanks in Varagaṇḍanallūr.

Purapparaḷai-nāḍu.

Pullaṇēri.

Kaṇṇapūr, Lands in—Kaṇṇapūr is a village in Śivaganga Taluk.

Madalaikuruchchi.

Kiṭ-Śeḷi: *Purkarai* in it.

Achchaṇkātṭirukkai-Miḷagaṇḍūr *alias* Rājendraśiṅganallūr.—Miḷagaṇḍūr is a village in Śivaganga Taluk.

Minnāri, Kaṇṇikudi, Araiyaṇēri, and Naḍuvir-Śeḷikuḷattu-ulvāy.—These are near Miḷagaṇḍūr.

Mēr-Śeḷi.

Kuruchchātti.

Śirukkilātti.

Puvaṇinallūr.

Ārikuḍi.

Sōmaṇēri.

Tāyaṇ-Pūdi-ēmbal.

Śirukilāṇkātṭūr, a *dēvadāna* of Tiruppūvaṇamudaiyār.—There is a village called Kilāṇkātṭūr in Śivaganga Taluk.

Śirumiḷagi.

Nerkunram (*tirappu*).

Kattikkulam.—There is an (I) and (Z) village of this name in Śivaganga.

Perrāṇ-ēmbal.—There is a village called Pettāpēndal in Paramakudi Taluk.

In the lists given above, some official designations are prefixed to a few names of persons. These are: *Tiruvāyikkēlvi*, *Sāmodāyam*, *Māḷigaṭṭaṇam*, *Adigāram*, *Valanāṭṭu-kāriyam-śeygira*, *Āṇaitṭaṇam* and *Meyppu*. Their connotation may easily be determined from the terms themselves. The compound word *Tiruvāyikkēlvi* consists of *tiru* 'sacred', *vāy* 'mouth' and *kēlvi* 'hearing' and means 'what is heard from the sacred mouth (of the king)', i.e., 'any royal oral order'. As an official designation applied to persons it means 'one who hears the royal oral order'. In ancient times, among the king's retinue there were some who bore this designation. And it seems that the duty of this class of officials was to put in writing the oral orders of the king and communicate the same to the Department of the State concerned for being given effect to. In the case of almost all royal orders this becomes the first original document; and on this are based the subsequent orders issued in pursuance of it. Very often we meet with the statement '*nam kēlvi tara-chchoṇṇōm*' meaning 'we directed the issue of our *kēlvi* (oral order put in writing)'. The word '*kēlvi*' is seen sometimes substituted by '*ōlai*' (written palm leaf). The receiving officers out of regard for the king termed it *tirumandiravōlai* where *tiru* (Skt. *Śrī*) denotes 'His Majesty's', *mandira* 'council' and *ōlai* 'document or order'. Thus, its equivalent is 'the order of His Majesty in Council'. It is exactly the same as *tiruvāyikkēlvi*. The word *sāmodāya* means '*sāmodāya*'. This body may consist of one class of people or be of different classes. In temples also there existed such a body. Probably it was composed of different kinds of servants employed in it. The term *Māḷigaṭṭaṇam* may have been used to denote the official in charge of the management of the king's household. It may be rendered into 'Palace-Manager'. *Adigāram* may be taken to mean 'one who exercises power, a maintainer of law'. '*Prakriyā-^{te}-adhikāraḥ*' and the explanation '*vyavasthā-sthāpanīyasya*' well bring out the sense. *Valanāṭṭu-kāriyam-śeygira* means 'the administrative head of a district'. The sense of the term *Āṇaitṭaṇam* is well brought

out in lines 207-210 of the larger Leiden plates. It denotes the person who, when the boundaries of a village or villages are being circumambulated by the assemblies of the *nāḍu* (district or sub-division) in company with the *kaskāḍi* (Superintendents), had to go with them mounted on the elephant (*ōṇai*) and to point out the boundaries. *Meyppu* is somewhat difficult to explain definitely. It is not known whether the first letter *me* is long or short. If long it may indicate that the person who bore this designation was in charge of the feeding of the elephant; and if short, it may denote a police officer. In the name *Pōṇṇu Azavamudaiyān Viḷli* (No. 76 of Appendix A), the word *Pōṇṇu* may denote some duty or office which is not possible to be definitely defined now.

TEXT.

First Plate; First Side.

- 1 Svasti śrī 3¹ Ambhaḥ² pūrvam³=abhūd=idan=tad=udarē⁴ śētē sma ścēhē Haris=tan-nābhēr-
ajanishta patmam⁵=abhavat
- 2 tasmāt⁶ avayam Viśvaṣṭi⁷ [1⁸] tasmād=Atrir=amushya-lōchana-putād=Indur=Budhas=tat-
sutas=tasmād=āsa Purūravā-
- 3 s-tata imē⁹ Paṇḍyēśvarā jajñirē ॐ Svasti śrī- Sundarēśād=avagata-samaya[s¹⁰]-ay-ābhi-
dhāu-ārayasya grāma-
- 4 ay=āghāta-kṛiptim¹¹prati sapadi¹² nijē vatsarē pañcha-viñśē [1⁸] Chaṇḍānśāv=ātta¹³-Chāpē
Kānaka-pati-tithau
- 5 kṛishṇa-paksh-Ārkivāra-Svātī-yōgē karṣṇam gamayitum=avadad-Rājagambhīradēvaḥ ॐ
Pūviṇ-kilatti mē-
- 6 vi viṇṇiruppa Mēdiṇi-mādu nḍiyir-puṇara vaya-pPōr-maḍandai jaya-ppuyatt-iruppa
mā-kKalai-maḍandai
- 7 vākkiṇil viḷaṅga-ttiśaiy-iru-nāṅgum¹⁴=īśai-nilāv=crippa Maṇai-neṇi vaḷara Maṇu-neṇi tigaḷa
ara-ne-
- 8 ṛi-chchamaiyaṅgaḷ=ārun-talaippa-kkāṇa-vēṅgaiyai villuḍaṇ turandū mīṇaḷ-Kānakā-
chalettu
- 9 viṇṇiruppa eṇ-giri śūḷinda eḷu-kaḍal-eḷu¹⁵-poḷil vaṇ-kuḍai-niḷaṅ¹⁶-chenkō=paḍappa=¹⁷
kkōḍuṇ-

¹ This sign is used here for punctuation mark. See also line 310. *The Archaeological Survey of South India*, Volume IV, which will hereafter be indicated by *A. S. S. I.*, actually takes it for *visarga* from which it is hardly distinguishable.

² Read *ambhaḥ*.

³ In this inscription, wherever *rim* occurs, *r* is doubled.

⁴ The letter *da* of *darē* seems to have been inserted in the space between *dā* and *rē*. It looks like the length sign of *ā*.

⁵ Read *padmam*.

⁶ There is a marked preference for the final consonant in this inscription. See also *abhavat* (l. 1), *tat-suta* (l. 2) and *vatsarē* (l. 4).

⁷ In place of *s-tata imē*, *A. S. S. I.* reads *paṇarṇē* (?).

⁸ The syllables "ay=āghāta-kṛiptim" have been read as *ayā(śākhā)kṛiptim* in *A. S. S. I.* There is no doubt about the reading given in our text. The letter *bḥ* is rare and looks like *ka* as it must; but it cannot be taken for *kā*, for the length sign is clearly distinguished in this inscription from *ra* by the latter being given a tube at the bottom.

⁹ The letter *di* is corrected from *ti*.

¹⁰ *Vanta* is the reading in *A. S. S. I.* The bottom letter *i* is slightly damaged.

¹¹ *Mīḍai* is the reading in most inscriptions, but in No. 417 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V, it is replaced by *mīḍai*.

¹² The reading in *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 412 and 417 is *ḷ*. In this inscription, the letter *ja* is clear.

¹³ Though *niḷaṅga* is the reading found in Nos. 412 and 417 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, our inscription uses *niḷaṅ* both here and in line 12; the short and long *i* are clearly distinguished. In No. 302 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, *niḷaṅga* is followed by *irunkō* instead of *śenkō*.

- 10 Kali naḍuṅgi neḍum-pilatt-oḷippa Villavar¹ Šombiyar Virāṭar Varāṭar¹ Pallavar
tiraiyudāṇ muraḷ muraḷ
11 paḷiya iru-nēmiy-aḷavum=oru-nēmiy=ōṅga iṇṇ-amud=āgiya iyal-īṣai-nāḍaga[m*] maṇṇi
vaḷara maḷi-muḷi
12 šūdi verpenav=ōṅgiya² viraśimhāṣanattu³=kkaṇṇa-paḷaḷ-kalai-valōr pugala maṇṇavar-
dōviyar vaṇa-
13 āgi-niṇṇ-ēttum-aṇṇa-mēṇ-paḷaiy=Avanimuḷaduḷaiyāroḍum viṇṇirund-aruḷiya śri-kō-
chChadaivarmma-
14 r-āṇa Tribhuvanaḥchakravartigaḷ śri-Kulaśōkaradōvarṇku yāṇḍu 13-vadu nāḷ nāl-
āyirattu munnōr-
15 r-arupadiṇāl⁴ Madurōdaya-vaḷanāṭṭu Māḍakkuḷa-kkḷ⁵ Madurai-kkōyir-paḷliy-arai-
kkūḷat-

First Plate; Second Side.

- 16 tu=ppaḷli-pṇṇam **Maḷavarājaṇi**=eḷundaruḷiy-irundu [Vēdamu]m Śāstramu[m] pōy
vyākhyātākkaḷāy-i-
17 rukkuḷ=chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭargaḷ pēr-āyiratt-eḷpadinmaṇṇu⁶=ppaṇḍu āyiratt-eḷpadum
dēvadāṇa-p-
18 paṇi-ēy-virutti paṇḍu nūṇ-irupadum āga=ppaṇḍu āyiratt-iru-nūṇrukku=ppadiṇ-
mūṇṇāvaḍi-
19 *n-ēdir paḍiṇ-ōṇṇam-āṇḍu-mudal brahmadēyam-āga-kKiragūr-nāṭṭu *Nakkamaṇḍala-
mum Uḍaiyā-
20 r Tiruppūvaṇam-uḷaiyār dēvadāṇam Vāgaikuḍiyum utpaḍu⁷ brahmadēyam-āga-kkōṭṭiṇa
Tiruvāva-
21 ṇamun-Tuttiyūrum ¹⁰Kirugākkōṭṭaiyum=ivv-ūr=¹¹ Kāḍuvēṭṭiyum Muṭṭamuḷ= Korra-
pēriy-
22 n-Taḍaiyili-Tiyāgiy-ēmbalum Veḷḷattaiveṇṇān-ēmbalum Pogavadiy-ēmbalum Na-
23 ḷuvir-kōṭṭaiyūn=Kāḍaṇ-Eṭṭi-kuruchchiyum **Papaṇḍalūr**¹²-nāṭṭu Adikaraiyum Mitti-
24 ravāliyum Vēlaṇḍalumum Oṇaḷagiṇ-ēmbalum=Chōlaiyēriyūn-Kuḷaiṇḷōḷiyum-Ara-
25 vaṇi-Puḍukkuḷamun=Kṇ¹³-Chūraiym Mēr-Chūraiym Piḷārikuḷamum Papaṇḍalūr-āṇa
Paṇḍita-
26 paṇḷaranallūrum Seyyakulattūrum Śiṇḡagēriyudaiyāṇ kūṇippaṇṇum Vaṇṇiyūruḷ=Kaṭku-
27 riṇchchiyum¹⁴=Ariyāṇkuruchchiyum=Āraikkuḷamum=Arugaśāḍiyum Viragaṇa- ¹⁵ppērayaṇ-
ēmbalum Vi-

¹ *Marāṭar* is a variant found in No. 303 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

² Instead of this phrase, *viṇḡaṇṇa kōḍi-ōḷi* occurs in No. 302 and *viṇḡaṇṇa* alone in Nos. 412 and 417 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

³ The *o* of *oḷip* is an interlineation. It is entered below the line.

⁴ The reading *āḷu* in *A. S. S. I.*, is wrong. The mistake increases the number of days by four.

⁵ Read **rku*.

⁶ The *e* sign of *pe* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

⁷ Over the letter *Na*, the *i* sign is entered and erased.

⁸ The length of *yā* is entered at the beginning of the next line.

⁹ Read *utpaḍa*.

¹⁰ The reading *Śirupāḍ* given in *A. S. S. I.* is wrong.

¹¹ Read *-ār*.

¹² The length of *lā* is here separated from the letter, whereas it is connected with it in line 25.

¹³ Read *Kṇ*.

¹⁴ The word *kuruchchi* is in some cases spelt *kurichchi*. See lines 77, 106, 236.

¹⁵ This word may also be read *ppērayaṇ*. As there is no *i* sign over the letter *r*, the reading *ppēriyaṇ* given in *A. S. S. I.* must be considered wrong.

i, a.

[illegible]

i, b.

[illegible]

ii, a.

32
34
36
38
40
42
44

- 28 rapūḍiyappērayaṇ¹-ēmbalum Moliyāṇ-ēmbalum Ambalakkūṭṭaṇ-ēmbalum Śitta-
 29 ²n-ēmbalum ³Paṇṇirāyirappērayaṇ¹-ēmbalum-Uvaṇṇiyamaṇḡalamum ⁴Pudaichchāṇ
 kuḷi[y-ēṁ]ba-
 30 lum **Tiyandaikuḍi¹-nāṭṭu¹** Ugaray-ōḍu Kōṭṭaiyuṇ-Chivigaiyāṇ-kuliyum-Uḍum[ba]ndai²

Second Plate: First Side.

- 31 ⁵yūm-Ulagaṇaiyuṇ=Karaiyūruṇ=Kuṇṇēliyum Maṭṭaḍakkiyēriyuṇ= Chaṇḡappērayaṇ⁶-
 ēmba-
 32 lum Puṭṭēmbalum Kalaiyaṇēriyum Śeṇkuḷiyum=Orukkorraṇēriyuṇ=Kaḷvāyilmaṇ-
 33 ḡalamum Puḷḷaṇēriyuṇ-Chēṇḡaṇēriyu[m*] ¹⁰Nakkaṇēriyum Pārkuḷamum Uyyāṇ Śūri-
 yaṇ-ēmbalu-
 34 m Maruḍaṇkuḷiyum Nāvarkaḷiyum Kaṇḍiyūr-nāḍā[vāṇ-ēmbaluṇ=Chiṇu-Nakkaṇ-ēriyuṇ=
 Chūlāma-
 35 [ṇi]yum Puṇṇaḷkuḷamum Śiruvayaḷuṇ=Kōṇṇaḷkuḷamum Puḷamaṇḡalamuṇ=Kaṇkuḷamuṇ=
 Karumaḷkuḷa-
 36 mum Eṇḷiyum Paḍaichchankaḷamum Puḷiyaṇkuḷamum Pūḍikuḷamum Vēḷarkaḡuḇ-
 chiyum Vāy[ṭ*]talainallū-
 37 rum ivv-ūj¹¹ Kāḍuvēṭṭiyum Māḡavīramaduraikkūḷatt-u[vāyil Maruḍūr¹²-kāḷukku- kkiḷak-
 [ku-pp]ā-
 38 ¹²ḍaḡappaḍi nila[m*] mūḡru-vēliyum utpaḍu¹³ brahmaḍēyam-āḡa-kkūṭṭāṇa Maruḍūr- āṇa
 Maḍurōḍaya-chchatu-
 39 rvvēḍimaṇḡalamuṇ=Chaṇḡaṇ-ēmbaluṇ=Chaṇḡkamaṇḡalamum Tiyaṇūr- Sōḷaiyēriyuṇ=
 Kiḷāṇkāṭṭū[r-ā]ṇa
 40 Puravari-chchaturvvēḍimaṇḡalaṁ paḍiṇ-mūḡrāvaḍiṇ-edir pattāṁ-āṇḍavarai kuḍiṇ-
 paṇṇāy vanda nīr-nīlamuṇ=ka-
 41 ruḇchey puṇṇeyum nattamun=tōṭṭamum tiḷalum-āraṇiyuṇ=kōyil-aḍiyum tira[na*]-
 ndavaṇa[mu]m
 42 ēmbalum utpaṭṭa nilam eṭṭē āru-mā i-ṇṇilam eṭṭē āru-māvum Virapāṇḍiyaṇ- kō-
 43 lāl nīkki nīkki-ppakkattār paṇṇāy-uḷḷa nilamum Mēḡ-Paḷalaiy-āṇa Śivallabha-chchatur-
 vvēḍimaṇḡala-
 44 m paḍiṇ-mūḡrāvaḍiṇ edir pattāṁ-āṇḍavarai kuḍiy-iranda jaṇmigaḷ paṇṇāy vanda nīr-
 nilamu-
 45 ū-karuṇche[y*] puṇṇeyum=nattamun=tōṭṭamun=tiḷalum Śrīkōyilḡalum tiruṇḡdava-
 ṇamum

¹ This word may also be read *ppōyag*. As there is no *i* sign over *r* the reading *pperiyag* given in *A. S. S. I.* must be considered wrong.

² The *i* sign of *āḷ* is entered at the end of the previous line.

³ In *ḡōṭ*, there is a correction. The engraver seems to have at first written *ra* and inserted the length mark afterwards between *ḡ* and *ō*.

⁴ *Pukai* given in *A. S. S. I.* is incorrect.

⁵ *Kuḍa*, the reading in *A. S. S. I.* is not right. The word occurs again with the spelling *kuḍi*.

⁶ Here and in many more places the letter *ṇa* is shaped exactly as the *e* sign. It is due to the indifference of the scribe.

⁷ This word has been read *Uḡamasundai* in *A. S. S. I.*

⁸ At the beginning of this line, the *A. S. S. I.* has *kuḍi* of which there are no traces. The first letter is certainly *ṇa*.

⁹ The reading *periyag* given in *A. S. S. I.* is inadmissible. There is no *i* sign over *r*. An alternative reading would be *pōyag* which does not give good sense.

¹⁰ By mistaking *na* for *ṇa*, *Kaḷkaṇēri* has been made out in *A. S. S. I.*

¹¹ Read *ār*. Perhaps the writer uses *r* in place of *ā*.

¹² There is nothing to suspect the letter to be *ā* as has been done in *A. S. S. I.*

¹³ Read *utpaḍa*.

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 46 utpaḍa Virapāṇḍiyan-kōlāl nilan=nāl-araiyē mukkāṇi i-nnūla[m*] nāl-araiyē mu-kkāṇi-yuṇ=
- 47 nīkki nīkki-ppakkattārum Maṇavarum paṇṇāy-uḷḷa nilamum Pirāṇḍiyēriyūṇ-Kaḍukku-ḍiyum¹
- 48 *Mēṭ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallaḥba-chaturvēdimaṇḍalattu-tTiruppa[śa]ṇaiṇādar dōvada[ṇa]ṇ=Chēṭṭā.²
- 49 [ēriyūṇ-tirappu³-chChopḍaṇ-ēmbalum-Tattāṇ-ēmbalum Vēmbōḍ-ē[mbalum] Pāppā-
- 50 ṇ-ēmbalum Edirilīṣ[appērayaṇ⁴-ēmbalum-Mēṭ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śriva[ḷ*]labha-[chaturvē]-dimaṇ.
- 51 galattu Śrī-Vaikunda-Viṇṇagar-Ā[vārku-kkārāṇmai-y-utpaḍa=ddāvadāṇa irai[yili vē]ru-muda-
- 52 l Vēlaṇkālūṇ-Kaṇichebiy-ēmbalūṇ-kuḍikkāṇiḥku-ttalaimāṣu viṭṭa nilamum tira[p]pu Paṇai.⁴
- 53 yaṇḍēriyūṇ-Ki[ḷ]-Vēliyāṇṇūrum * [Mē]ḷ-Vēliyāṇṇūrum Maṇḍaiyār-kuḷamun=Nel-
- 54 vēliyūṇ-Taṇṇilattaraiyaṇ-ēmbalum Sōmāttūrum Aṇavaṇkuḍiyūṇ-Karu[ō*]kuḷamum E-
- 55 ṇāttūrum-Taḍāppiraiyūṇ-Kāṇchiraṇkuḷamum Mēṇkuḍi-nāṭṭu Mēṇkuḍi-āṇa Kalijaya-
- 56 maṇḍalam paḍiṇ-mūṇṇāvadīṇ-edir paitāṇ-āṇḍavarai kuḍippaṇṇāy vanda nīr-nilamūṇ-ka-
- 57 ruṇche[y*] puṇḍeyu[m*] nattamum=utpaḍa Virapāṇḍiyan-kōlāl nilam-iraṇḍē nālu-mā i-
- 58 nnilam-iraṇḍē nālu-māvu[m*] nīkki nīkki-ppakkattār paṇṇāy-uḷḷa nilamum Mēṇ-Mēṇkuḍi-yum Maṇḍaiyūṇ-Koṇṇāṇḍēiyum Uḍaiyār Tiroppūvaṇam-uḍaiyār dāvadāṇa[m*] Mut-
- 60 tūraṇarōṭṭaiyūm Appalvā[yu]m⁵-ivv-ūr[p*]pār⁶. Chundaṇ-ēmbalum Narimaṇṇamāṇa Va[ra].¹¹

Third Plate; First Side.

- 61 gaṇḍanallūrum ivv-ūrpār¹². Chilaiyaṇḍēriyūṇ-Uṇiyappiyūṇ Tāḷiy-ēmbalum Ko-
- 62 ṇṇāṇēriyūṇ Sūriyaṇ-ēmbalum Sōmaṇḍēriyūṇ tirappu Purappaṇai-nāṭṭu=pPulla.¹³
- 63 *ṇēriyūṇ Kaṇṇaṇṇ-kaṇḍicheyppaṇṇir-kūṭṭiṇa nilamum Maḍalaikuriḥchē-kaṇḍichey-
- 64 yūṇ Kiḷ-Chēḷi-ppaṇṇaraiyūṇ Achehaṇḍāṭṭirukkai Miḷagaṇṇū-āṇa Irāṇḍirāṇḍāṇa-
- 65 llūrum ivv-ūrpār Miṇṇēriyūṇ Kaṇṇikuḍiyūṇ Amiyaṇḍēriyūṇ Naḍuvir-Chēḷi.

¹ Kaḍukūḍi is the reading in *A. S. S. I.* This is due to the resemblance of *ḍa* to *ḷ* sign.

² The *ḷ* sign of *Mē* is entered at the end of the previous line.

³ The reading *ṇam Sēmbāṇḍēri* given in *A. S. S. I.* is hardly possible. At the end of the line, the letter *ṇ* is very clear. Owing to scratches over the penultimate *t*, it seems to have been mistaken for *m*. As the loops of *n* are fully developed in this inscription, there is no doubt about the first letter of the next line being *ṇ* and not *nē*. I have accordingly taken the word to be *Sēṇṇāṇḍēri*.

⁴ This word has been wrongly read as *tira* in *A. S. S. I.* *Tirappa* occurs again in lines 52 and 68 where it has been correctly read.

⁵ Here again, we have *pōṇṇaṇ-ḷ*. The engraver appears to have incised the *ḷ* sign over *r* and erased it.

⁶ The last syllable is *ṇai* and not *ṇai* as given in *A. S. S. I.*

⁷ Here the loop for long *i* is wanting.

⁸ For *Mē* the engraver has written *pē*.

⁹ The letter *ya* of *vāṇam* resembles *pa*. The middle vertical stroke does not seem to have been cut.

¹⁰ The reading *pōṇṇaṇ-ḷ* of *A. S. S. I.* is not admissible.

¹¹ The last letter *ra* is missing, the plate being broken at the corner.

¹² In place of *ppār*, the *A. S. S. I.* has *Maḍar*.

¹³ Instead of *paṇṇai* and *Pulla*, we have *Pirāṇ* and *Tulla* in *A. S. S. I.* The engraver has written *pps* as a group and the group symbol actually resembles *ya*.

¹⁴ The *ḷ* sign of *nē* is at the end of the previous line.

- 66 kkuḷatt-ulvāyūm Mēr-Cheliyūm Kuṛuchchāttiyūm Śirukkiḷāttiyūm Puvaṇṇallūrum Ā-
 67 rikudiyūm Sōmaṇēriyūm Tāyaṇ-Pūdi-embalum Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇam-uḍaiyār
 68 dēvadāṇaṇ-Chirukilāṇkāttūrum Śīru-Miḷagiyūm tīrappu Neṛkuṇṇamum Kaṭṭikkula-
 69 mum Peṛṇṇ-ēmbalum āga ivv-ūrgaḷiṇ=paḷaṇ-dēvadāṇam paḷlichchendam ¹karāṇmai-
 70 yāṇa nilam nīkki nīkkiy-uḷla nilam muṇṇ-uḍaiyārum paḷam-pērum Vellāṇ-vagaiy[u]-
 71 m mudalun=tavirttu oru-nāḍum or-ūrum oru-puravum=ākki Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāṭṭu
 Rājagambhīra-
 72 chaturvvēdimaṇḍalam=ēṇṇun=tirunāṁmattāl brahmadēyaṇ-cheydaruḷi ivv-ūr nāṇ[g]-el-
 73 laiyyū=kaṇkāṇiḷaḷōḍuṇ=kūḍa=ppiḍi śūḷndu piḍi naḍanda ellaikku aṇav-ōlai śeydu
 74 kuḍukkaveṇṇu tiruvāymolindaruḷiṇamaiyil Puravu[va]ri²-kkaṇkāṇi Miḷalai-kkū-
 75 rratu Naḍuvir-kūṛru Śrī-Parāntakanallūr-Kaṭṭikurichchi-uḍaiyāṇ Araiya[n*] Nārāya.³

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 76 ṇaṇum Miḷalai-kkūrrattu K[ī*]⁴-kūṛru Taṇḍalaiuḍaiyāṇ Pirāntakaṇ Tiruppūvaṇamuḍai.⁵
 77 yāṇum Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkulakkil Māraṇūr-āṇa Palamaṇḍalāḍittanallūr⁶ Māraṇū-
 78 r-uḍaiyāṇ Karuṇākaradēvaṇ Purpavaṇamuḍaiyāṇum Tiruvāykkēḷvi-pPuṇṇappa-
 79 lai-nāṭṭu=pPuttūr-uḍaiyāṇ Poṇṇaṇ Sūriyadēvaṇ-āṇa Jeyadara-pPallavaraiyar ka-
 80 ṇkāṇi Sōla-maṇḍalattu Tirumuṇaiṇpāḍi-nāṭṭu=kKaruppūr-uḍaiyāṇ ⁷Pillai-Ālvāṇ-āṇa
 81 Poṇṇambalakkūṭṭaṇum Poyyāmolidēvar-kaṇkāṇi Karuṇḡuḍi-nāṭṭu Kiḷ-Ne-
 82 tṭūr-āṇa Kīrtivisālaiyanallūr Vellāṇ Śāttaṇum sāmudāyam Muttūṛru-kūrrattu-kKa-
 83 ppalūr⁸-āṇa Ulagaḷandaśōḷanallūr Kappalūr-uḍaiyāṇ ⁹Sirāmaṇ Tiruvuḍaiyāṇ-āṇa⁹
 84 Pottappichchōḷar kaṇkāṇi Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanāṭṭu Veliyāṇṇū[r-u*]ḍaiyāṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ Śātta-
 85 ṇum Māḷigaittaṇam Vaḍatalai-chChembi-nāṭṭu Āykkudiy-āṇa Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyanallūr¹⁰ Śiva-
 86 ḷlavaṇ Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷaṇ-āṇa Kāḷiṅgarāyar kaṇkāṇi Poḷiyūr-nāṭṭu Aruṇkaḷam-uḍaiyāṇ
 87 Arayaṇ Tirumalai-uḍaiyāṇum Maḷavarāyar kaṇkāṇi ¹¹Tiyandaikuḍi-nāṭṭu Kiṭ-Paśalaiy-
 āṇa Dā.¹²
 88 ṇaviṇōḍanallūr-uḍaiyāṇ Arayaṇ Karuṁāṇikkamum Pillaiyār Aḷagapperumāl=adikāra-
 89 m=Muttūṛru-kkūrrattu=kKappalūr-āṇa Ulagaḷandaśōḷanallūr¹⁰-Kappalūr-uḍaiyāṇ Uyyava-
 90 ndāṇ Poṇṇaṇ-āṇa Māṇābaraṇa-Mūvēṇḍavēḷārum Śōḷapāṇḍiya-vaḷanāṭṭu-chChirupā-

¹ Read *karāṇmai*.² The damage in the syllables *evu* seems to have led to the wrong reading *ścha* in *A. S. S. I.*³ A bit of the plate at the right bottom corner, enough to cover a letter is broken off. Still no letter is actually missing as is clear from the fact that *Nārāya* at the end of this face of the plate reads without break with *ṇaṇum* at the beginning of the next face. But at the end of that line where the bit is lost, the letter *ṣ* seems to have been written and lost and had to be crammed in just to the right of, but below, the *ai* sign. Had the bit been broken before, *ṣ* would have found place at the beginning of the second line.⁴ The *ī* sign of *kī* has not been engraved and the *A. S. S. I.* has the letter *ka* correctly.⁵ There is an extra length sign in *lā*.⁶ The passage after *Karuppūruḍai* seems to have been written over an erasure. The letters at the end clearly retain traces of the prior writing. In the previous line also the damaged condition and the size of the letters from *Sūriya* to the end suggest the same fact though traces of the old letters are not seen.⁷ What looks like *ya* at the commencement of this line is the group symbol for *ppa*.⁸ Read *Śi*.⁹ The last letter *ṇa* is a correction.¹⁰ Read *ōlūr*.¹¹ This word has been wrongly read in *A. S. S. I.* as *Tiyanakai*.¹² The length of *Dā* is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 91 laiyr¹-āṇa Kāvōrivallavanallōr-uḍaiyāṇ Nambi Poggumbalakkūttāṇ-āṇa Virasiṅgadēva.²
 92 rum i-nnāṭṭukku=kkāri[ya³]ē=cheygira Irāsiṅgaṇkulaḱkī Irāśēndirattu Aḷagiyapāṇḍi-
 93 yāṇ aṇukkaril Malaikīyāṇirāṇ Aḷagāṇ-āṇa Viśaiyā-Viechādīradēvarum kaṇkāṇiyāṇa
 Ti-
 94 yandaikudil-nāṭṭu Mūgavīramadurai Mādavaṇ Divākara-Baṭṭaṇu⁴=Nārāyaṇaṇ Nārāyaṇa-
 Baṭṭa-
 95 ṇum āi(śri)-Mādavaṇ Nārasiṅha-Bhaṭṭaṇum Gōvindaṇ Tiruṇṭakapḍa-Baṭṭaṇum Jātavēdan
 96 Subrahmaṇya-Bhaṭṭaṇum utpaḍu⁵ brahmaḍēyamāṇa=kkūttina Maruḍūr-āṇa Madurōdaya-
 chchatu-
 97 ^{rrē}vēdimaṅgalattu=^tTirukkudandai Āḍityaṇ Śēndapirāṇ-Baṭṭaṇum śri-Kṛishṇaṇ-Aḷagi-
 98 ya-Bāghava-Bhaṭṭaṇum Kāliyāṇa Venṇaikkūtta-Bhaṭṭaṇum Mēṇ-Paḷalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallabha-
 chaturvēdi-
 99 maṅgalattu Āhītōṇi śri-Raḡganātha-Bhaṭṭa-Sōma-Kāthaka-yājiyārum Nārāyaṇaṇ Nārāya-
 100 ṇa-Bhaṭṭaṇum śri-Vāsudēvaṇ Nagnapirāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇum śri-Rāmaṇ Paramātmā-Bhaṭṭaṇum
 Kiṭ-Paḷalai-
 101 y-āṇa Dāgaviṇḍanallūr⁶-Āyaṇ Uyyaṇirāḍuvāṇ-āṇa Śēmbiyadaraṇyāṇum Kēśavaṇ Nārāya-
 102 ṇaṇum Karumāṇikkāṇ-Korrapuṇ Kalvāyil Kēśavaṇum Periyāṇ Peṇṇāṇum Naṅga-
 103 ṇ-Aḷagaṇum Vāsudēvaṇ Sūriyadēvaṇum Poliyūr-nāṭṭu=pPoliyūr-āṇa Pāṭṭi(rthi)vakēśa-
 104 rinallūr=Appaṇ Sūriyadēvaṇum Udayaṇ Varagunadēvaṇ-āṇa Aḷagiyapāṇḍiya-Viḷupparai-
 105 yaṇum Sūriyaṇ Varāntaruvāṇ-āṇa Saṅgirāmaśiṅga-pPallavaraiyaṇum Sundarattōḷudaiyā-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 106 ṇ Sōmadēvaṇum Puṇapparaḷai-nāṭṭu-kKaḷḷikkudiy-āṇa Puravuvirinallūr⁷-Dayānilai Uyya-
 107 vandāṇ-āṇa Chēdarāyaṇum⁸ Aṇukkaṇ-Ariyāṇum Appaṇ-Arunolīdēvaṇ-āṇa Śērabiyāṇ-Viḷu-
 108 pparaiyaṇum Puttū⁹-kiḷavaṇ Baṭṭaṇ-āṇa Puṇapparaḷai¹⁰-pāḍu-kiḷavaṇum Kāñaiy-Irukkaiy=
 Iruṇēli-
 109 raiy-āṇa Indirasamāṇanallūr¹¹-Pāḷiyānilai Sūriyadēvaṇ-āṇa Tamṇpāḍu-kiḷavaṇum Vēḷāṇ=
 Ira-
 110 ṭṭaiy-āṇa Irāḱakūṇjara-pPallavaraiyaṇum Bājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalattudāṇ kūṭṭi-
 111 ṇa Miḷagaṇūṇku=ttalaimāṇu kuḍurta Achehaḱkūṭṭirukkai¹²-kKuvalaivēḷiyum Puḍuk-
 kuḷamum Mā-
 112 raṇkīrtiyum Kāvidinallūrum¹³ Kaḍambamaṅgalamum Śāṭṭiyār-ēmbalum Kāñaiy-Irukkaiy=
 Arai-
 113 yarkuḷattil Mandari Irāmaṇ-āṇa Pallavarāyar kāṇiyāṇa śēmpōdi nīkki nīkkiy-uḷḷa nīla-
 114 mum-āṇa ivv-ūṇḱaḷ muṇṇ-uḍaiyārum paḷam-peyarum mudaluṇ-tavirṭu oru-nāḷum or-ūrum
 o-

¹ The commencement of this line has been read *alai* in *A. S. S. I.* Of this the first letter *ā* is really the Tamil numeral 'four' which is the number of the plate and which is cut at the left top corner away from *laiyūr* and slightly below the first line.

² The syllables *dēva* have been read as *Tōḷa* in *A. S. S. I.*

³ The letters *āyā* are expressed by a group.

⁴ Read *utpaḍu*.

⁵ The *z* sign of *rrē* is at the end of the previous line.

⁶ This word may also be read *Arayaṇ*.

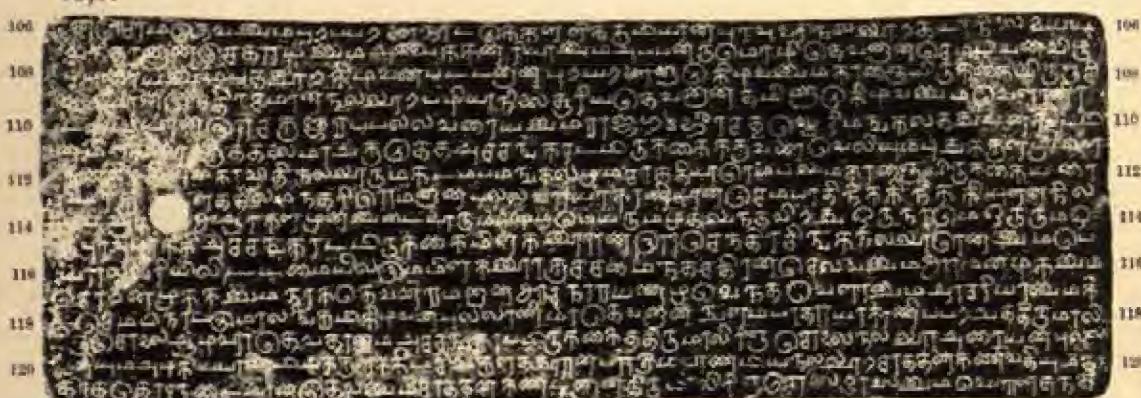
⁷ Read *ūr*.

⁸ Read *Chēdi*.

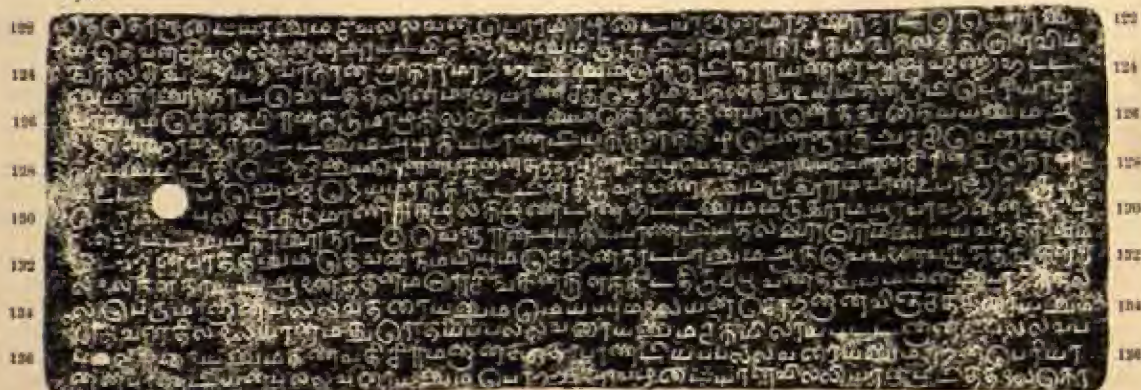
⁹ The letters *ppa* are expressed by a group.

¹⁰ *Valaivēḷi* is taken as the name of the village in *A. S. S. I.*

¹¹ This has been incorrectly read as *Mahāvidhi* in *A. S. S. I.*

ix, a.*ib. id.*

T. A.



v.b.

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Text in Tamil script, lines 328-352 on the left and 738-750 on the right.

vi.a.

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Text in Tamil script, lines 104-658 on the left and 154-750 on the right.

vi.b.

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Text in Tamil script, lines 170-750 on the left and 170-750 on the right.

- 115 ru-puravum=akki Achchañkātṭirukkai-Miḷagaṇūr-āṇa Irāsēndirśiṅganallūr-ennum pe-
 116 yarāl variyil-iṭṭamaiyil i-mMiḷagaṇūrku¹-chehamaina Śadiraṇ Śelvaṇum Irāmaṇ-Alagaṇum
 117 Śōraṇ Mākkapaṇum Nāgaḍavaṇ-Irāmaṇ-āṇa Irāśanārāyaṇa-Mūvēṇḍavēlāṇum Araśariyaṇum
 KI-
 118 t-Chembi-nāṭṭu Mālaṅguḍi-kiḷavaṇ Pullāṇi Mādavaṇ-āṇa Nuḷambāḍarāyar kāṇippaṇru-
 tTirumālī-
 119 ri²nūchōlai-Ājvār dēvaḍāṇam Achchañkātṭirukkai-tTirumā³lirīnūchōlainallūr Araiyaṇ Pullā.⁴
 120 ṇiyum Alagiyaṇpāṇḍiyakkulakkī-Chirukuḷattūr-āṇa Parākramaṇpāṇḍiyaṇallūr-Śāṭṭaṇ Ka-
 ṇavadiyūm Sun-
 121 darattōḷuḍaiyaṇ Dēvaṇum Śāṭṭaṇ Kaṇḍaṇ-āṇa Tirumālirīnūchōlai⁵.Dāsaṇum Vēlāṇ Sunda-

Fifth Plate; First Side.⁶

- 122 rattōḷuḍaiyaṇum Śivallavaṇ Pērāyiramūḍaiyaṇ-āṇa Māraṇūr-nāṭṭu Vēlāṇu-
 123 m Dēvaṇ Śivallavaṇ-āṇa Araṭṭamikkidāsaṇum Śūraḷuḍiy-āṇa Virakāmugamaṅgalattu
 Ilavima-
 124 āgalattu Udayadivākaṇa śri-Kārimōṇa-Bhaṭṭaṇum i-kkuḍi Nārāyaṇaṇ Subrahmaṇya-
 Bhaṭṭa-
 125 ṇum Kiraṇūr-nāṭṭu Viḍattal-āṇa Māṇābaraṇa-chaturvvēḍimaṅgalattu Uyyaniṇṇāḍi Periyāḷ-
 126 vāṇum Śēṇḍapirōṇ Karumāmugil-Bhaṭṭaṇum Gōvindaṇ Māṇēṇḍukaiyyaṇum Ā-
 127 dityaṇ Bhāskara-Bhaṭṭaṇum Alagiyaṇpāṇḍiyakkulakkī Vēlūrkuṇēchi Vēlāṇ
 128 Kōvaṇum⁷ Ādi Perrāṇum Vēlāṇ=Alagaṇ-āṇa Sundaraṇpāṇḍiya-Mūvēṇḍavēlāṇum Vēlāṇ
 Śirīḷaḷkō[vu].⁸
 129 m utpaḍu⁹ brahmadēyamāga=kkūṭṭiṇa Tiruvāvaṇattu Marudūr-Āḷvāṇ Upāddhyāyaram
 130 Perumpuliyūr Karumāpikkam-Ulagamuḍāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇum Marudūr Mayūrvāhaṇaṇ
 Āḍuvā.¹⁰
 131 n-Bhaṭṭaṇum Kiraṇūr-nāṭṭu Vēlūr-āṇa Alagiyaṇpāṇḍiyaṇallūr Irāmaṇ-Uyyavandāṇum
 132 Perrāṇ Pāṭṭaṇum Dēvaṇ Nambiyum Śōraṇ Nāṭṭaṇum -āṇa ivv-āṇaivarun-taṅgaḷ e-
 133 llaigaḷ kāṭṭa Āṇaṭṭaṇam Irāśiṅgaṇkuḷakkī- Tiruppuvaṇattu Pammaṇ-Āḍiyāṇkunāḷ-
 134 laṇṇum-āṇa Pallavadaraiyaṇum Meyppu Malaiyaṇ Śōraṇ-āṇa Viñjattaraiyaṇum
 135 Dēvaṇ Tillaiy-āṇa Madurōḍaya-pPallavaraiyaṇum Śikayilāya¹¹-Bhaṭṭaṇ-āṇa [Śrī]vallaṇa-p-
 136 Pallavaraiyaṇum Kaṇavadi Śirāmaṇ-āṇa Sundaraṇpāṇḍiya-pPallavaraiyaṇum¹² [Ē]raṇ
 Periyā-
 137 n-āṇa Pāṇḍiyaṇ Pallavaraiyaṇum Pōṇru Aravamūḍaiyaṇ Villiy-āṇa¹³ Muḍittalaliko.¹⁴

¹ Read *rkku.

² Read *lirīnūchōlai.

³ The length stroke of lā is written at the commencement of the next line and is damaged.

⁴ The number of the plate is engraved on the margin of the left top corner.

⁵ The left hand portion of the medial ś sign of Kō is written at the end of the previous line.

⁶ After Perrāṇ the letters are smaller in size up to *n Śirīḷa⁷.

⁷ Read utpaḍu. The letter *da* resembles the secondary z symbol.

⁸ The last three letters are Āḍuvā. The length sign of rā, which is written at the beginning of the next line, is damaged and looks like *da*. The reading Kēṣara given in A. S. S. I. is inadmissible, for *ā* and *va* are clear.

⁹ Instead of Śikayilāya, the A. S. S. I. has Sidaiyil-Araya.

¹⁰ After *yaṇu*, there is only one *m* and the trace of the vowel *ē* following it. As such, the reading *m* Māraṇ of A. S. S. I. is inadmissible. Against the reading it has also to be noted that there is too much space for the length sign of Mā.

¹¹ Vēlāṇ is the reading in A. S. S. I. It is inadmissible as it disregards the *i* sign over *v* and the length symbol after *y*.

¹² The syllables *muḍi* are re-placed by *pidi* in A. S. S. I.

- 168 k=iṇṇam [I*] i-kkariyēy mēṛku nōkki=[chcheṇṇu i-m]Māṇavīramadurai=kkuḷatt=ulvāyil
Ma-
169 [rudūr]-kuḷattukku nīr pāygira kālukku=k[kilakku]-ppāṭṭamāy-ppayir=ēṇi va[ru]gira nilattil
Rājagam-

Sixth Plate ; Second Side.

- 170 [bhīra]-chaturvvēdimāṅgalattukku=ppāṭṭakkōlāl kūṭṭiṇa nilam mūṇṇu vē[likku=kkī]-e]-
llai[yē te]¹-
171 ṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkuḷattu=tteṇ-karaiyil=ēṇi Maru[dūr]-kuḷattukku nīr pāygira] kālaiy=
[urru]²
172 mēṛk=iṇṇam [I*] i-kkāliṇ kiḷ-karaiyēy teṇ-kiḷakku n[ōkkiyun]=teṛku nōkkiyuṇ=[cheṇṇu]
173 Vāṇagaṅgappēraiyaṇ kuḍiyiruppil teṇṇ-āsaṇudi ³mudunila-pparippaiy=urru mēṛk=i[ṇṇam]
[I*]
174 i-pparippēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Marudūr=paḷaṇ-kuḷatt-agavāyil Māṇavīramadurai=[t]-
175 ⁴teṇṇ-āsaṇudi vayalil teṇ-varambēy kiḷakku nōkkiyum vaḍa-kiḷakku nōkkiyuṇ=che[ṇṇu
Ma]-
176 rudūr=ppaḷaṇ-kuḷattu=kkīḷ-kaḍai-kkombil=ēṇi mēṛk=iṇṇam[I*] i-kkariyē mēṛ[ku]
177 nōkki=chcheṇṇu Marudūr=kkīḷ-ellaiyum Māṇavīramadurai mēl-ellaiyum=[āṇa]
178 Divākara-vāyikkāl-ūḍē teṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-vvāyikkāl muḍindu Divākara-vayakka[l]
179 ⁵m[ē]-varambē teṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-chchey=tteṇ-varambēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu[u]
180 Sundara-vayakkāl mēl-varambu peṇṇa śevvaiyēy teṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Śaṅkaramaṇ[ga]-
181 ttu vaḍav-ellaiyum Māṇavīramadurai=tteṇṇ-ellaiyum-āṇa ellaiyēy kiḷakku nōkki-
182 ⁶kiyum vaḍa-kiḷakku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Śaṅkaramaṅgalattu vaḍa-kaḍai-kkombil=ēṇi
Mē-
183 ṛ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallabha-chaturvvēdimāṅgalattu=kkuḷattukkum Kiṭ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Dā-
184 ṇaviṇḍanallūr-kkuḷattukku nīr pāygira kālaiy=urru mēṛk=iṇṇam [I*] i-kkāliṇ-mē-

Seventh Plate ; First Side.

- 185 l-karaiyē teṇ-kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkāliṇ-niṇṇum Mēṛ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallabha-
186 chaturvvēdimāṅgalattu=kkuḷattukku nīr pāya=ppiṇṇa kālaiy=ūḍaruttu=kKiṭ-Paśalaiy-
āṇa Dā-
187 ṇaviṇḍanallūr-kkuḷattukku nīr pāygira kāliṇ mēl-karai[yēy] teṇ-[ki]ḷakku nōkkiyuṇ=ki
188 kku nōkkiyun=teṛku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu i-dDāṇaviṇḍanallūr-kkuḷattu mēl-kaḍai-
189 yaiy=urru i-kkuḷattu=ppuṇkaraiyil=iṇṇaṅgi Mēṛ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallabha-chaturvvēdimāṅ-
galat-
190 tu=kkuḷattukku nīr pāygira kāliṇ kiḷ-karaiyē teṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-chChivallabha-
chaturvvē-
191 dimāṅgalattu=kkuḷattu vaḍa-kaḍaiyaiy=urru i-kkuḷattu maṇuvāy-Iḍukkāṇṇ-ūḍē teṛku nō-
192 kkiyun=teṇ-kiḷakku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Nelvēli nattattukku=ppōgira vaḷiyaiy=u-
193 ṇru mēṛk=iṇṇam[I*] i-nNelvēli=kkuḷattu=kkīḷ-kaḍai-kkombaiy=ēṇi-pPaḷalai-kkālai-
194 y=urru i-kkāliṇ mēl-karaiyē teṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Nakkaṇṇēriyil-niṇṇu mēṛku nōkki-p-

¹ The letters at the right end of lines 170 to 180 are damaged.² The traces at the end of this line and the space available admit only the reading urru and not ūḍaruttu as in A. S. S. I.³ The letter du of mudu is an interlineation. It is entered below the line.⁴ The e sign of te is entered at the end of the previous line.⁵ The ē sign of mē is at the end of the previous line.⁶ Delete the first letter ki.

- 195 pōgira valiyaiy=ūdaruttu=tteṇṇ-ellai : Nelvēli=tteṇṇ-ellaiyum Eṭṭiyēri nattattu vaḍa-
 196 vāyum-āṇa valiyēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Eṭṭiyēri natta[t]tu mēl-āṣarudiyaiy=urru i-
 197 'da-niṇṇum mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu ivv-Eṭṭiyērikkun=Nelvēlikkun=naḍuvāṇa paḷaṇ-[kōyila]-
 198 diyaiy=urru ida-niṇṇun=teṇ-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Paraḷaiy-āṇṇaiy=ūdaruttu vaḍakk=
 in[ṇam [*] [i-]
 199 vv-āṇṇi mēl-karaiyē teṛku nōkkiyun=teṇ-mēṛku nōkki[yuṇ]=cheṇṇu Sōmāttūr=ki[l-el]-
 200 lai-y-āṇa Nirambaiyūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāygira kālaiy=ūdaruttu i-[kkāliṇ] mēl-karaiyē te-⁸

Seventh Plate ; Second Side.

- 201 ṛku n[ōkki=ch]ch[e]ṇṇu i-chChōmāttūrkuṇ=Kaḷikkudippār-Chiruvāgai[k]kun=
 202 naḍuv-āṇa ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=innam[*] ivv-ellaikku na[ḍu]v-āṇa varambē [m]ē-
 203 ṛku nōkkiyun=teṇ-mēṛku nōkkiyuṇ=che[ṇ]ṇu i-chChiruvāgai=kku[la]t[tu] [vaḍa]-ka-
 204 daiyaiy=iṇṇāṅi Aravaṇkuḍi=tteṇṇ-ellaiyē ṣeṇṇu [Kaḷikkudī=kku]a]-
 205 ttukku nīr pāygira kālaiy=ūdaruttu mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Ara[vaṇku]-
 206 diyil-niṇṇum Vēḷāṇērikkun=ppōgira valiyē teṇ-mēṛku [nōkki]=
 207 cheṇṇu Vēḷāṇēri=kkī]-ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=innam [*] iv[v-el]-
 208 lai-yē Puttūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāygira kāliṇ ki]-karaiyēy [vaḍa]-
 209 kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkālaiy=ūdaruttu mēl-karaiyil ēri vaḍakk=in-
 210 ṇam [*] Vēḷāṇēri vaḍav-ellaiyuṇ=Karunikuḷattu=tteṇṇ-ellaiyum-āṇa [e]-
 211 llaiyē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Vēḷāṇēri=chChūrri-vaśakkal=ūraṇi vaḍa-karai-
 212 yēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu vaḍakk=innam [*] ellai naḍuv-āṇa varambē ṣe-
 213 ṇṇu Vēḷāṇēri Ādichcha-vaśakkaṛ=ki]-varambē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-ch-
 214 chey vaḍa-vaṛa[m*]bēy mē[ṛku] nōkki=chcheṇṇu vaḍakk=innam [*] Vēḷāṇēri-kKarunda-
 215 di=kkī]-varambēy [vaḍakku] nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-chcheykkum Ādichcha-vaśakkal

Eighth Plate ; First Side.

- 216 nāṇṇāṅkālukkum Perrāṇ-vayakkalukkum vaḍa-varambēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇ-
 217 ru Kaḷikkudippār-Chēṇēri-dDayāniti-vayakkaṛ=ki]-varambaiy=urru vaḍakk=innam [*] i-
 218 vvarambēy vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu ellai-vāykkālaiy=urru i-vvāykkāl-ūḍēy va-
 219 ḍakku nōkkiyum vaḍa-mēṛku nōkkiyum⁹ vaḍakku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Śēṇēri Mālār⁴-mukkāṇi
 vaḍa-varam-
 220 bē⁵ mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Dayānitiy=Ariyāṇ-āṇa Arundavaṇ-Viḷupparaiyaṇ Sōmadēvi-va-
 221 yakkaṛ=ki]-varambēy vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Dayāniti Māṇaviraṇ-parru=ttāḍi palavi-
 222 ṇ ki]-varambēy vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Uyyakkonḍāl-vayakkaṛ=ki]-varambēy
 223 vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-chchey vaḍa-varambēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Śēṇēri=k-
 224 kuḷattu vaḍa-karaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=innam [*] i-kkuḷattu=ppuṛkaraiyēy vaḍa-mēṛku
 225 *nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇaṇūril-niṇṇum=⁷Dēḍakōṭṭaiḷku=ppōgira peruvaḷi[yai]y=u-
 226 ṇṇu i-pperu-vaḷiyēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu vaḍakk=innam [*] Pūdanēri-[na]ttattu [va]-
 227 ḍa-vāyil-niṇṇa puḷiyaiy=iḍattu vaiṭtu mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Taḍāppiraiy-āṇa
 228 kuḷattu=tteṇ-kaḍaiyaiy=iṇṇāṅi vaḍakk=innam [*] i-kkuḷattu nīr-nakkalē vaḍa-mēṛ-
 229 ku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kāṇchiraṇkuḷattu nīr-nakkalēy vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kku-
 230 ḷattu vaḍa-kaḍaiyaiy=urru i-kkuḷattukku nīr pāygira kāliṇ teṇkaraiyēy mēṛku nōk-
 231 ki-chcheṇṇu Pullaṇēri=kkuḷattu=tteṇ-kaḍaiyil=ēri vaḍakk=innam [*] i-kkuḷattu nīr-

¹ The letter *da* is a correction.

² This letter has been wrongly read in *A. S. S. I.*

³ After *nōkkiyu*, the letters are written over an erasure and in smaller characters.

⁴ The reading in *A. S. S. I.* is *Maralāra*.

⁵ The letter *bē* is entered on the margin in smaller character.

⁶ The left hand portion of the sign of the medial *ō* in *nō* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

⁷ Read *Dēṇṇ*.

vii, a.

186
188
189
190
192
194
196
198
200

186
188
190
192
194
196
198
200

vii, b.

202
204
206
208
210
212
214

202
204
206
208
210
212
214

viii, a.

216
218
220
222
224
226
228
230

216
218
220
222
224
226
228
230

[illegible]

230
 231
 232
 233
 234
 235
 236
 237
 238
 239
 240
 241

[illegible]

Eighth Plate ; Second Side.

- 232 nakkalē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkuḷattu va[ḍa]-kaḍaiyaiy=urru i-kkuḷattukku nīr
pāygīra
- 233 kālīṇ teṇ-karaiyē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇaṇṇūṛku=ppōgīra peru-valiyaiy=urru
- 234 [va]ḍakk=innam [!]* i-vvaliyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇaṇṇūṛku vaḍav-ellaiyu[m*]
Narimaṇṇattu=t-
- 235 teṇṇ-ellaiyum-āṇa Kaṇṇaṇṇūṛ-Piḍāriyēri Muttaraiyaṇ karuṇche[y*] vaḍa-varambu perra
śevvai-
- 236 yē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Maḍalaikurichehi=kkuḷa-pparippaiy=urru i-kkuḷatt=ulvāyē
vaḍakku nō-
- 237 kki=ppattu-kkōl-aḷavu śeṇṇu vaḍakk=innam [!]* i-kkuḷatt-ūdē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇa-
- 238 nūṛ-kkuḷattukku nīr pāygīra kālaiy=ūḍaḡuttu mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu vaḍakku nōkki=
ppōgīra Kā-
- 239 ṇavāṇṇukku=kkiḷakkāga niṇṇa puliyai valattu vaittu mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kiṭ-Cheliy-
Uḍai-
- 240 kuḷa=kkaraiyil=ēri i-kkaraiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Miṇṇēri=tteṇṇ-ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍa-
- 241 kk=innam [!]* i-mMiṇṇēri=tteṇṇ-ellaikkum Kiṭ-Cheli=kkuḷattu vaḍav-ellaiyumāy=kKiṭ-
Cheli=kkuḷa-
- 242 ttukku nīr pāynda kāṛ¹-parippē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-pparippaiy=iṛaṅgi Naḍuvir-
Cheli=kkuḷattu Ma-
- 243 laiyaṇ-uḍaippil=ēri i-kkuḷa-kkaraiyē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkuḷatt-agavāyil²=iṛaṅgi
Miḷaga-
- 244 nūṛ-paṇṇāṇa puṇṣe[y*]=kkiḷ-ellaiyēy teṛku nōkkiyun=teṇ-mēṛku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Miḷaga-
nūril-
- 245 niṇṇum Kāṇaiy-Irukkai=kKoṭṭakīrtikku=ppōgīra valiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=innam [!]* i-kKoṭṭ-
akīṛ-
- 246 ti vaḍav-ellaiyuṇ=Kāṇaiy-Iru[k*]kai Vēḷāṇēri vaḍav-ellaikkum Miḷagaṇṇūṛ=teṇṇ-ellaik-

Ninth Plate ; First Side.

- 247 kun=naḍuv-āṇa Kaḍambaṇḡuḍi=kkuḷattukku nīr pāygīra kāl-ūdēy vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=
chcheṇṇu
- 248 i-kkālaiy=iṛaṅgi vaḍakku nōkki Mēṛ-Cheli=tteṇ-kaḍai-kkombum Vēḷāṇēri=ppuṇṣe[y*] vaḍa-
- 249 v-ellaiyum-āṇa karai-pparippē vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Miḷa[ga*]nūṛ Śōṇaṇ Mūkkāṇ
puṇṣey=
- 250 tteṇṇ-ellaiyē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kāṇaiy-Irukkai Kaṇṇakīrti=kkiḷ-ellaiyum Mi-
- 251 laṇaṇṇūṛ-pāl Mēṛ-Cheli mēl-ellaikkun=naḍuvāṇa ellai-pparippēy vaḍakku nōkki=
- 252 chcheṇṇu Miḷagaṇṇūṛ=Chundaṇ=Ālvāṇ puṇṣey=tteṇṇ-ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=innam [!]* i-
ppu-
- 253 ṇṣey=tteṇṇ-ellaikkun=Kaṇṇakīrti vaḍav-ellaikkun=naḍuvāga mēṛku nōk-
- 254 ki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇakīrti=ppuṇṣey=kkiḷ-ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=innam [!]* i-ppuṇṣe-
- 255 ykkum Miḷagaṇṇūṛ=puṇṣey-ppaṇṇukku=naḍuvāṇa vēli-pparippē vaḍakku nōkki-
- 256 yum vaḍa-mēṛku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Kaṇṇakīrti=kkiḷ-āṣarudiyum Miḷagaṇṇūṛ Irāmaṇ=Alaga-
- 257 ṇ-uluda puṇṣey mēl-āṣarudiy=ellaikkun=naḍuvāga vaḍakku nōkkiyum vaḍa-mēṛku nōk-
- 258 kiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Iruṇchiraiyil-niṇṇum Miḷagaṇṇūṛku=ppōgīra valiyaiy=ūḍaḡuttu Miḷagaṇṇū-
- 259 r-pāṛ=Chirukilātti=tteṇ-kaḍai-kkombaiy=urru i-kkuḷa-kkarai-pparippēy vaḍa-mē-
- 260 ṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇakīrti=kkuḷattu vaḍa-karaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=innam [!]* i-
kkuḷa-

¹ The reading in A. S. S. I. is *Kāra*,² *Kavāyil* is the reading in A. S. S. I.

- 261 ttu=ppurkaraiyē vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki-cheheṅṅu Puvaiṇallūr puṇṇey-tteṅ-
 262 p-āṣarudiyum Karpakīrti-kkaraikkun-naḍuvāga-chChirukkiḷḷatti-kkuḷattukku nīr pāynda
 kā.

Ninth Plate ; Second Side.

- 263 l-ūḍē vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki-cheheṅṅu Karpakīrti-kkuḷattu-kkaḍai-kkombaiy-ūḍaruttu
 vaḍakk-iṅṅa-
 264 m [I*] Puvaiṇallūr vayalukku-tteṅkil Valaiyaṅ-ūraṇikku-tteṅkil kaḷaṅ-pparippai valattu
 vaiṭṭu mēṛ-
 265 ku nōkki-cheheṅṅu Śirukkiḷḷatti-kkuḷattukku nīr pāynda Kāpakaraikku vaḍakku=pPuvai-
 ṇallūr irukku-
 266 m iḍaiyaṅ-iṛāṣiṅgakkōṅ-uḷuda puṇṇē[y*]-tteṅṅ-ellaiyēy vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki-cheheṅṅu
 Karpaki-
 267 rti-kkuḷattukku mēl-kaḍaiyāl nīr pāygiṛa kālaiy-urru 3 Mēl-ellaiy-i-kkāḷiṅ kiḷ-karaiyēy
 va-
 268 ḍakku nōkki-cheheṅṅu Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalattudāṅ kūṭṭiṇa Miḷagaṇūr-
 [k*]ku-ttalaimāṛu kuḍutta
 269 Pudukkuḷattu-kkiḷ-ellai Karpakīrti-kkuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kāḷiṅ kiḷ-karaiyē vaḍakku
 nōkki-cheheṅṅu
 270 i-mMiḷagaṇūrku-ttalaimāṛu kuḍutta Māraṅkīrti-kkiḷ-ellai Karpakīrti-kkuḷattukku nīr
 pāygiṛa kāli-
 271 ṇ kiḷ-karaiyēy vaḍakku nōkkiyūm vaḍa-kiḷakku nōkkiyūṇ=cheṅṅu i-kkālaiy-iṛandu
 kiḷakk-iṅṅam [I*] vaḍak-
 272 ku nōkki-cheheṅṅu Miḷagaṇūr-kkuḷattu mēl-kaḍaiyaiy-urru-kkiḷakk-iṅṅam [I*] i-kkuḷatt-
 agavāyil-iṛaṅgi vaḍak-
 273 ku nōkki-cheheṅṅu Miḷagaṇūrku-ttalaimāṛu kuḍutta Kuvaḷaivēli-ppaṅṛukku-kkiḷ-ellaiy-
 āṇa Māraṇṇēri-
 274 kkaraiyē vaḍakku nōkki-cheheṅṅu Neṅkuṇṇattu-tteṅṅ-ellaiyaiy-urru-kkiḷakk-iṅṅam [I*]
 i-kKuva-
 275 ḷaivēli-kkiḷ-ellaiyūn=Neṅkuṇṇattu mēl-ellaiyūm-āṇa karai-pparippēy vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki-
 276 cheheṅṅu i-nNeṅkuṇṇattu natta[t*]tu-tteṅṅ-āṣarudiyaiy-urru-kkiḷakk-iṅṅam[I*] i-nnatta-
 [t*]tu-tteṅṅ-āṣaru-
 277 diyē vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki-cheheṅṅu i-nNeṅkuṇṇattu-kkuḷattu mēl-kaḍaiyaiy-urru i-kkuḷattu
 nīr-nak-
 278 kalē Kuvaḷaivēli-kkiḷ-āṣarudiyē vaḍakku nōkki-cheheṅṅu Mēlēri-kkaraiyaiy-urru
 Mēlēri-kkuḷa-ppa-
 279 rippē vaḍakku nōkki-cheheṅṅu Kaṭṭikkūḷattu-tteṅ-kaḍaiyil-ēri i-kkuḷatt-agavāyil-iṛaṅgi
 Miḷagaṇūrku-ttalaimāṛu ku-

Tenth Plate ; First Side.

- 280 ḍutta Kaḍambamaṅgalattu=kukkiḷ-ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkki-cheheṅṅu Peṅṇāṅ-ṇuṇṇar-
 karaiyaiy-urru-kkiḷa-
 281 kk-iṅṅam [I*] vaḍakku nōkki-cheheṅṅu Kaṭṭikkūḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kālaiy-ūḍaruttu
 Mālaṅṇuḍi-kkiḷavaṅ Pullāṇi-
 282 Mādēvaṅ-āṇa Nuḷambādarāyar kāpiyāy=tTirumāliruṇṇchōlaiy-Āḷvār dēvaḍāṇa iḷaiyiliy-
 Āchchaṇṇakāṭṭiruk.³

¹ Read *kūḷi*.

² Read *āṣarudiyū*.

³ Read *āchchaṇṇ*.

- 283 kai-tTirumāliruñchōlainallūr-tteṇ-ellaiyē kiḷakku nōkki-cheheṇṇu i-tTirumāliruñchōlainal-
 284 lūr-tteṇṇ-ellaiyir-tiruvāḷi-kkallaiy-iḍattu vaittu-kkiḷakku nōkkiyun-teṇ-kiḷakku
 nōkkiyūṭ-chen-
 285 ru Tirumāliruñchōlainallūr-teṇ-kiḷ-mūlaiyir-ttiruvāḷi-kkallaiy-urru ivv-irāḷagambhira-
 chaturvvē-
 286 dimaṅgalattudag kūṭṭiṇa Miḷaganūr-kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṇa kāliṇ mēl-karaiyē vaḍakku
 nōkki-cheheṇṇu
 287 Tirumāliruñchōlainallūr kiḷ-ellaiyir-tiruvāḷi-kkallaiy-urru i-kkāliṇ mēl-karaiyē vaḍak-
 288 ku nōkki-cheheṇṇu i-tTirumāliruñchōlainallūr¹ vaḍa-kiḷ-mūlaiyir-tiruvāḷi-kkallaiy-
 urru-kki-
 289 laḷk-ṇṇam [i*] Vāgaikuḍi-tteṇṇ-ellaiyum-tTirumāliruñchōlainallūr¹ vaḍav-ellaiyum-āṇa
 i-mMiḷaga-
 290 nūr-kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṇa kāliṇ teṇ-karaiyē mēṇku nōkkiyum vaḍa-mēṇku nōkkiyūṭ-
 cheṇṇu i-tTirumā-
 291 liruñchōlainallūr-kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṇa kālaiy-ūḍaruttu i-tTirumāliruñchōlainallūr
 vaḍa-mē-
 292 ṇ-mūlaiyir-tiruvāḷi-kkallaiy-urru Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkuḷakkiḷ Sūraḷuḍiy-āṇa Virakāmuga-
 maṅgalattu vaḍav-e-
 293 ḷaiyum Vāgaikuḍi-tteṇṇ-ellaiyum-āṇa Miḷaganūraṇ² -kāliṇ teṇ-karaiyē vaḍa-mēṇku
 nōkki-cheheṇṇu
 294 Uḍaiyār Tiruppuvaṇam-uḍaiyār dēvaḍāṇam Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkuḷakkiḷ Veḷḷūṇkuruchchi-
 kkiḷ-ellaiyum
 295 Vāgaikuḍi mēl-ellaiyum-āṇa i-mMiḷaganūraṇ²-kāliṇ mēl-karaiyē vaḍakku nōkki-cheheṇṇu

Tenth Plate; Second Side.

- 296 i-kkālaiy-ūḍaruttu-kKirapūr-nāṭṭu Viḍattal-āṇa Mānābharaṇa-chaturvvēdimāṅgalattu-
 tteṇṇ-ellaiyai-
 297 y-urru-kkiḷak-ṇṇam [i*] iṇv-eḷḷaiyē kiḷakku nōkki-kkalar-psrippē ṇṇru Vāgaikuḍi-
 kkuḷattu vaḍa-kuḍaiyaiy-ur-
 298 ru-kkiḷak-ṇṇam [i*] i-kkaraiyē kiḷakku nōkki-cheheṇṇu i-kkaraiyaiy-iraṇḍi Vāgaikuḍi
 vaḍav-ellaiyum Mānābharaṇa-
 299 chaturvvēdimāṅgalattu-tteṇṇ-ellaiyum-āṇa ellai-varambē kiḷakku nōkki-cheheṇṇu Vāgai-
 kuḍi Mānābhara-
 300 pa-Iṣvaram-uḍaiyār kōyilai valattu vaittu ellai-varambē kiḷakku nōkki-cheheṇṇu Vāgai-
 kuḍi-kkuḷa-
 301 ttiḷ-ṇṇuṇḍ-kiḷakku nōkki-ppōgiṇa ellai-vā[y*]kkālaiy-urru i-vvā[y*]kkāliṇ vaḍa-varambē
 kiḷakku nōkki-chehe-
 302 ṇru i-vvā[y*]kkālaiy-iraṇḍu Vāgaikuḍi-pparril Ariyāḷ-vayakkal vaḍa-varambum Mānā-
 bharaṇa-chaturvvēdimāṅga-
 303 lattu-pparrāṇa Uyyavandāḷ-vayakkal teṇ-varambum-āṇa varambē kiḷakku nōkki-chehe-
 ṇṇu Nakkamaṅgala-
 304 ttu-kkuḷattukku nīr pāygiṇa kālai[y-urru]i-kkāliṇ mēl-karaiyē vaḍakku nōkkiyum vaḍa-
 mēṇku nōkkiyum va-

¹ Read "ullār."² Read "nūraṇ."

- 305 ḍa-kiḷakku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Tuttiiyūr=kuḷattu mēl-kaḍaiyaiy=aḍuttu i-kkāliṇ mēl-
karaiyē vaḍakku
306 nōkkiyum vaḍa-kiḷakku nōkkiyum vaḍa-mēṛku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Tiruvāvaṇattu Arai-
mākkūṛru=tteṇṇ-e-
307 llaiyum Māṇābhara[ṇa*]-chaturvvēdimaṇḍalattu vaḍav-ellaiyum-āṇa ellai-varambē mēṛku
nōkki=chcheṇṇu Mā-
308 nābharāṇa-chaturvvēdimaṇḍalattu=kkula-kkaraiyaiy=urru=kkilakk-inṇam [*] i-kkuḷattu=
ppuḷkaraiyē vaḍakku nōkki=
309 cheṇṇu Arai-mākkūṛru=chChirēmbar=karaiyaiy=urru ivv-ēmbaṛ=teṇ-karaiyē mēṛku
nōkki=chche-
310 ṇṇu Miḷagaṇūr kuḷattukku nīr pāygira kālaiy=ūḍaruttu i-kkāliṇ mēl-karaiyē vaḍakku
nōkkiyum vaḍa-mēṛ-

Eleventh Plate ; First Side.

- 311 ku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu i-kkālaiy=iṇṇgi i-kkāliṇ kiḷ-karaiyil=ēri Arai-māk[kū]ṛru ēmbaliḷ
nīr-nakkalē
312 vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Tuttiiyūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāygira kālaiy=ūḍaruttu Uḍaiyār
Tiruppūvaṇam-uḍaiyār
313 dēvaḍāṇam=Aḷagiyaṇḍiḷakkuḷakkil Vellūrkuṇuchchi=kkil-ellaiyun=Tiruvāvaṇattu mēl-
ellaiyum-āṇa Ka-
314 ṇavadi-vayakkal mēl-varambē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kKaṇavadi-vayakkalil vaḍa-
mēlai-mūlaiyil Vāykaṭṭā-
315 tturavai valattu vaittu Tiruvāvaṇattu=kkālaiy=ūḍaruttu Vellūrkuṇuchchi=kkil-ellaiyun=
Tiruvāvaṇattu
316 mēl-ellaiyum-āṇa ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Vaigaiy-āṇa Śrīvallaḥappērāṇṇil=
iṇṇgi & Vaḍav-e-
317 llai i-Vaigaiy-āṇa Śrīvallaḥappērāṇṇi-ūḍē kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu ivv-āṇṇil-ṇiṇṇum Paṇaṇ-
gaḷūr=kuḷa-
318 ttukku nī[r*] pāygira kāliṇ vaḍa-karaiyil=ēri i-kkaraiyē kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaḷa-
vaḷiṇāḍaṇ-āṇṇil=iṇṇ-
319 gi ivv-āṇṇi-ūḍēy vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Iḍaikkāṭṭūṇṇil-ṇiṇṇum Vēmbaṇḍiḷakku=ppō-
gira va-
320 liyaiy=urru kiḷ-karaiyil=ēri=tterk=inṇam [*] i-vvaiyē vaḍa-kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-
kKaḷavaḷiṇāḍaṇ-āṇṇil-
321 ṇiṇṇuṇ=Cheyyakuḷattūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāygira kālaiy=ūḍaruttu i-vvaiyēy vaḍa-kiḷakku
nōkki=chcheṇṇu Adika-
322 rai=kkulaṇ-karaiyil=ēri i-kkaraiyē vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkuḷattu vaḍa-kaḍaiyum
Āykuḍi=tteṇṇ-e-
323 llaiyaiyum=urru=tterk=inṇam [*] ivv-ellaiyēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Vēlaṇḍiḷakku nattattu
vaḍavāyēy
324 ṣeṇṇu i-v[Vēlaṇḍiḷakku]=kkulattu mēl-kaḍaiyaiy=urru=tterk=inṇam [*] ida-ṇiṇṇum vaḍa-kiḷakku
nōkki=chcheṇṇ-
325 ru Kuḍaṇḍiḷakku mēl-ellaiyaiy=urru ivv-ellaiyēy vaḍakku nōkkiyum vaḍa-[kiḷakku] nōk-
[kiyuṇ]=cheṇṇu
326 Kuḍaṇḍiḷakku=kkulattu mēl-kaḍai-kkombaiy=urru=tterk=inṇam [*] ida-ṇiṇ[rum] vaḍa-
kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu

¹ The left hand portion of the medial ḍ sign is entered in the previous line.

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TIRUPPUVANAM SUPPLEMENTARY PLATE.

First Side.

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Second Side.

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Eleventh Plate; Second Side.

- 327 Śundāṅkuruchehi=tteṅṅ-ellaiyum=i-kKuḍaṅjāḍi vaḍav-ellaiyum-āṇa i-kkuḷattu nīr-nakkalē.
 328 y kiḷakku nōkkiyum teṅ-kiḷakku nōkkiyuṅ=cheṅṇu i-kkuḷattukku=kkiḷ-kaḍaiyāl nīr pā-
 329 ygīra kālaiy=ūḍaruttu=tteṅ-kiḷakku nōkki=cheṅṇu Vēlūr-Śirukūḍi Iḍaikkāṭṭūril-niṇṇum
 330 Vēmbaṅḍuḍikku=ppōṇa valiyaiy=ūḍaruttu=kkiḷakku nōkki=cheṅṇu Kāṭṭu-tteyvam-
 eṇṇum Piḍā-
 331 rikuḷam-eṇṇum pēr kūva[ppa]ṭṭa¹ Uḍaikuḷatt-agavāyēy kiḷakku nōkki=cheṅṇu i-kkuḷattu=
 kkiḷ-
 332 kaḍaiyil=ēri=tteṅ-kiḷakku nōkki=cheṅṇu Kiraṇṇūṇḍā]vāṅkōṭṭai-ppakkattāṇa Śem[be]rum-
 333 āṇ uḷuḍa puṇṇeyyai valattu vaittu=kkiḷakku nōkkiyum=teṅ-kiḷakku nōkkiyuṅ=cheṅṇu
 Śeyyakula-
 334 ttūril-niṇṇum Vēmbaṅḍuḍikku=ppōṇa valiyaiy=ūḍaruttu=kkiḷakku nōkki=cheṅṇu
 Śeyyakula-
 335 ttūr-kulaṅḡalukku nīr pāya Muttan-Ā]vāṇ-āṇa Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mārāyaṇ kalluvitta
 kālaiy=ūḍaruttu-
 336 kkiḷakku nōkkiyum vaḍa-kiḷakku nōkkiyuṅ=cheṅṇu Mēṇ-Chūrai Uḍaikuḷatt-agavāyēy
 kiḷakku nōkki=ch-
 337 cheṅṇu Kiṭ-Chūrai-kkuḷatt-agavāyēy kiḷakku nōkki=cheṅṇu i-kkuḷattu=kkiḷ-kaḍai-kkombil
 ēri
 338 muṇbu tuḍaṅḡiṇav-iḍattu -ppiḍi niṇṇadu [||*] Ivvaṇ-āṇa-ōlai eḷuḍiṇēṇ *ivai Puravuvāri-
 kkaṇkāṇi Mīlalai-kkūr-
 339 rattu Naḍuvir-kūṇṇu āri-Parāntakanallūr=*Kaṭṭikuruchehi-uḍaiyāṇ Araiyaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ-
 eḷuttu [||*] Ivai² Pu-
 340 ravuvāri-kkaṇkāṇi Mīlalai-kkūṇṇu=kkiḷ-kūṇṇu=tTaṇḍalaiy=uḍaiyāṇ Pirāntakaṇ Tīru-
 ppōvaṇam-uḍaiyāṇ=c-
 341 [uttu [||*] Ivai² Puravuvāri-kkaṇkāṇi Aḷagiapāṇḍiyakkuḷakkiḷ Perumāraṇ-āṇa Pala-
 māṇḍalāḍichchanallūr=Ka-
 342 ruṇākaraḍēvaṇ Puravaṇam-uḍaiyāṇ=eḷuttu [||*] Ivai² Tīruvāyikkē]vi Jayadara-pPalla-
 varayaṇ kaṇkāṇi Tīrumu-
 343 ṇaiṇṇāḍi-nāṭṭu Karuppūr-uḍaiyāṇ Pillaiy-Ā]vāṇ Poṇṇambalakkūṭṭaṇṇ ivai² eṇṇ=eḷuttu
 [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1)—Hail ! Prosperity ! There was at first this water. In its centre (lit. inside), there lay, on the serpent (*Śēṣha*)—couch, Hari. From his navel came forth a lotus ; and from it, by himself, the creator of the universe (*Vīśvaṣiṭ*) came ; from him Atri ; and from the cavity of his eyes, the Moon ; his son was Budha ; from him was born Purūṛavaṇ ; and thence came these Pāṇḍya lords.

(Verse 2) —Hail ! Prosperity ! Having ascertained the (*proper*) time from **Sundarēśa**, (*king*) **Rājagambhīradēva**, in the **twenty-fifth year of his reign**, on the day of Svātī combined with Saturday (*Ārkkī-vāra*) in the dark fortnight, and on the *tūḷi* of Kanakapati (*i.e.*, *śkālasi*), when the hot-rayed (*Sun*) was in the sign Dhanuṣ, ordered to conduct immediately the female elephant to fix the boundaries of the village called after his own name.

(Line 5) The goddess of the flower (*i.e.*, *Lakṣmī*) lovingly taking her seat and the goddess of the earth lawfully uniting with him ; the goddess of war resting on his victorious shoulders ; the goddess of the great arts shining on his tongue ; the moon-light of his fame shedding its lustre in the

¹ The letters *ppa* look like *ya*.

² The syllables *ivai* are written as a group.

³ Read *r-Kaṭṭi*.

twice-four quarters; the path of the Vēdas (*maṣai*) expanding; the path of Manu clarifying the six righteous doctrinal ways and spreading out; the fish (emblem of the Pāṇḍyas) securely seated on the golden mountain, driving off the forest tiger (emblem of the Chēra); the white parasol (*of his*) affording shade to the seven seas and the seven sporting gardens surrounded by the eight hills; his righteous sceptre swaying; the fierce Kali (*age*) concealing itself with tremour in long caverns; the Villavar (*i.e.*, the Chēra), Śembiyar (*i.e.*, the Chōla), Virāṭar, Varāṭar and the Pallavar, paying due obeisance in regular succession with (*their*) tributes; his single wheel rising aloft over the two globes; the sweet and nector-like *iyal*, *iṣai* and *nāṭakam* (*i.e.*, prose, poetry and drama) steadily increasing; wearing the crown and sitting on the mountain-like high lion throne,—his eulogy being sung by able masters of arts,—along with his queen Avanimuḍuḍaiyāl, who resembled the swan in gentle gait and who was praised and bowed to by queens of kings; the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the Emperor of the three worlds, the illustrious Kulaśēkhara-dēva reigned.

Whereas, while the king was pleased to be seated on the reclining couch called Maḷavarā-jaṇ in the hall of his palace at Madurai situated in (*the sub-division*) Māḍakkuḷakkil of Maḍu-rōdaya-vaḷanāḍu, he had ordered that a village consisting of one thousand and two hundred shares should be formed and given as *brahmadēya*, with effect from the eleventh year opposite the thirteenth,—one thousand and eighty shares to one thousand and eighty Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vēdas and Śāstras and capable of expounding them, and one hundred and twenty shares as *dēvadāna* and for those who had to do service;

(Ll. 69-72) and whereas the village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, called (*as such*) after the sacred name of the king and included in Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu, was formed in pursuance of this said order by taking up the undermentioned villages, excluding from them the lands which formed old *dēvadānas*, *paḷlichchādam* and *kārūmaṣi*, and including the rest,—and removing their previous owners, old names and the classification under *vellāṇ-vagai*, as well as the prior holdings,—and bringing them all under one village with one *puravu* and one *nāḍu*,

(Ll. 72-74) and whereas the king had been pleased to say that the four boundaries of this (*new*) village may be circumambulated with the female elephant in the presence of the superintendents appointed for the purpose, and, for the boundaries thus passed through, a deed may be drawn up and given,

the following is recorded on the thirteenth year and four thousand and three hundred and sixtieth day.

(Ll. 19 to 69) The villages and lands taken up are:—

(1) In Kīraṇūr-nāḍu,—the villages of Nakkamaṅgalam and Vāgaikuḍi, (*the latter*) a *dēvadāna* of Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār; (2) including the above (*two villages*), the villages of Tiruvāvaṇam, Tuttiyūr, and Kīruṅgākkōṭṭai (*with its lands called*) Kāduvētti, Muṭṭam, Korraṇēri, Taḍaiyili-Tiyāgi-ēmbal, Vellattaiveppāṇ-ēmbal, Pagavadi-ēmbal, Naḍuvirkōṭṭai and Kāḍaṇ-Eṭṭi-kuruchchi; (3) in Paṇaṅgalūr-nāḍu,—the villages of Adikarai, Mittiravāli, Vēlaṅguḷam with its land Oṃaḷagiyaṇ-ēmbal, Śōlaiyēri, Kuḍaṇjāḍi, Aruvurai-Pudukkuḷam, Kīṭ-Chūrai, Mēr-Chūrai, Piḍārikūḷam, Paṇaṅgalūr *alias* Paṇḍitapaṇjaranallūr, Śeyyakulattūr with its land Śiṅgaṇēriyūḍaiyaṇ-kāṇipparru, Vaṇjiyūr, Karkuruchchi, Ariyaṇkuruchchi, Āraikkūḷam with its lands Aṟugaśāḍi, Viragaṅgappērayaṇ-ēmbal, Virapāṇḍiyappērayaṇ-ēmbal, Moliyaṇ-ēmbal, Ambalakkūṭṭaṇ-ēmbal, Sittaṇ-ēmbal and Paṇṇīrāyirappērayaṇ-ēmbal, Uvaṇiyamaṅgalam and its land Pudaichchūṇkuliyaṇ-ēmbal; (4) in Tiyandaikuḍi-nāḍu,—the villages of Ugaray and Kōṭṭai with the lands Śivigaiyāṅkuli and Uḍumbandai, Ulagaraṇi, Karaiyūr, Kuṇṇēli, Maṭṭaḍakkiyēri with its lands Śaṅgaṅgappērayaṇ-ēmbal, Puttēmbal, Kālaiyaṇēri, Śēṅkuli and Orukkorraṇēri, Kalvā-yilmaṅgalam, Pullaṇēri, Śēndaṇēri, Nakkāṇēri, Pārkuḷam with its land Uyyāṇ-Śūriyaṇ-ēmbal,

Marudankudi, Nāvarkudi with its land Kaṇḍiyūr-nāḍi [vāṇ-ēmbal, Śīru-Nakkapēri, Śūlāmaṇi, Puṟṟukkuḷam, Śīruvayal, Koggaṇḱkuḷam, Pullamaṇḱalam, Kaṟḱuḷam, Kaṟumākuḷam Eyiḷi, Paḍaich-chaṇḱuḷam, Poḷiyaṇḱuḷam, Pūḍikuḷam, Vēḷārkuṟuechi, Vāyṭṭalainallūr and the land Kāḍuveṭṭi of this (last mentioned) village; (5) inclusive of three vēḷi of land, according to pūḍagam, situated to the east of the channel passing to Marudūr and lying within the tank of Māṇavīramadurai, the following being added to the brahmaḍēya, viz., Marudūr alias Madurōḍaya-chaturvēdimaṇḱalam with the land Śaṅgaṇ-ēmbal, Śaṅkaramaṇḱalam and Tiyaṇūr-Śōḷaiyēri; (6) in Kilāṅkāṭṭūr alias Puravari-chaturvēdimaṇḱalam, excluding eight (vēḷi) and six mā of land, as measured by the rod Virapāṇḍi-chaṭṭuṇḱōḷ, consisting of nīr-nīlam, kaṟuṇḱhey, puṇḱey, nattam, tōṭṭam, tīḍal, āraṇi, kōyilāḱi, tirunanda-vaṇam and ēmbal, which had been the kuḍippaṟru, up to the tenth year opposite the thirteenth, vaṇam and ēmbal, which had been the kuḍippaṟru, up to the tenth year opposite the thirteenth, all the rest of the lands which had been owned by the adjacent people; (7) in Mēṟ-Paṣalai alias Śrīvallaḅha-chaturvēdimaṇḱalam, excluding four and a half (vēḷi) and three kāṇi, as measured by the rod Virapāṇḍiyaṇḱōḷ, consisting of nīr-nīlam, nattam, kaṟuṇḱhey, puṇḱey, tōṭṭam, tīḍal, Śrīkōyil, tirunanda-vaṇam, etc., which, up to the tenth year opposite the thirteenth, had been the holding of the jammis that were residing there, the rest of the lands which were held by the adjacent people and the Maṇavas, as well as Pirāṇḍiyēri and Kaḍukkuḱi; and also the dēvadāna lands of the temple of Tiruppaṣalaināṭhar at Mēṟ-Paṣalai alias Śrīvallaḅha-chaturvēdimaṇḱalam, viz., Śāṭṭāḷēri, tirappu Ṣoṇḱaṇ-ēmbal, Tattaṇ-ēmbal, Vāmbōḱ-ēmbal, Pāppāṇ-ēmbal, Ḍiriliṣōḷappērayaṇ-ēmbal; also the lands called Vēḷaṅkāl, Kaṇichohiy-ēmbal and the land given in exchange for kuḍikkāṇi which had been classed under the different head of dēvadāna-izaiyil and whose kārūṇmai belonged to the temple of Śrī-Vaikunda-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār of Mēṟ-Paṣalai alias Śrīvallaḅha-chaturvēdimaṇḱalam; as also tirappu Paṇaiyaṇēri, Kil-Vēḷiyāṟrūr, Mēḷ-Vēḷiyāṟrūr, Maṇḱaiyāṟkuḷam, Nelvēḷi with its land Tappilattaraiyaṇ-ēmbal, Sōmāṭṭūr, Aravaṇkuḱi, Kaṟuṇḱuḷam, Ḍpāṭṭūr, Taḱāppirai and Kāṇchiraṇḱuḷam; (8) in Mēṟkuḱi alias Kaḷiṇṇamaṇḱalam in Mēṟkuḱi-nāḱu, excluding two (vēḷi) and four mā of land, as measured by the rod Virapāṇḍiyaṇḱōḷ, which up to the tenth year opposite the thirteenth, were held by ryots and consisted of nīr-nīlam, kaṟuṇḱhey, puṇḱey, nattam, etc., the rest of the lands owned by the adjacent people; as also the villages Mēṇ-Mēṟkuḱi, Maṇ-jaḷūr and Korraṇēri; also Muttūranāṟōṭṭai which was the dēvadāna of the temple of Uḱaiyār Tiruppūvaṇamuḱaiyār; as well as Appalvāy with Sundaṇ-ēmbal near that village, viz., Śilaiyaṇēri, Uriyappi, Tāḷi-yēmbal, Korraṇēri, Sūriyaṇ-ēmbal and Sōmaṇēri; (9) in tirappu Puṟappaṟalai-nāḱu, — Pullaṇēri, the lands that were added to the kaṟuṇḱheypaṟru of Kaṇṇaṇūr, the kaṟuṇḱhey of Madalaikuṟuechi, the puṟḱarai (i.e., the grassy bank) of Kil-Śōḷi, Achebaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Miḷagaṇūr alias Rājēndra-śiṅgaṇallūr together with Miṇṇēri near that village, Kaṇṇikuḱi, Araiyaṇēri, the lands within the tank of Naḱuvīr-Cheḷi, Mēṟ-Cheḷi, Kuṟuechōḱṭṭi, Śiṟukkiḷāṭṭi, Puvaṇinallūr, Ārikuḱi, Sōmaṇēri and Tāyaṇ-Pūḍi-ēmbal; also Śiṟukilāṅkāṭṭūr which (last) was a dēvadāna of Uḱaiyār Tiruppū-vaṇamuḱaiyār; as well as Śīru-Miḷai, tirappu Nerkuṇṇam, Kaṭṭikkulaṇḱam and Peṟṟāṇ-ēmbal.

(Ll. 74-139) The *paravari-kaṅkāni* officers Araiyaṅ Nārāyaṇaṅ of Kaṭṭikuruchchi residing in Śrī-Parāntakaṇallūr in Naḍuvir-kūṟṟu (a sub-division) of Mīlalai-kūṟṟam, Parāntakaṅ Tiruppū-vaṇamuḍaiyaṅ of Taṇḍalai in Kīl-kūṟṟu (a sub-division) of Mīlalai-kūṟṟam, Māraṇūruḍaiyaṅ Karu-pākaradēvaṅ Puṟṟavaṇamuḍaiyaṅ of Māraṇūr *alias* Palamaṇḍalādittanallūr in Alagiyaṇḍi-ya-kkujakkil, Piḷḷai Ālvāṅ *alias* Poṇṇambalakkūttan of Karuppūr in Tirumuṇaiṇḍi-nāḍu (a sub-division) of Śōlamandalam, who was the *kaṅkāni* of the *tirucōyṅkālai* Poṇṇa Sūryadēvaṅ *alias* Jayadhara-Pallavaraiyaṅ of Puttūr in Puṟapparaḷai-nāḍu, Velāṅ Sāttan of Kīl-Nettūr *alias* Kīrti-viśālāyanallūr in Karuṇḍuḍi-nāḍu who was the *kaṅkāni* of Poyyāmoḷidēvar, Nārāyaṇaṅ Sāttan of Velīyāṟṟūr in Kōralaṇḍi-vaḷanāḍu who was the *kaṅkāni* of the *emudāyam* Kappalūruḍaiyaṅ of Śrīrāmaṅ Tiruvuḍaiyaṅ *alias* Pottappichchōḷar of Kappalūr *alias* Ulagaḷandaśōlanallūr in

Muttūru-kūgram, Arayan Tirumalai-udaiyān of Aruñkalam in Poljiyūr-nādu who was the *kāṅkū* of the *māṇiyanan* Śivallavan Alagiyananavāṣan *alias* Kāṇḍarāyar of Aykkūdi *alias* Alagiya-pāṇḍiyanallūr in Vaḍatalai-Śembi-nādu, Arayan Karumāpikkam of Kīṭ-Paṣalai *alias* Dānaviṇḍanallūr in Tiyaṇdaikuḍi-nādu who was the *kāṅkū* of Maḷavarāyar, Kappalūruḍaiyān Uyyavan-dān Poṇṇan *alias* Māṇābharaga-Māvēṇḍavēḷār of Kappalūr *alias* Ulaḡaḷandaṣṭṭanallūr in Mut-tūru-kūgram who was the *adigūram* of Piḷḷaiyār Alagapperumāl, Uḍaiyān Nambi Poṇṇambalak-kūttan *alias* Virāṅḡadēvar of Śirupālaiyūr *alias* Kāvērivallavanallūr in Śōḷapāṇḍiya-vaṣanādu, Malaikīṇiyaninrān Alagan *alias* Vijaya-Vichchādiradēvar who was one of the *ṇuḷḷar* of Alagiya-pāṇḍiyan of Rājēndiram in Irāṅḡaṅkaḷakkī that was in charge of the business of this (*i.e.*, the said) *nādu*, all these being the *kāṅkū*, the undermentioned persons of Mānavīramadurai in Tiyaṇdaikuḍi-nādu, *viz.*, Māḍavan Divākara-Bhaṭṭan, Nārāyaṇan Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭan, Śū(śrī)-Māḍavan Nārasimha-Bhaṭṭan, Gōvindaṇ Tirunḷakāṇṭa-Bhaṭṭan and Jātavēḍan Subrahmaṇya-Bhaṭṭan; together with the following others of Marudūr *alias* Madurōḍaya-chaturvēḍimaṅḡalam who were concerned in the formation of the *brahmadēya*, *viz.*, Tirukkuḍandai Āḍityan Śēṇḍapirān-Bhaṭṭan, Śrī-Kṛishṇan Alagiya-rāghava-Bhaṭṭan and Kāliyāṇan Venṇaiḷkūṭṭa-Bhaṭṭan; as also the under-mentioned residents of Mēṇ-Paṣalai *alias* Śrīvallabha-chaturvēḍimaṅḡalam, *viz.*, Āhitāgni Śrīnā-gaṇātha-Bhaṭṭa-Sōma-Kāṭhaka-yōjiyār, Nārāyaṇan Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭan, Śrī-Vāṇḍēvan Nagna-pirān-Bhaṭṭan and Śrī-Rāman Paramāṭma-Bhaṭṭan; as well as the residents of Kīṭ-Paṣalai *alias* Dānaviṇḍanallūr, *viz.*, Arayan Uyyaninrāḍuvān *alias* Śembiyadaraiyan Kēṣavan Nārāyaṇan, Karumāpikkam Korraṇ, Kalvāyil Kēṣavan, Periyān Perṇāṇ, Nāḍḡan Alagan and Vāṇḍēvan Śūriyadēvan; the following residents of Poljiyūr *alias* Pārthivakēsarinaḷlūr in Poljiyūr-nādu, *viz.*, Appan Śūriyadēvan, Udayan Varagūḇadēvan *alias* Alagiya-pāṇḍiya-Viḷupparaiyan, Śūriyan Varantaruvān *alias* Saṅgīrūmaṣiṅga-Pallavaraiyan and Sundarattōḷḍaiyān Sōmadēvan; the undermentioned residents of Kaḷḷikuḍi *alias* Puṇavuvārinallūr in Puṇapparaḷai-nādu, *viz.*, Dayā-nilai Uyyavandān *alias* Chēdirāyan, Aṇukkaṇ Ariyān and Appan Arumolīdēvan *alias* Śembiyan-Viḷupparaiyan and the headman of Puttūr named Bhaṭṭan *alias* Puṇapparaḷaināḍu-kīḷavan; also Paḷiyāṇḷai Śūriyadēvan *alias* Tamipāḍu-kīḷavan of Irūḇḷiṇḷai *alias* Indiraṣamāṇanallūr in Kāṇai-Irukkai and Vēḷān Irattai *alias* Rājakuṇḷara-Pallavaraiyan; also the persons hereunder mentioned who belonged to Miḷagaṇūr, to wit, Śadiraṇ Śelvan, Rāman Alagan, Śōraṇ Mūḷkan, Nāḡodēvan Rāman *alias* Rājanārāyaṇa-Māvēṇḍavēḷār and Araṇariyān, who were concerned in effecting the entry in accounts under the name of Acheḇaṇkāṭṭirukkai-Miḷagaṇūr *alias* Rājēndraṣiṅḡanallūr, after removing the previous owners, old names and prior holdings (*mudal*) and bringing also under one *nādu*, one village and one *puravu* the undermentioned villages and lands, *viz.*, Acheḇaṇkāṭṭirukkai-Kuvalaivēḷi, Puḷukkuḷam, Māraṇkīrti, Kāvidinallūr, Kaḍambamaṅḡalam, Śāṭṭiyār-ēmbal and the lands that remained in Araiyarkuḷam of Kāṇai-Irukkai after deducting from it the portion (*ṣam-pādi*) which formed the *kāṅ* of Mandari Rāman *alias* Pallavarāyar and which had been given in exchange for (the old) Miḷagaṇūr that had been added to Rājagambhira-chaturvēḍimaṅḡalam; Araiyān Pullāṇi of Acheḇaṇkāṭṭirukkai-Tirumāḷiruṇḷōḷainallūr a *dēvadāna* of Tirumāḷiruṇḷōḷai-guḍi in Kīṭ-Sembi-nādu; also the undermentioned persons of Śirukuḷattūr *alias* Parāḷkruma-pāṇḍiyanallūr in Alagiya-pāṇḍiyakkuḷakkī, *viz.*, Śōṭṭan Kaṇavadi, Sundarattōḷḍaiyān Dēvan, Śāṭṭan Kaṇḍan *alias* Tirumāḷiruṇḷōḷai Dēvan, Vēḷān Sundarattōḷḍaiyān, Śivallavan Pērayira-divākarān Śrī-Kārimāra-Bhaṭṭan of Iḷavinaṅḡalam, the resident of Śūraḷuḍi *alias* Virakāmuga-persons of Viḍattal *alias* Māṇābharaga-chaturvēḍimaṅḡalam in Kīraṇūr-nādu, *viz.*, Uyyaninrāḍi Periyāḷvān, Śēṇḍapirān Karumāmugḷi-Bhaṭṭan, Gōvindaṇ Māvēṇḍukaiyyan and Āḍityan Bhāḷakara.

Bhaṭṭaṇ; also the undermentioned persons of Veḷḷurkūchehi in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkulaḷḷi, viz., Vēḷaṇ Kōvaṇ, Ādi Perrāṇ, Vēḷaṇ Alagaṇ *alias* Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mūvēṇḍavēḷḷaṇ and Vēḷaṇ Śīrilaṅkō; (*inclusive of the last mentioned four*) the following (*three*) persons, viz., Ālvāṇ Upādhyaṇ of Marudūr in Tiruvāvaṇam, Karumāṇikkam Ulagamūḍaṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Perumpuliyūr and Ma-yūravāhaṇaṇ Āḍuvāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Marudūr who were concerned in the formation of the *brahma-dēya*; (*also the undermentioned persons*) of Vēḷūr *alias* Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyanallūr in Kiraḡūr-nāḍu, viz., Rāmaṇ Uyyavandiṇ, Perrāṇ Pāttāṇ, Dēvaṇ Nambi and Śōraṇ Nāṭṭāṇ; all these pointing out their respective boundaries, the following persons of Tiruppuvaṇam in Irāṇḍaṅgaḷḷaḷḷi, viz., *Āṇaṭṭaṇam* Pammaṇ Āḍiyārkkunalla-Perumāṇ *alias* Pallavadaraiyaṇ, *meyppu* Malaiyaṇ Śōraṇ *alias* Viṇḷattaraiyaṇ, Dēvaṇ Tillai *alias* Madurōḍaya-Pallavaraiyaṇ, Śikayilāya-Bhaṭṭaṇ *alias* Śivallava-Pallavaraiyaṇ, Kaṇayadi Śīrāmaṇ *alias* Sundarapāṇḍiya-Pallavaraiyaṇ, Eṇaṇ Periyaṇ *alias* Pāṇḍiyaṇ-Pallavaraiyaṇ and Pōḡru Aravamūḍaiyaṇ Villi *alias* Muḍittalaikoṇḍa-Pallavaraiyaṇ, conducting the female elephant, the following is the document of the boundaries drawn up exactly as the elephant passed:—

(I.I. 139-195) The eastern boundary (*as it came to be determined*) on the day of Svātī corresponding to Saturday and the eleventh *tūthi* of the second fortnight and the fourth (*solar*) day of the month of Dhanuṣ in the twelfth year opposite the thirteenth of (*the king's*) reign, lies to the west of the line commencing from the eastern extremity of Uḷaikuḷam, also called Kī-Chūrai, which lies to the north-east of this village (of Rājagambhira-chaturvēḍimaṅgalam), passes southwards and crosses the road going to Kaḍambaṅguḍi from Śeyyakulaṭṭūr, runs in a south-easterly direction, then southwards and then in south-easterly direction and crosses the road leading to Vēmbaṅguḍi from Māṇavīramadurai, and then passes eastwards and crosses the high road leading to Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭai from Śeyyakulaṭṭūr, and then keeping to the right (*the pit called*) Pudai-chēchāṅkuḷi, passes south-east along the *veṭṭipperuvali* (the big path of the *veṭṭis*) which meets the said road (*at the said pit*) and crosses the road leading to Māṇavīramadurai from Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭai; further, proceeding from this road in a south-easterly direction and crossing the high road which runs westwards, and then going in a south-easterly direction crossing the road leading to Māṇavīramadurai from Piḍāvūr and then passing in a south-easterly direction and reaching the eastern extremity of the tank of Karaiyūr and from its bank passing in a south-easterly direction, it lies to the west. And crossing the channel which carries water to the tank at Kuppēli, it lies to the west. Proceeding from the channel in a south-easterly direction on the eastern boundary of Śāṅgappērayaṇ-āmbal, then going southwards and then in a south-westerly direction and crossing the road leading from Neṭṭūr to Māṇavīramadurai and then going southwards along the *nīr-nakkal* of the tank at Chandranallūr and reaching the southern extremity of Chandranallūr, it lies to the west. Further, proceeding from here in a south-westerly direction along the way leading to Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallabhappērāru, it lies to the west. Then going southwards from this way along the *ṣerrai* on the eastern boundary of Śeṅkuḷi, then proceeding westwards on the southern boundary of the said Śeṅkuḷi and afterwards going southwards along Kaṇkuḷam which forms the eastern boundary of Orukkoraṇēri, it lies to the west. Then proceeding in a south-westerly direction on the southern boundary of the said Orukkoraṇēri and getting into the Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallabhappērāru it lies to the west. Then going along this Śrīvallabhappērāru (*first*) in a north-westerly direction and then in a westerly direction, it lies to the west. Then getting up the southern bank of this river and proceeding in a southerly direction and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Kī-Paṣalai *alias* Dāṇavīṇḍanallūr and the tank of Mēṇ-Paṣalai *alias* Śrīvallabha-chaturvēḍimaṅgalam and getting up the bank of this channel and proceeding southwards along the ridge of the half *cēli* and two *mā* of land in Araṣippaṇṇa and going up the northern extremity of the tank of Māṇavīramadurai, it lies to the west. Then, proceeding

westwards on this bank and then going southwards on the eastern boundary of the three *cūti* of land, as measured by the *pōṭṭakkāl*,—which had been added to Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam out of the lands that were being cultivated as *pōṭṭam* on the eastern side of the channel which carries water to the tank at Marudūr and which lay within the above-said tank of Mānavīramadurai,—and getting up the south bank of this tank and (*then*) reaching the channel which carries water to the tank at Marudūr, it lies to the west. Further, proceeding along the east bank of this channel in a south-easterly direction and then in southerly direction and reaching the old excavation in the south extremity of the *kuḍiyiruppu* of Vāgagaṅgappāraiyāṅ, it lies to the west. Proceeding again eastwards along this excavation, and going on the ridge (*first*) in an easterly direction and then in a north-easterly direction along the southern ridge of the field in the south extremity of Mānavīramadurai in the *agavāy* of the old tank of Marudūr, and getting up the eastern extremity of the said old tank of Marudūr, it lies to the west. Then, proceeding westwards along this bank, and then going southwards along (*the channel called*) Divākara-vāyakkāl which forms the eastern boundary of Marudūr and the western boundary of Mānavīramadurai, till where this channel ends, then passing by this western ridge of (*the land called*) Divākara-vāyakkāl, and then proceeding eastwards along the southern ridge of the field and then passing south along the *beruvai* which has the western ridge of Sundaravāyakkāl and then going along the line which forms the northern boundary of Śaṅkaramaṅgalam and the southern boundary of Mānavīramadurai, (*first*) in an easterly direction and then in a north-easterly direction and getting up the northern extremity of Śaṅkaramaṅgalam and reaching the channel which carries water to the tank of Mēṟ-Paṣalai *alias* Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and to the tank of Kīṭ-Paṣalai *alias* Dānaviṇḍanallūr, it lies to the west. Then, proceeding in a south-easterly direction on the western bank of this channel, and crossing the (*other*) channel which, branching off from this channel, carries water to the tank of Mēṟ-Paṣalai *alias* Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and then going (*successively*) in south-easterly, easterly and southerly directions on the western bank of the channel which carries water to the tank of Kīṭ-Paṣalai *alias* Dānaviṇḍanallūr and reaching the western embankment of the tank of the said Dānaviṇḍanallūr, and then getting down the grassy bank of that tank and proceeding southwards on the eastern bank of the channel which carries water to the tank of Mēṟ-Paṣalai *alias* Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and reaching the northern extremity of the tank of the said Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, then proceeding (*successively*) in south and south-east directions along the *īḷukkāru* (*flowing*) from the *maruvāy* of this tank, and reaching the path leading to the *nattam* of Nelvēli, it lies to the west. Then, getting up at the eastern extremity of the tank of the said Nelvēli and reaching (*the channel called*) Paraḷaikkāl, and proceeding southwards on the western bank of that channel and crossing the path leading west from Nakkapēri, (*it lies to the west*).

(LI. 195-267) The southern boundary : Going westwards along the road forming the southern boundary of Nelvēli and the northern entrance to the *nattam* of Eṭṭiyēri and reaching the western end of the said *nattam* of Eṭṭiyēri, thence proceeding westwards and reaching the old temple-site in the middle of this Eṭṭiyēri and Nelvēli, then going south-west and crossing (*the river*) Paraḷaiyāru, it lies to the north. Proceeding (*successively*) in south and south-west directions on the western bank of this river, and then crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Nīram-baiyūr and (*also*) forms the eastern boundary of Sōmāttūr, and proceeding southwards on the western bank of this channel and reaching the middle boundary between Sōmāttūr and Śīruvāgai in the vicinity of Kaḷḷikkudī, it lies to the north. Further, passing west and south-west along the ridge which commences at the middle of this boundary, and getting into the tank at Śīruvāgai at the north end of it, then passing on the southern boundary, of Aravaṅkudī and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Kaḷḷikkudī, then going westwards and then in a south-westerly

direction along the road leading to Vēlāṇēri from Aravaṅkuḍi and reaching the eastern boundary of Vēlāṇēri, it lies to the north. Again proceeding in a north-easterly direction along the eastern bank of the channel, which runs along the said village of Vēlāṇēri and carries water to Puṭṭūr, and crossing this channel and getting up the western bank, it lies to the north. Further, going westwards along the boundary which forms the northern boundary of Vēlāṇēri and the southern boundary of Karuṅkuḷam, and then going westwards along the north bank of Śūririvaśakkal-ūraṇi of Vēlāṇēri, it lies to the north. Then going along the ridge in the middle of the boundary and proceeding north along the eastern ridge of Ādicchavaśakkal of Vēlāṇēri, and then going north along the northern ridge of this land, it lies to the north. Further, going north on the eastern ridge of Karuṇḍaḍi of Vēlāṇēri, and then westwards on the ridge which is to the north of this land and the nārruṅkal of Ādicchavaśakkal and of Perṇāvaśakkal and reaching the eastern ridge of Dayānti-vayakkal in Śēṇēri which adjoins Kaḷḷikkoḍi, it lies to the north. Again, proceeding northwards on this ridge and reaching the *ellai-vāyakkāl* (i.e., the boundary channel), and then going (*successively*) in north, north-west and north directions along the said channel, and afterwards going in a westerly direction on the northern ridge of Mālār-mukkāni of Śēṇēri, and then again going in a north-western direction on the eastern ridge of Sōmidēvi-vayakkal belonging to Dayānti Ariyāṇ *alias* Arundavaṇ-Viḷupparaiyāṇ, then going northwards along the eastern ridge of the land of Dayānti Māpaviraṇ consisting of several *taḍis* (in extent), and then proceeding northwards on the eastern ridge of the *vayakkal* of Uyyakkonḍāl and then westwards of the northern ridge of this field and reaching the northern bank of the tank of Śēṇēri, it lies to the north. Then going in a north-westerly direction along the grassy bank of this tank and reaching the big road leading to Dēvakōṭṭai from Kaṇṇaṇūr, and going westwards along this big road, it lies to the north. Then, leaving to the left the tamarind tree standing at the northern entrance of Pūdaṇēri-nattam, and passing westwards and getting into the tank called Taḍāppirai at its southern extremity, it lies to the north. Then passing in a north-westerly direction in the *nir-nakkal* of this tank, and then going in a north-westerly direction in the *nir-nakkal* of (the tank called) Kāñchiraṅkuḷam and reaching the northern extremity of this tank, and then passing westwards on the south bank of the channel which carries water to this tank and getting up the (bank of the tank called) Pullaṇērikuḷam at its southern end, it lies to the north. Then going northwards in the *nir-nakkal* of this tank and reaching the northern extremity of this tank, then going westwards on the south bank of the channel which carries water to this tank and reaching the big road leading to Kaṇṇaṇūr, it lies to the north. Then going northwards along this road, and then going westwards of the *levon* having the northern ridge of Muttaraiyāṇ-karuṅchey of Kaṇṇaṇūr-Piḍāri-ēri which forms the northern boundary of Kaṇṇaṇūr and the southern boundary of Narimaṇṇam and reaching the *kuḷappariṇṇu* of Maḍalaikuruchē, and going northwards within this tank to the extent of ten *kōl*, it lies to the north. Proceeding westwards along this tank and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank at Kaṇṇaṇūr and passing northwards, leaving to the right the tamarind tree standing to the east of Kāṇavāru which flows northwards, and going westwards and getting up the bank of (the tank called) Uḍaikuḷam in Kiṭ-Śēḷi, and going northwards on this bank and reaching the southern boundary of Miṇṇēri, it lies to the north. Further, going westwards along the channel which had been dug to carry water to the tank at Kiṭ-Śēḷi and which forms the northern boundary of the said tank of Kiṭ-Śēḷi and the southern boundary of this Miṇṇēri, then getting into the channel and getting up at the breach (*known as*) Maḷaiyaguḍaippu, proceeding then on the bund of this tank and getting down the *agurāy* of this tank, then going (*successively*) in southerly and south-westerly directions on the eastern boundary of the dry land belonging to Miḷagaṇūr and reaching the road leading to Koṭṭakīrti in Kāñai-Irukkai from Miḷagaṇūr, it lies to the north. Then going north-west along the channel which carries water to the tank of

Kaṇḍambaṅḡḍi, which channel formed the northern boundary of the said Kottakīrti and passed in the middle of the northern boundary of Vēlāṇēri in Kāñai-Irukkai and the southern boundary of Miḷagaṇūr, then getting into this (i.e., the said) channel and going north to the *karai-parippu*, which is at the southern extremity of Mār-Ṣeḷi and forms the northern boundary of the dry land attached to Vēlāṇēri, then going in a north-westerly direction, and then again in a westerly direction along the southern boundary of the dry land belonging to Ṣōraṇ Mūkkaṇ of Miḷagaṇūr, then going in a northerly direction along the *ellai-parippu* in the middle of the eastern boundary of Karpakīrti in Kāñai-Irukkai and the western boundary of Mār-Ṣeḷi adjoining Miḷagaṇūr and reaching the southern boundary of the dry land of Sundāṇ-Ālvāṇ of Miḷagaṇūr, it lies to the north. Further, going in a westerly direction midway between the southern boundary of this dry land and the northern boundary of Karpakīrti and reaching the eastern boundary of the dry land of Karpakīrti, it lies to the north. Then going (*first*) in a northerly direction and then in north-westerly direction, along the *vēli-parippu* in the middle of this dry land and the dry lands belonging to Miḷagaṇūr, and afterwards going in north and north-westerly directions midway between the eastern limit of Karpakīrti and the boundary at the western limit of the dry land that was being cultivated by Rāmaṇ Aḷagaṇ of Miḷagaṇūr, and then crossing the road leading to Miḷagaṇūr from Iruṇebirai and reaching the end of the southern extremity of Ṣirukilātti adjoining Miḷagaṇūr, and going in a north-westerly direction along the *karai-parippu* of this tank and reaching the northern bank of the tank of Karpakīrti, it lies to the north. Then going north-west along the grassy bank of this tank and then in a north-westerly direction along the channel, which carries water to the tank of Ṣirukilātti and passes midway between the southern limit of the dry lands of Puvapinallūr and the bank of Karpakīrti, and crossing the *kaḍai-kombu* of the tank of Karpakīrti, it lies to the north. Then, leaving to the right the *kaḷar-parippu*, which lies to the south of Valaiyan-ūraṇi (and also) to the south of the fields of Puvapinallūr, and going in a westerly direction, and then again in a north-westerly direction along the southern boundary of the dry lands cultivated by the shepherd Irāṣiṅga-kōḡ, the resident of Puvapinallūr, which lands are situated to the north of Kāpakarai which carries water to the tank of Ṣirukilātti and reaching the channel which carries water at the western end of the tank of Karpakīrti, (*it lies to the west*),

(Id. 267-316) The western boundary: Proceeding northwards along the eastern bank of this tank, and then going northwards along the eastern bank of the channel, which carried water to the tank of Karpakīrti and formed the eastern boundary of Pudukkuḷam, that was given in exchange for Miḷagaṇūr which was included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, then going in northerly and north-easterly directions along the eastern bank of the channel, which carried water to the tank of Karpakīrti and formed the eastern boundary of Mārakīrti which was also given in exchange for the said Miḷagaṇūr, and then passing this channel, it lies to the east. Further, proceeding northwards and reaching the western end of the tank of Miḷagaṇūr, it lies to the east. Then getting into the *agavāy* of this tank and going northwards, then again going north along the bank of (*the tank called*) Minṇōri which forms the eastern boundary of Kuvaḷaivēlippaṇṇu given in exchange for Miḷagaṇūr and reaching the southern boundary of Nerkuṇṇam, it lies to the east. Then going in a north-westerly direction along the *karai-parippu*, which forms the eastern boundary of this Kuvaḷaivēli and the western boundary of Nerkuṇṇam, and reaching the southern end of the *nattam* of this *āsarudī* of this *nattam* and reaching the western extremity of the tank of the said Nerkuṇṇam, then going northwards along the eastern end of Kuvaḷaivēli through the *nir-nakki* of this tank and reaching the bank of Mēḷōri, then going northwards along the *kuḷappariippu* of Mēḷōri and getting up at the southern end of Kaṭṭikuḷam and descending into the *agavāy* of this tank and then going northwards on the eastern boundary of Kaṇḍambamaṅgalam which was given in

exchange for Miḷagaṇūr and reaching the bank of Perṇāṇ-ēmbal, it lies to the east. Then going northwards and crossing the channel which carries water to Kaṭṭikuḷam, and going eastwards along the southern boundary of Tirumāliṇṇōlai in Achchaṇkāṭṭirukkai which is a tax-free *dēvadāna* of Tirumāliṇṇōlai-Ālvār and the holding (*kāṇi*) of Pullāṇi Mādēvaṇ *alias* Nuḷambādarāyar, the headman of Mālaṇṇuḍi, and then leaving to the left the *tiruvālikkal* (*i.e.*, disc-bearing stone) planted on the southern boundary of this Tirumāliṇṇōlainallūr and going in east and south-east directions and reaching the *tiruvālikkal* planted at the south-east corner of Tirumāliṇṇōlainallūr, and then going northwards on the western bank of the channel which carries water to the tank at Miḷagaṇūr which was added to Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṇḡalam and reaching the *tiruvālikkal* planted on the eastern boundary of Tirumāliṇṇōlainallūr, and then going northwards on the western bank of this channel and reaching the *tiruvālikkal* planted at the north-eastern corner of this Tirumāliṇṇōlainallūr, it lies to the east. Then going in westerly and north-westerly directions on the south bank of the channel, which carries water to the tank of this Miḷagaṇūr and forms the southern boundary of Vāgaikuḍi and the northern boundary of Tirumāliṇṇōlainallūr, and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of this Tirumāliṇṇōlainallūr and reaching the *tiruvālikkal* planted at the north-west corner of this Tirumāliṇṇōlainallūr, and then going north-west along the south bank of the channel of Miḷagaṇūr, which forms the northern boundary of Śirukuḍi *alias* Virakāmugamaṇḡalam in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkulakkīl and the southern boundary of Vāgaikuḍi, and then going northwards on the west bank of the channel of Miḷagaṇūr which forms the eastern boundary of Vellūrkuṇṇuchi in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkulakkīl, the *dēvadāna* of Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār and the western boundary of Vāgaikuḍi, and crossing this channel and reaching the southern boundary of Viḍattal *alias* Māṇābbaraṇa-chaturvēdimaṇḡalam in Kīraṇūr-nāḍu, it lies to the east. Then going eastwards on this boundary along the *kaḷar-parippu* and reaching the northern extremity of the tank of Vāgaikuḍi, it lies to the east. Then going eastwards along this bank and descending this bank and going eastwards on the boundary ridge, which forms the northern boundary of Vāgaikuḍi and the southern boundary of Māṇābbaraṇa-chaturvēdimaṇḡalam, and leaving to the right the temple of Māṇābbaraṇa-Īsaramuḍaiyār at Vāgaikuḍi and going eastwards on the boundary ridge and reaching the boundary channel flowing eastwards from the tank at Vāgaikuḍi, then going eastwards along the northern ridge of this channel, and passing this channel and going eastwards on the ridge, which is to the north of Ariyāḷ-vayakkal in Vāgaikuḍi-paṇṇu and to the south of Uyyavandāḷ-vayakkal in Māṇābbaraṇa-chaturvēdimaṇḡalappaṇṇu, and reaching the channel which carries water to the tank of Nakkamaṇḡalam, and then going (*successively*) in north, north-west and north-east directions on the western bank of this channel and approaching the western extremity of the tank of Tuttiyūr and going on the western bank of this channel (*successively*) in north, north-east and north-west directions, and then going westwards on the boundary ridge, which forms the southern boundary of the land called Araimākkūṇṇu in Tiruvāvaṇam and the northern boundary of Māṇābbaraṇa-chaturvēdimaṇḡalam, and reaching the bank of the tank of Māṇābbaraṇa-chaturvēdimaṇḡalam, it lies to the east. Then going northwards along the grassy bank of this tank and reaching the bank of Śīrṇēmbal of Araimākkūṇṇu, then going westwards on the southern bank of this *ēmbal* and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Miḷagaṇūr, and going (*successively*) in north and north-west directions on the western bank of this channel and getting into this channel and then getting up the eastern bank of this channel and then going northwards along the *nīr-nakkal* in the *ēmbal* of Araimākkūṇṇu and crossing the channel which was carrying water to the tank of Tuttiyūr, and going northwards on the western ridge of Kaṇavadi-vayakkal, which forms the eastern boundary of Vellūrkuṇṇuchi in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkulakkīl, a *dēvadāna* of Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār, and the western boundary of Tiruvāvaṇam, and leaving to the right Vāykaṭṭatturavu in the north-western corner of this

Kaṇavadiyayakkal and crossing the channel of Tiruvāvaṇam, and going northwards on the boundary, which is to the east of Vellūrkuruchchi and to the west of Tiruvāvaṇam, and descending into the Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallabhappērāru, (*it lies to the east*).

(Ll. 317-338) The northern boundary : Going eastwards along this Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallabhappērāru and getting up the northern bank of the channel carrying water to the tank of Papan-galūr, then going eastwards along this bank and descending into (*the river called*) Kaḷavalinādaṇ-āru and going northwards along this river and reaching the road leading to Vēmbaṅguḍi from Iḍaikkāṭṭūr and getting up the eastern bank, it lies to the south. Then going in a north-easterly direction along this road and crossing the channel which carries water from this Kaḷavalinādaṇ-āru to the tank of Śeyyakulattūr, then going in a north-easterly direction along this road and getting up the bank of the tank of Adikarai, and then going in a north-westerly direction along this bank and reaching what forms the northern extremity of this tank and the southern boundary of Āykuḍi, it lies to the south. Then going eastwards along this boundary and reaching the northern entrance of the *nattam* of Vēlaṅguḍi and further on reaching the western extremity of the tank of this Vēlaṅguḍi, it lies to the south. Going from this in a north-easterly direction and reaching the western boundary of Kuḍaṇjāḍi, and then going in north and north-easterly directions along this boundary and reaching the *kombu* on the western extremity of the tank of Kuḍaṇjāḍi, it lies to the south. Going from this in a north-easterly direction and then in east and south-east directions on the *nir-nakkal* of the tank which forms the southern boundary of Sunḍaṅkuruchchi and the northern boundary of this Kuḍaṇjāḍi, and crossing the channel which flows from the eastern extremity of this tank, and then going in a south-easterly direction and crossing the big road leading from Iḍaikkāṭṭūr of Vēlūr-Śirukūḍi to Vēmbaṅguḍi and then going eastwards, then going again eastwards on the *agavāy* of Uḍaikuḷam, which is called by the names Kāṭṭutteyvam and Piḍārikuḷam, and getting up the eastern extremity of this tank and going south-east, and then leaving to the right the dry lands ploughed by Śemberumāṇ, a neighbouring resident of Kiraṇūrnāḍālvāṅkōṭṭai, and going in east and south directions and crossing the road leading from Śeyyakulattūr to Vēmbaṅguḍi, then going eastwards and crossing the channel that was caused to be dug by Muttan Ālvāṇ *alias* Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mārāyaṇ for feeding the tanks of Śeyyakulattūr, then going east and north-east, and (*afterwards*) passing eastwards along the *agavāy* of the Uḍaikuḷam of Mē-Chūrai and then going eastwards along the *agavāy* of the tank of Ki-Chūrai and getting up the eastern extremity of this tank, the she-elephant stopped (*having come to the place*) where she originally started.

(Ll. 338-9) I wrote this charitable edict : this is the signature of *puravuvāri-kaṅkāṇi* Araiyaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Kaṭṭikuruchchi, (*a resident*) of the glorious Parāntakanallūr in Naḍuvirkūrru, (*a sub-division*) of Mīlalai-kūṛṅgam.

(L. 340) This is the signature of the *puravuvāri-kaṅkāṇi* Parāntakan Tiruppuvaṇamudaiyaṇ of Taṇḍalai in Kīl-kūṛṅgu, (*a sub-division*) of Mīlalai-kūṛṅgam.

(L. 341) This is the signature of *puravuvāri-kaṅkāṇi* Karuṇākaradēvaṇ Puṇḍavaṇamudaiyaṇ of Perumāṇḍūr *alias* Palamaṇḍalādicchanallūr in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkūḷakkīl.

(L. 342) This is the signature of Piḷḷai Ālvāṇ Ponnambalakkūṭṭan of Karuppūr in Tirumūpaippāḍi-nāḍu, the *kaṅkāṇi* of the *tiruvāykkēḷi* Jayadhara-Pallavaraiyaṇ.

No. 12.—TIRUPPUVANAM SUPPLEMENTARY PLATE.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

This is a single plate which bears writing on both the sides, the first having 17 lines and the second, 15 lines.

Excepting the last two and a half lines, the writing on both the sides bears close resemblance to that on the Tiruppūvaṇam plates of Jaṭavarman Kuśāśekhara I edited above. The sign of *visarga* is used as a punctuation mark in lines 1 and 15. This and the employment of the symbol resembling *ya* to denote *ppa* (l. 11), the preferential use of *r* before hard consonants, *t* in *ārgalīr=t°* (ll. 2 and 17), *tavirtu* (ll. 4 and 19) and *pārtu* (ll. 3 and 8), *ch* in *arvūlār=ch°* (l. 27), and *k* in *sabhāiyārku* (ll. 2 and 16), as well as the general shape of all the letters point to the fact that the writer of this plate must be identical with the one that incised the previous set of eleven plates. In the above examples, *sabhāiyārku*, *tavirtu* and *pārtu* are instances of wrong spelling.

There are, strictly speaking, two inscriptions on this plate. Lines 1 to 15 register an order issued by king *Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇēriṇmaikoṇḍāṇ* to the assembly of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṃ, while lines 15 to 32 purport to emanate from the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam to the same assembly. The subject in both is practically the same as will be seen in the sequel. The first contains the date "11th year (of reign) and 108th day" but mentions the king only by the general title *Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇēriṇmaikoṇḍāṇ*. The second states the name of the king to be **Sundara-Pāṇḍya** 'who presented the Chōla country'; eleventh year (of reign) occurs in the body of the record.

In the Tiruppūvaṇam plates of Jaṭavarman Kuśāśekhara I, we are informed that in constituting the new village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṃ, three of the *dēvadāna* properties of the temple of Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār, viz., Vāgaikuḍi in Kīraṇūr-nāḍu (l. 20), Muttūranāroṭṭai in Mērkūḍi-nāḍu (ll. 59f.) and Śirukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr in Puṇḍarāḷai-nāḍu (l. 68), were taken up and included in it. It is usual in such cases to give other lands in exchange. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates evidence such a practice. And even in the large Tiruppūvaṇam plates we find it stated that in place of Mīḷagaṇūr which, like the *dēvadāna* lands of the Tiruppūvaṇam temple, had been taken up and included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṃ, a number of lands were given and they were formed into a fresh village called Rājendraśiṅganallūr which was placed in the Division of Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai (ll. 111f.). But it is not stated in those plates what was done to compensate the Tiruppūvaṇam temple for the loss it sustained in being deprived of certain properties. What is not stated there forms the subject of this supplementary plate.

The first inscription on this plate states (1) that the villages of Vāgaikuḍi, Muttūranāroṭṭai and Śirukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr, which were among the *dēvadāna* properties of the temple of Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār, had been taken away and added to Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṃ; (2) that up to the tenth year (of the reign of Sundara-Pāṇḍya I), after annual crop examination, the lands of the said three villages had been regularly paying *kaḍamai* to the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam; (3) that this payment was then put a stop to and in its place, it was settled that an amount of twenty-five *kāṣu* in all,—ten *kāṣu* for Vāgaikuḍi, ten *kāṣu* for Muttūranāroṭṭai and five *kāṣu* for Śirukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr,—had to be paid every year from the eleventh year onwards to the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam and that in paying this, half must be given in *kāṣu* and the other half in paddy, on the basis of a never diminishing (i.e., permanent) investment; (4) and that on this settlement being recommended to the king by his brother-in-law Aḷagapperumāḷ, he ordered the issue of *kēḷi* to that effect, and directed also the engraving of the same on stone and copper. It bears the date '11th year and 108th day' and is signed by three officials.

The second inscription calls the first document a *piḍipāḍu* issued by Sundara-Pāṇḍya 'who presented the Chōla country' to the assembly of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṃ, recites its contents and lays down the procedure to be adopted in making the payment, settled therein. It says that the agreed amount of money (*kāṣu*) must be paid and the quantity of paddy measured out, every year, in the premises of the temple kitchen, and for the payment thus made, receipts

must be obtained from the temple signed by the accountant and the *kaymi*. The signatories to this inscription are a *Saivāchārya*, two *Sivabrāhmaṇas* and *Mudal-Kaṇakku* (the treasury accountant). At the end, it is said that the document was caused to be made by Śāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka, son of Jaṭādhara the ornament of the village of Aḍḍarakamaṅgalam. It must have been on this occasion that the large Tiruppūvaṇam plates, wherein the inclusion of the three *dēvadāna* villages in Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalam is specified, must have been engraved and kept along with the supplementary plate as its *mūlasāṇa*. Hence, it is that we find that all the plates are written in the same hand and are in the possession of the Tiruppūvaṇam temple.

Ordinarily the State did not interfere with temple properties. This is made plain by such statements as "*ier-ūrgaṭṭir-paṇan-dēvadānam paṭṭichchandam.....nikki*" found in the large Tiruppūvaṇam plates.¹ It is also clear from the fact that the Tiruppūvaṇam temple, in spite of the inclusion of three of its *dēvadāna* lands in the newly formed *brahmadēya*, had been regularly getting the *kaṭamaṭai* from them from the date of the grant of the *brahmadēya*, which, as we know from the large set, was the eleventh year opposite to the thirteenth year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulatōkhara I (A.D. 1204) till the tenth year of the reign of Mājavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1226). When, owing to any special reasons, *dēvadānas* had to be taken away and turned to other purposes—here for forming the *brahmadēya*—the original incumbents were not deprived of their income but were adequately compensated. The king's brother-in-law Aḷagapperumāl must have been appointed to hold an enquiry and settle the compensation to be awarded to the dispossessed owner of the resumed *dēvadāna*. The result of his enquiry is embodied in this inscription.

The first inscription being a State document is signed by State officials, and the second, being one issued by the temple, bears the signatures of temple officials. The temples in those days had regularly constituted bodies of their own to see to their management. These bodies were known as *uṇṇāḷigaiyār* or *uṇṇāḷigai-sabhaiyār*.² I have referred to the constitutional character of the bodies known as *Paṇ-Māhēśvaras* in the case of Śiva temples and Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the case of Viṣṇu temples elsewhere.³ Here we may note some of the numerous officers that were employed in temple bodies.⁴ They are (1) *Kaṇakku-Mudal* or *Mudal-Kaṇakku*, (2) *Kaṇakku*, or *Karaṇattāṇ*, (3) *Dēvakaymi*, (4) *Sihānāchārya* or *Saivāchārya*, (5) *Pūjikkum-Nambī* and other *Nambis*, (6) *Kōyil-Nāyakam*, (7) *Tiruvilaichechiṇai-kaṇkāṇi*, (8) *Por-Paṇḍāri*, (9) *Sādana* (*Sāsana*)-*Paṇḍāri*, (10) *Śrī-Māhēśvara-Kaṇkāṇi*, (11) *Śrīkāryam-ṭeyvār*, (12) *Śrīkōyil-Vāriyam-ṭeyvār* or *Vāriya-Perumakkaḷ*, etc.

In transactions in which the temple is concerned, some of these officials affix their signatures. In a record of the time of Kulōttuṅga I five temple officials, viz., *Māhēśvara-Kaṇkāṇi*, *Sivabrāhmaṇa*, *Pūjikkum-Nambī*, *Karaṇattāṇ* and a *Paṇ-Māhēśvara* have attested.⁵ Another record gives ten of the different officials noticed above.⁶ A third document is addressed to *Śrīkōyil-vāriyam-ṭeyvār*, *Dēvakaymis*, *Paṇḍāris* and *Karaṇattāṇ*.⁷ It is consistent with this custom that the second document issued by the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam to the assembly of

¹ See above, p. 111, text-lines 68 f.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 91, 153 & 835.

³ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 275.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 427; also Nos. 293, 296 & 935 of Vol. V and Nos. 33 & 36 of Vol. VI.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 473.

⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 427.

⁷ No. 33 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI.

Rājagambhīra-chaturvvēdimāṅgalam in pursuance of the royal order, was signed by the *Saivāchārya*, *Sivabrāhmaṇas* and the *Mudal-Kaṇakku*, besides *Śāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka*, son of *Jaṭādhara*.

A few terms that occur in this plate deserve to be noted. These are *kēlvi*, *piḍipāḍu*, *aḍuk-kalaippuṇam*, *kaḍamai* and *vāḍā-kkaḍamai*. *Kēlvi* is the noun derived from the root, 'kēl' to 'hear'. It is used in inscriptions to denote both 'an office' and 'a royal order'. Among the official attendants on the king, some were called '*kēlvi*' and the duty of the *kēlvi* officers seems to be 'to communicate to the Department concerned any order of the king just as they heard it said by him'. In communicating such oral orders, they stated the occasion when, and the attendant circumstances under which the king gave them. Besides meaning the class of officials, the term *kēlvi* came to be applied to the document containing the royal oral order put in proper form and signed by the State officials.² This term is sometimes re-placed by (*nam-ōlai*) 'Royal order'. It is worthy of note that in this plate *kēlvi* and *piḍipāḍu* are made to refer to the same thing. In the *Vēlvikuḍi* plates we meet with the expression *kēlvi-andaṇālar*³ which conveys the same sense as *śrōtriya-Brāhmaṇa*. The term *piḍipāḍu* consists of the roots *piḍi* 'hold or bind' and *pāḍu* 'terms or sources' and means 'a deed of support, a letter of authority embodying the conditions to be fulfilled and authorising the possession of a thing or property', or 'a title-deed'. It is of such a general nature that it could be applied to any kind of document. The following extracts will make its application clear:—

"*tiriya iṭṭa paḍikku eṇṇum idu piḍipāḍāga*"⁴ meaning "for having given it back, this shall be the deed of support"; "*ivv-āṇḍu kār-mudal kaḍamai irukkumiḍattu mātūl nellu padin-kalamāga pū oṇṇukku nellu... kuḍuttu ivar kaiyāl taravu koḷēṁmāgavum ippaḍi sammadittu piḍipāḍu kuḍuttōm*"⁵ meaning "agreeing to pay ten *kalam* of paddy on each *mā* of land at each harvest and to obtain receipt therefor we gave this *piḍipāḍu* (i.e., deed evidencing the terms of holding)". It will be seen that this passage is almost similar to the one in the *Tiruppūvaṇam* supplementary plate, and that the record belongs to the time of *Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I*.

Another inscription which registers a tax-free gift of land, with its previous owners removed, as a *nandavāṇappuṇam*, i.e., for the maintenance of a flower garden, uses the words "*ippaḍi nam ōlai piḍipāḍāga koṇḍu chandrādityavar śevadāga*".⁶ Here the word *piḍipāḍu* means 'a deed embodying the terms and authorising the holding of the land as a tax-free gift'. As in the present plate, the royal order (*nam ōlai*) is termed a *piḍipāḍu*.

Kaḍamai means 'assessment on land'. The fact that the temple of *Tiruppūvaṇam* was getting from the three *dēvadāna* properties *kaḍamai* annually, after crop examination, shows that they must have been assigned by the State and the temple was entitled to all the dues which it was previously entitled to. The fresh settlement by which the *sabhā* of *Rājagambhīra-chaturvvēdimāṅgalam* was made to pay annually twenty-five *kāśu*, half in money and the other half in paddy, must be equal to the value of the *kaḍamai* which the temple was receiving. The word *kaḍam* being not much different from *kaḍamai*, *vāḍā-kaḍamai* may be equated with *vāḍā-kaḍam*. This is quite appropriate in this case where the temple had been realising *kaḍamai* on lands and the

¹ See above, note on *tiruvāykṭi*, p. 106.

² No. 293 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

³ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 300, text-line 36.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 52.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 415.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 419.

lands had been given over to the *brahmadēya*. The term *vāḍu-kaḍamai*¹ is used in other inscriptions also in the sense of 'permanent assessment on lands'. As applied to debts, *vāḍu-kaḍan* means a loan in which fixed interest had to be paid, the capital remaining unchanged or undiminished. This is the case in all permanent endowments. Sometimes it is even stated that the debtor should not at any time offer to pay up the capital and free himself from the binding to pay interest. Fuller expression for such debts is *mudal-vāḍu-kaḍan*.² *Aḍukkalaiṣṣuppaṇam*³ means 'for the requirements of the kitchen, i.e., for offerings'. All gifts to temples are *dēvadāna*s. According to the purpose for which the gifts are made, they fall under different heads such as *tirunandavanappuṇam*, *tirumūlaiṣṣuppaṇam*, *aḍukkalaiṣṣuppaṇam*, *tiruvilakkuppuṇam*, etc.

TEXT.

First Side.

- 1 Svasti śri 3 Tribhuvanachakrava[ra*]tti Kōṇṛ[ra*]ṇmaikopḍāṇ Rājagambhira-vuḷaṣṭṭu Rājagambhira-ebatu-
- 2 rrvēdimāṇgalattu=ssabhaiyārku [ra*] Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇam-uḍaiyār dēvadāṇamāṇa ōṇḍa[ra*]-taṇḍa[ra*]-ūruḍan kūṭ-
- 3 ṭiṇa Vāgaikudiyu[m*] Muttūranāroṭṭaiyum Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūrum pattāvaduvarai payir pārtu=k-
- 4 kaḍamaiy-iṟuttu-vandamaiyil idu tavirtu=ppadiṇ-onṛāvadu-mudal Vāgaikudikku-kkāsū pattum Muttū[ra*]-
- 5 nāroṭṭaikku-kkāsū pattum Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūrukku-kkāsū aiṇḍum āṇa āṇḍ-onṛukku-kkāsū
- 6 irubatt-aiṇḍum oṭṭāṇa nīchayittu-kkāsū pādiyun=neg-pādiyum-āṇa irukka-pperavēṇum-epṛu maṇḍ-
- 7 chupāṇār=Alagapperumāḷ namakku=chebōṇṇamaiyil taṇḍa[ra*]-ūruḍan kūṭṭiṇa Vāgaikudiyu[m*] Muttūranāroṭ-
- 8 ṭaiyuṇ=Chirukilāṅkāṭṭūrum pattāvaduvarai payir pārtu-kkaḍamaiy-iṟuttu-vandamaiyil idu tavirtu=
- 9 ppadiṇ-onṛāvadu-mudal Vāgaikudikku-kkāsū pattum Muttūranā[ra*]ṭṭaiṅku-kkāsū pattoṇ=Chir-
- 10 kilāṅkāṭṭūrukku-kkāsū aiṇḍum āṇa āṇḍ-onṛukku-kkāsū irubatt-aiṇḍum oṭṭāṇa nīchayittu=
- 11 kkāsū pādiyun=neg-pādiyum-āṇa iruppādāṇa⁴ kēṭṭi tara-chebōṇṇam [ra*] ippadi⁵ Chandr-
Āḍityavat śelvadāṇa ka-
- 12 ililūṇ=chembūlum vēṭṭivittu-kkolga [ra*] Ivai⁶ Śevvirukkai-nāṭṭu Achebutavayal=Araiyā-
Āḍicheba-
- 13 dēvaṇ-āṇa Yādavarāyapp-eḷuttu [ra*] Yūḍu 11-vadu nāḷ 108 [ra*] Ivai⁶ Vaḍatalai=chChembi-
nāṭṭu Veṇkūṇṇar Araya-

¹ S. I. I., Vol. IV, 373 and Vol. V, No. 416.

² No. 343 of S. I. I., Vol. VIII.

³ See Nos. 416 and 450 of S. I. I., Vol. V.

⁴ The right hand portion of the medial o sign of *ru* has been omitted to be engraved.

⁵ The letters *ppa* are written as a group whose symbol resembles *pa*.

⁶ The word *im* is expressed by a single symbol combining the two letters *i* and *m*.

⁷ The *ḍ* sign of *dē* is at the end of the previous line.

- 14 ḡ Kariyamāl-āṇa Adigaimāṇ=ejuttu [1*] Ivaiy¹=Aṇḍa-nāṭṭu=pPerumapaḷūr Mandariy-Iraṇaṇ-
āṇa Pallavarāyaṇ-
15 ḡ=ejuttu ḡ Svasti ārī ḡ Sarvva-lōka-samutpatti-sti(sthi)ti-samhāra-kāraṇam [1*] śāsanam
śāsanam Sambhōḥ[ḡ*] ārī-Pu-
16 apavāṇa-vāsinah [||] Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāṭṭu Rājagambhīra-chaturvvēdimāṇgalattu=
saṇbhuiyāṅku namu-aḍukka-
17 laippuram-āṇa ūṇaḷiṭ-taṇḷa-ūruḍaṇ kūṭṭiṇa ūṇaḷil Vāḡaikuḍiyum Muttūranāroṭṭaiyuṇ-
Chiru.

Second Side.

- 18 kiḷāṅkēṭṭūrum nam piḷḷai Śōḷāḍu vaḷaṇḍiṇa Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yāṇḍu pattāvadu-
varai payir pā-
19 ḡtu-kkaḍamai koṇḍu-vandamaiyil idu tavirtu paḍiṇ-onṛavadu-²mudal Vāḡaikuḍikku-kkāṣu
pattum Muttūranāroṭṭai-
20 kku-kkāṣu pattum Śigukil[ḷāḍkēṭṭūru]kku-kkāṣu aiṇḷum āḡa āṇḍ-onṛukku-kkāṣu irubatt-
aiṇḷum vāḍā-ka-
21 ḍaṇ-āḡa oṭṭāḡa-kkāṣu [pāḍiyuṇ=ner]-pāḍiyum-āḡa iruppadāḡa-chchoṇṇō(m) [1*] ippaḍikku
nam piḷḷai Sundara-Pā-
22 aḍiyadēvar taṇḷaḷukku-k[ḷuḍutta] piḍipāṭṭiṇpaḍiyēy i-kkāṣāl vanda neḷḷum kāḷum
23 naḷ-kaṇakkar kaṇṇāḡaḷ vaḷaḷaṇ namu-aḍukkaḷaippurattāy=aḷandum oḍukki[ḡu]ṇ=taravu
koḷḡa [1*]
24 Aruḷāl ³Savyāchāryyaṇ Bhāradvāji Pāḷarāvā[ḡa]ṇ Viśvāvaran-āṇa [Alagiya]dēva-Bhaṭṭaṇ
25 ejuttu [1*] Aruḷāl Tiruppāvāṇaṇḍaiyāṇ Viḡṇāśvaran-āṇa Viḡāyaka-Bhaṭṭaṇ ejuttu [1*]
I-nNā-
26 yaṇār Śivabrāhmaṇaṇil dēvakanmī Pāḷarāvāyaṇ Ammaiddēvaṇ-āṇa Alagiyaṇāyaka-
27 Bhaṭṭaṇ ejuttu [1*] Aruḷār-Chaṭṭārgaḷḷ Enāḍimaṇgalattu Kāśyapaṇ Kēśavaṇ
28 ⁴Kāṣṭrajāṇa-āṇa Brahma-pPallavaraiyaṇ=ejuttu [1*] Aruḷāl mudar-karaṇattāṇ Dāṇavi-
29 ṇōḍa-Mōvēṇḍavē[āṇ]=ejuttu [||] Vidyā-prauḍha-vilāsinī-paribṛiḍha-⁵śrī-Śāstra-
30 Bhaṭṭāraka[ḡ*] khyāt-⁶Ūṇḡārakamaṇḡal-aika-tilaka[ḡ*]-⁷śrī-Rājagambhīrakō [1*] grā-
31 māṇām prāvattē⁸ Jaḷā(tā)dhara-utō vidvat(d)-vadāny-āḡraṇḷ[ḡ*] patraṇ kārāyati sma sa-
32 [ta]tam=ita(da)ṇ simuṇas=su-ninā(rṇā)yakam⁹]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 15) Hail! Prosperity! From the Emperor of the three worlds **Kōṇḍāṇ** to the assembly of Rājagambhīra-chaturvvēdimāṇgalam in Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu.

¹ The word *ivai* is expressed by a single symbol containing the two letters *i* and *vai*.

² This line is written over an erasure from the beginning to *onṛavadu*.

³ Read *Śaśit*.

⁴ The *t* sign of *Kāṣ* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

⁵ Read *eridha*.

⁶ *Va* looks exactly like *pa*.

⁷ The Sanskrit verse at the end covering the latter part of line 29 and the subsequent two and a half lines is engraved in a different hand. Perhaps Śāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka himself wrote it and the engraver incised it.

As Vāgaikuḍi, Muttūranāroṭṭai and Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūr which were among the *dēvadāna* villages of (the god) Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇam-uḍaiyār and which, up to the tenth year (of Our reign), had been subject to (annual) crop examination and payment of *kaḍamai* (to the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam), had been included in your village, this (payment of *kaḍamai*) had been made to cease, and as Our brother-in-law Aḷagapperumāl had told Us that (an amount of) twenty-five *kāṣu*,—ten *kāṣu* for Vāgaikuḍi, ten *kāṣu* for Muttūranāroṭṭai and five *kāṣu* for Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūr,—had been determined to be paid as *oṭṭu*, for every year from the eleventh year (onwards), and that out of this amount, (one) half had to be paid in *kāṣu* and (the other) half in paddy, We have ordered the issue of *kēlvi* to the same effect.¹ You may have this engraved on stone and copper so as to last till the Moon and the Sun (endure). This is the signature of Araiyaṇ Ādichchadēvaṇ *alias* Yādavarāyaṇ of Achchutavayal in Śevvirukkai-nāḍu. The year 11 and days 108. This is the signature of Araiyaṇ Kariyamāl *alias* Adigaimāṇ of Veṅkāṇūr in Vaḍatalai-Śembi-nāḍu. This is the signature of Mandari² Rāmaṇ *alias* Pallavarāyaṇ of Perumaṇalūr in Aṇḍa-nāḍu.

(Ll. 15ff.) Hail! Prosperity! This is the permanent edict, which was the cause of creation, protection and destruction of all the worlds, of (the god) Śambhu residing in the glorious Pushpavana. To the assembly of Rājagambhira-chaturvvēdimaṅgalam in Rājagambhira-vaḷanāḍu.

Whereas, after (annual) crop examination, We³ have been receiving, up to the tenth year of (the reign of) Our son⁴ Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva who had presented the Chōla country, *kaḍamai* from Vāgaikuḍi, Muttūranāroṭṭai and Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūr which were among the villages attached to Our kitchen and which had been included in your village, and whereas this (payment of *kaḍamai*) had been made to cease and (in its place) We had declared that an amount of twenty-five *kāṣu* is all—ten *kāṣu* for Vāgaikuḍi, ten *kāṣu* for Muttūranāroṭṭai and five *kāṣu* for Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūr—should be paid to Us as *oṭṭu* on the basis of a permanent investment, every year from the eleventh year (onwards), (therefore), in accordance with the *piḍipāḍu* issued to you in this wise by Our son⁴ Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, (the amount of) paddy and *kāṣu* should be measured out and given to Our accountants and *kaṇṇi* (servants) at the premises of Our kitchen and receipt taken. By order,⁵ this is the signature of the *Saivāchārya* Pāḷarāvāyaṇ *alias* Aḷagiyadēva-Bhaṭṭaṇ of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra. By order, this is the signature of Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyāṇ Vighnēśvaraṇ *alias* Viṇāyaka-Bhaṭṭaṇ. By order, this is the signature of Pāḷarāvāyaṇ Ammaidēvaṇ *alias* Aḷagiyanāyaka-Bhaṭṭaṇ, a *dēvakaṇṇi* among the *Śivabrāhmaṇas* of this god. By order, this is the signature of Kēśavaṇ Kshētrajñāṇ *alias* Brahma-Pallavaraiyaṇ, a *Kāṣyapa* and one of the *chaṭṭar* (students). By order, this is the signature of the treasury accountant⁶ Dānaviṇōḍa-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ.

(Ll. 29ff.) The illustrious Śāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka, who was the lord of the lady Learning, who was famous as the sole forehead-mark of Aṅgārakamaṅgala, who was the son of Jaṭādhara and who was foremost among scholars, had this permanent grant, properly fixing the boundaries, written at Rājagambhīraka, the best of villages.

¹ The whole of what has been said above is repeated here.

² This word may stand for *mantrin* 'minister'. But as in all places where it occurs, both here and in the previous inscription, it is consistently spelt Mandari, there is strong suspicion that it may form part of the proper name of the individual.

³ 'We' here refers to god.

⁴ The king is called the son of the god.

⁵ The term *aruḷāl* which literally means 'by the grace' seems to be employed in the sense of 'by command or order' to denote the fact that the individual signs on behalf of the temple.

⁶ The term *mudal* may also be taken as 'chief, head or first'.

No. 13.—KODURU GRANT OF ANA-VOTA-REDDI : ŚAKA 1280.

By H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, B.Sc., MADRAS.

The set of plates containing the inscription edited below was discovered in the village of **Kōḍūru** in the Guḍivāḍa taluk of the Kistna District by the villagers while ploughing a field. The plates are now in the possession of Vidvān Pūrṇakūṭumba Rao of Guḍjavallēru, from whom I secured them during my tour in the district in November 1936. The inscription has been reviewed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for that year (Appendix A, No. 4) and I now publish it with the kind permission of the Superintendent for Epigraphy.

The set consists of **five plates** strung on to an oval ring $3\frac{1}{2}$ " by $4\frac{1}{8}$ " and weighs together with the ring 287 *tolas*. The ring does not bear any seal. The plates measure 10" by $4\frac{1}{4}$ " each and are inscribed on both the sides including the first and the last. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation. The inscription is in the **Telugu** script of the medieval period. The alphabet does not call for any special comment except that the letter *bha* is written with or without the mark of aspiration at the bottom, as in *-nābhēr-* in l. 6, *gagan-ēbha* in l. 28, etc., but it invariably occurs without it when the vowel signs *ā* or *ā* are attached to it or when it occurs in a conjunct consonant, e.g., *bhāga* (l. 2), *bhū-dāna* (l. 9), *bhūpaḥ* (l. 18), etc., and *°d-bhagarasō* (l. 21), *viprēbhyaḥ* (l. 32), etc. The letter *ri* is written like the modern *bhu* without its lower stroke of aspiration but with an additional *kommu* or *u* sign attached to it (ll. 36, 39, 41, etc.). The whole record is written in **Sanskrit** verse and prose, except the portion specifying the boundaries of the village granted, which is in **Telugu** (ll. 57 to 72). Lines 1 to 32 consist of fourteen verses in different metres while lines 33 to 56, in which the donees with their respective shares are specified, are in prose. The inscription ends with the usual imprecatory verses and a verse which gives the name of the poet who composed the grant (ll. 72 to 77). In respect of **orthography** the following points may be noted :—(a) The use of the *anuvāra* instead of the class nasal and the unnecessary doubling of the following consonant as in *jagamitti* for *jaganti* (l. 1), *°caṁttan* for *°cantan* and *rathāṁṁga* for *rathāṅga* (l. 4), etc.; (b) doubling of the consonant after the *rēpha* as in *kirtti* (l. 12), *°r-eribhinnā* (l. 15), *Yajur-veṣṭi* (l. 42), etc.; (c) incorrect omission of the aspirate as in *Pārta* for *Pārtha* (l. 15), and the sonant for the sord as in *tithau* for *tithau* (l. 29), *Radhitara* for *Radhitarā* (l. 50). In *rya* the *r* is always written in full and the secondary form of *ya* attached to it as at present.

The grant belongs to the time of king **Ana-Vōta** of the **Redḍi** dynasty of **Koṇḍavīḍu**. The inscription opens with a verse in praise of the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu. The subsequent nine verses which are identical with those of the Pachchani-Tāṇḍipattu grant of Ana-Vēma¹ recount, in order, the praise of the Sun and the Moon (v. 2), the birth of the fourth caste, i.e., that of the Śūdras from the lotus-feet of Vishṇu and the birth in it of Prōlaya-Vēma who constructed the flight of steps leading to Śrīśaila, made all the gifts enumerated by Hāmādri, performed various meritorious deeds and who defeated several hostile kings (vv. 3-7). To him were born Ana-Vōta and Ana-Vēma who were in splendour, like the Sun and the Moon (v. 8). The next three verses are devoted to the description of the might and valour of Ana-Vōta, the donor of the grant, who instilled fear into the hearts of his enemies by the very sound of his war-drums (vv. 9-12). In the Śaka year 1280 (expressed by the chronogram *gagana 0, ēbha 8, and sūrya 12*) in the month of **Pausa**, on **darsa**, **Tuesday**, during the solar eclipse, king Ana-Vōta granted to sixty-one Brāhmins of different *gōtras* and *śākhās*, the village of **Kōḍūru** renamed **Annāvōtapuram**, on the bank of the **Malāpahā**, along with the eight kinds of

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 269.

aiśvarya and *bhōga*. The English equivalent of the date according to the *Indian Ephemeris* of L. D. S. Pillai is A.D. 1358, January 9, Tuesday, on which day *amāvāsya* commenced at 51 of the day. The solar eclipse, however, is shown to have occurred on the next day, i.e., Wednesday, on which day *amāvāsya* lasted till 43 of the day.

The composer of the grant is **Bālasarasvati**, a name which sounds very much like a title probably acquired by the person on account of his profound scholarship. Besides the Pachchani-Tāṇḍiparṇa grant already referred to, he is the composer of two other inscriptions of Ana-Vēma, of which one is a copper-plate record,¹ and the other a stone inscription at Śrīśailam². In all these records Bālasarasvati calls himself the *Videśin* of the king's court and he seems to have held this position up to Śaka 1299, in which year he composed the Śrīśailam inscription mentioned above; for, in the next year, i.e., Śaka 1300, we find Trilochanaśchārya figuring as the court-poet of Ana-Vēma and composing a copper-plate grant of the king.³

Attention may be drawn here to an unpublished fragmentary copper-plate inscription of Ana-Vōta recorded in the Elliot Collection of *Telugu Inscriptions*⁴, which furnishes us with some important facts. One of the donees figuring in it is a certain Mallu-bhaṭṭa who is called a *Vidyādhikārin*. We know that the famous poet Śrinātha was the *Vidyādhikārin* in the court of Kōmaṭi-Vēma.⁵ Probably he succeeded Mallu-bhaṭṭa in this office. Of the duties of a *Vidyādhikārin* nothing is known from inscriptions, but that it must have been a responsible and high office is evident from the fact that so eminent a poet as Śrinātha held it.⁶ Unfortunately nothing is known of his predecessor Mallu-bhaṭṭa. Another donee figuring in the Elliot Collection record is a certain Errāya-pregada. His *gōtra*, however, is not mentioned as in the case of the other donees, but he is introduced in respectful terms and is stated to be a recipient of an exclusively large share of land. It is therefore likely that this person is identical with the famous poet Errā-pregada, who belonged to the Śrīvateśa-gōtra and who is reputed to have completed the *Andhra-Mahābhārataṃ* which was left unfinished by the previous authors, and who dedicated his work *Harivamśam* to his patron Prōlaya-Vēma. A certain Redḍi-Vēma is known to have granted several *agrahāras* to Vennalagaṇṭi Sūraṇna.⁷ The late Rao Bahadur Vireśalingam Pantulu who identifies this Redḍi-Vēma with Prōlaya-Vēma believes that Sūraṇna could not have had a place in Vēma's court as long as Errā-pregada held his position there; and therefore, in as much as Sūraṇna was patronised by Redḍi-Vēma, Errā-pregada must have died during the time of Prōlaya himself.⁸ This supposition of the author is untenable, as instances of more than one poet patronised by kings in their courts are not uncommon. The present reference to the poet is therefore important in establishing that he lived in the court of Ana-Vōta also. Besides the *Mahābhārataṃ* and the *Harivamśam*, Errā-pregada is the author of two other works, the *Rāmāyaṇam* and the *Nṛsiṃhapurāṇam*, of which he dedicated the former to Malla, a brother of Prōlaya-Vēma and the latter, known also as the *Ahōbalamāhātmyam*, to the

¹ A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1922-23, App. A, No. 9.

² *Ibid.* for 1915, App. C, No. 20.

³ Above, Vol. III, p. 59.

⁴ Vol. I, p. 206, kindly brought to my notice by Dr. N. Venkatarāmanayya, M.A., Ph.D., of the Madras University.

⁵ Mr. V. Prabhakara Śāstri writes, in his *Śrīrāṅgādēśikāṅkama* (p. 62), that Bālasarasvati held the position of the *Vidyādhikārin* in the courts of Ana-Vōta and Ana-Vēma. But in no inscription of his composition does the poet call himself a *Vidyādhikārin* like his other contemporary Mallu-bhaṭṭa or the famous Śrinātha.

⁶ Above, Vol. XI, p. 315, fn. 2.

⁷ Jakkana's *Vikramārkaṭarīraṇam*, I, 62.

⁸ Complete Works of Rao Bahadur K. Vireśalingam Pantulu, Telugu Poets, Vol. X, part 1, p. 173.

which date is nearly a decade later than Ana-Vōta's supposed defeat in Śaka 1283. Whether Ana-Vōta's reign ceased with his defeat at the hands of Śiṅga's sons, and his brother succeeded to the throne forthwith, we must leave for future discovery of fresh records to decide.

A few details about this king gathered from the Elliot Collection record referred to already¹ may be added here. The inscription begins, as usual, with the genealogy of the Reḍḍi chiefs commencing with Prōla and his sons Mācha, Vēma, Doḍḍa, Anna and Malla by his wife Annamāmbā. Here Vēma's two sons Ana-Vōta and Ana-Vēma are mentioned and the former's exploits recounted. His conquests are said to have extended as far as the banks of the rivers Kṛishṇā and Gautamī, a fact which is corroborated by a verse in the *Viśṅupurāṇamu* which refers to the defeat by Ana-Vōta of a certain Rāvutu-Kōsa on the banks of the Kṛishṇā before the very eyes of god Anarēśvara.² Ana-Vēma associates himself in this inscription with his brother Ana-Vōta in endowing lands to more than 180 Brāhmanas, amongst whom, besides the *Vidyādhibārin* Mallu-bhaṭṭa already mentioned, the mention of Erraya-pregaḍa is of particular interest. Ana-Vēma, it must be noted, is here called Ana-Vēma-Bhūpati Mahārāju (the wording in the inscription is: *yā rāju tammūḍa Ana-Vēma-Bhūpati Mahārāju*). The date of this inscription is unfortunately lost; but it must have been executed some time prior to Śaka 1293, which is the earliest year known for Ana-Vēma, the successor of Ana-Vōta.

Of the place-names mentioned in the inscription under publication the following, viz., **San-kanipalli**, **Vinnakōṭa**, **Kanumerla**, **Pottipāḍu** and **Kalavapūrṇḍi**, may be identified respectively with the modern Saṅkarashapuram, Vinnakōṭa, Kanumerla, Pottipāḍu and Kaluvapūrṇi—all in the Guḍivāḍa taluk of the Kistna District. **Gurumṇjakōḍu** may possibly be identical with Guṇṭa-Kōḍūru. The other villages, viz., Rājīnāyini Pālaparti, Kṛiṅkulamirtti or Kṛiṅkulamirru, Pālakōḍu, and Pulipāḍu, I am unable to identify. Alligūṇṭa may be a pond and Aluka-pannāsa, probably a field. Dāṁkōḍu and Vannēru must be two local streams. The village Kōḍūru is said to be situated on the banks of the **Malāpahā**; but there is no stream of this name anywhere in this locality now. The Drujjavaram grant of Ana-Vēma (Śaka 1293) refers to this river as situated in Kurti-dēsa and the grant village Drujjavaram *alias* Anna-Vēmapuram as situated on the banks of this stream.³ Drujjavaram is evidently the modern Jujhavaram, which is 12 miles south west of Kōḍūru. Both these villages are situated close to the present Pullēru canal, which appears to be the present representative of the river Malāpahā referred to in the above copper-plate records.

A list of the donees is appended hereto in a tabular form specifying in each case the *gōtra* and the *sākhā* to which they belonged, as well as the shares of land which they received.

No.	Name of the donee.	Gōtra.	Vēda or Sākhā.	No. of shares.	Remarks.
1	Viṣayārya	Harita	Yajus	2	
2	Siṁggayārya	Do.	Do.	2	
3	Sūrayārya	Do.	Do.	2	
4	Dāvayārya	Do.	Do.	2	

¹ See fn. 4, p. 133.

² *Andhra Viśṅupurāṇamu* by Śārana, Āvāna I, v. 22.

³ *A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1922-23, App. A, No. 15.

No.	Name of the donee.	Gōtra.	Vēda or Śākhā.	No. of shares.	Remarks.
5	Gaṃggayārya	Harita	Yajus	2	
6	Mādhava-dvivēdi	Do.	Do.	1	
7	Annayārya	Do.	Do.	1	
8	Annayārya	Do.	Rig	2	
9	Mādhavārya	Bhāradvāja	Yajus	2	
10	Siṃggayārya	Do.	Do.	1	
11	Lakṣṭhāyārya	Do.	Do.	1	
12	Appayārya	Do.	Do.	1	
13	Tallaya-daivajña	Do.	Do.	1	
14	Allāja-bhaṭṭa	Do.	Do.	1	
15	Allāṇātha	Do.	Do.	1	
16	Vallabhārya	Do.	Do.	1	
17	Erappōta-bhaṭṭa	Do.	Do.	1	
18	Chamuḍayārya	Do.	Rig	2	
19	Rāmāyārya	Śrīvatas	Yajus	2	
20	Appala-bhaṭṭa	Do.	Do.	2	
21	Chāṃchayārya	Do.	Do.	1	
22	Appayārya	Do.	Do.	1	
23	Errayārya	Do.	Do.	1	
24	Prōlayārya	Do.	Do.	1	
25	Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa	Do.	Rig	1	
26	Māchayārya	Do.	Yajus	1	
27	Bhāskarārya	Kaupḍīnya	Do.	1½	
28	Mādhavārya	Do.	Do.	1	
29	Gaṃgādharārya	Do.	Do.	1	
30	Brahmadēva	Do.	Do.	1	
31	Siṃggayārya	Do.	Do.	1	
32	Appayārya	Do.	Do.	1	
33	Sarasvatī-bhaṭṭa	Do.	Do.	1	
34	Mamśchenārya	Do.	Do.	1	
35	Dēvayārya	Kāśyapa	Rig	2½	
36	Ayyalu-bhaṭṭa	Do.	Do.	2	

No.	Name of the donee.	Gōtra.	Vēda or Śākhā.	No. of shares.	Remarks.
37	Sōmaya-bhaṭṭa	Kāśyapa	Ṛig	1	Kāṇva-śākh- ādhyāyī.
38	Nilakamthārya	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	1	
39	Peddanārya	Do. . . .	Yajus	1	
40	Annamārya	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	1	
41	Viśvēsvara-bhaṭṭa	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	1	
42	Appayārya	Śāṇḍilya	Do. . . .	1	
43	Nāgayārya	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	1	
44	Siṃggayārya	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	1	
45	Mādhavārya	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	1	
46	Appayārya	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	1	
47	Nārāyapaṛya	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	1	
48	Narahari-bhaṭṭa	Vasishṭha	Ṛig	2½	
49	Narasinha-jyautishika	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	2	
50	Sūrayārya	Rathitara	Yajus	2	
51	Vallabhārya	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	1	
52	Siṃggayārya	Gautama	Do. . . .	1	
53	Māchayārya	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	1	
54	Jiyyanārya	Do. . . .	Ṛig	1	
55	Perumāṇḍi-bhaṭṭa	Kaṇṣika	Yajus	1	
56	Mārayārya	Do. . . .	Do. . . .	1	
57	Mañchenārya	Mañtrēya	Do. . . .	2	
58	Tippayārya	Bhārgava	Do. . . .	1	
59	Gōpāla-bhaṭṭa	Viśṇuvardhana	Ṛig	1	
60	Vāmaya-bhaṭṭa	Kāṇva	Do. . . .	1	
61	Mallayārya	Gārgya	Yajus	1	

TEXT.¹

[Metres :—Vv. 1, 7 and 9, *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 2, 5, 6 and 8, *Upajāti*; vv. 3 and 4, *Indravajrā*; vv. 10-13, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 14-18, *Anuṣṭubh*.]

First Plate; First Side.

1 Pāyād=Varāha-vapushaḥ paramasya pumsō daṁśhtrā jagamṭti(ti) śi-

2 kharē dharanīm dadhānā [*] [śri]ṃg-āgrabhāga-parichumbita-mēgha-bi-

¹ From original plates.

- 3 m̐bā saṁlakahyamāpa-susham-ēva śāsūśhka-rēkhā || [1*] Tamō ha-
 4 rētāśh tava pushpavānttau(vantau) rūkāsū pūrvv-āpara-śaija-bhājan [1*] rath-
 āṁgga(ga)-lilā-
 5 m-iva darśayamttau(tau) purā Purārēḥ prīdhi(thi)vi-radha(tha)sya || [2*] Pād-āravim-
 6 dād-Aravimdanābhēr-gGang-ēva puṇyā ghana-jīvana-śrīḥ | jāt-ābhijātā śatadhā
 7 vibhinnā jātīś-chaṭurthī jagatām hitāya || [3*] Tasyām-abhūt-Prōlaya-Vēma-
 8 nāmā Śrīśaila-ēpāna-vidā(dhā)na-śāli | Hēmādrī-kalp-ōdita-dāna-dakṣhō nis-ai-

First Plate ; Second Side.

- 9 ma-bhū-dāna-nirūḍha-kīrtiḥ || [4*] Vēma-kṣitīśō vṛisham-ēka-pādam khamja-prachāratī
 10 Kali-kāla-dōshāt | datt-āgrahāra-dvija-vēda-śaktyā pada-kramair-askhalitāḥ chakāra || [5*]
 11 Dharmātmajō Dāsarathīḥ Prithuś-chaṭyudīryya¹māpāni yugāntta(ta)rēshu | vitarka-
 12 yē Vēma-narśēvarasya puṇyāni nāmāni purātanāni || [6*] Yat-kīrti-gāna-sa-
 13 mayē phaṇi-sundarīgām-ālōkitum cha mukha-rāgam-anamga-
 14 mūlam | śrōtum cha gita-rachanāḥ yugapan-na dakṣhō nāg-ādhipō na saha-
 15 tē nayana-śrutitvam(tvam) || [7*] Sadagrāma-Pārta(ttha)sya śarair-vvibhinnā yasya
 āri-chū-
 16 dāmapayō vicchēḥ || [8*] ākrāmatas-samīyati rāja-varṣhān² pratāpa-vahnē-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 17 r-iva viśphulīṁgāḥ || [8*] Tasmāch-cha Vēma-nṛpatēr-udayād-iv-ādrēr-jātau pratāpa-
 vara-kā-
 18 mtti(ti)-nidhī kumārau | śūry-āhdu-tulya-mahāśiv-**Anna-Vōta**-bhūpa[h*] śrīy-**Anna-Vē-**
 19 **ma-nṛpatir-jaga-rakṣa-pālāḥ** || [9*] Vīra-śrīy-**Anna-Vōta**-bhūtala-patēr-ggaṁbhīra-bhēri-
 ravaiḥ śa-
 20 trūṇāḥ hṛdayēshu saṁgga(ga)ra-mukhē bhinnēshu pūrvam rasam(sam) | yaḍ-vi-
 21 rath nirakāsayat(d)=bhaya-rasō vēgāt kutō-py-āgatō yuktāḥ prākta-
 22 nām-anibu nirggamayati pratyagram-aty-ūrjitam(tam) || [10*] Yadhithāṣhu³ virōdhi-rā-
 23 ja-nīlayē yōdh-ālayā yōjitō vaṇnīḥ kalpita-hēma-kutjima-ghana-syam-
 24 da-sphulīṁg-ōjva(jjva)lāḥ | Hēmādrēr-iva bhūmīkāḥ kalayati prauḍhaḥ pratāp-ō-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 ahimāḥ sa-pratyamttā(ta)girēḥ sa-hēmasaritaḥ samīvyūpta-tār-āvalāḥ || [11*] Yasy-ārīn
 kulīśa-
 26 dhvaniḥ kalayatō dhāṣhu bhēri-ravam nāmāni drutam-Arjunassa⁴ japaṭas-saṁgrāma-
 27 Gāṁdhīvināḥ | saṁgrām-ōpapedāni tāni bhavatām rakṣhā-kṛtē sarvādā varayamttām(tām)-i-
 28 ti bōdhayanit-ādhipatī dhī-yamtriḥ māntriḥ || [12*] Śāk-Abdō gagan-ēbha-sū-
 29 rya-gapitē Paushasya darśē tidhau(thau) Bhūśūnōr-dīvasō him-śtara-ruchaḥ
 puṇy-ōpa-
 30 rāg-āntta(ta)rō | grāmāḥ prādīśad=**Anna-Vōta**-nṛpatīḥ Kōḍūru-nām-āṁkki(ki)taḥ
 31 s-āśbt-śāvaryakam-ashṭa-bhōga-śhītaḥ bhūḍvātābhīyō mūdā || [13*] Malāpah[ā]-
 32 nadī-tirē viprēbhyāḥ pratipāditaḥ(tam) | **Annavōtapuram** nāmā jayaty-ā-chaṁdra-
 tā-

¹ Read =*chaṭyudīryya*.

² Read =*varṣhān*.

³ Read *pad-dhāṣhu*.

⁴ Read =*Arjunasya*.

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 33 rakarṣ(kam) || [14*] Asya grāmasya pratigrahītārāḥ || Haritagōtrāḥ | Viśayāryaḥ |
 Siṃggayā-
 34 ryaḥ | Sūrayāryaḥ | Dēvayāryaḥ | Garṃggayāryaḥ | ētē pañcha pratyēkarṣ dvi-
 bhāgināḥ |
 35 Mādhave-dvivēdi | Annayāryaḥ | ētē dvādaśa Yajuh-śākh-ādhyāyinaḥ | Annayāryaḥ
 36 dvi-bhāgi R̥ig-vēdi | Bhāradvāja-gōtrāḥ Mādhavāryaḥ dvi-bhāgi | Siṃggayāryaḥ |
 37 Lakṣhmayāryaḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Tallaya-daivajñāḥ | Allāḍa-bhaṭṭaḥ | Allāḍaśāṭhaḥ |
 38 Vallabhāryaḥ | R̥apōta-bhaṭṭaḥ | ētē daśa Yajuh-śākh-ādhyāyinaḥ | Chamuḍayā-
 39 ryaḥ | dvi-bhāgi | R̥ig-vēdi | Śrīvatsa-gōtrāḥ Rāmāryaḥ dvi-bhāgi | Appale-
 bhaṭṭaḥ |
 40 dvi-bhāgi | Chāmchayāryaḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Eṇṇayāryaḥ | Prōlayāryaḥ | ētē
 aṣṭa

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 41 Yajuh-śākh-ādhyāyinaḥ | Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭaḥ R̥ig-vēdi | Māchayāryaḥ pād-ō-
 42 na-bhāgi | Yajur-vvēdi | Kauṣṭhīya-gōtrāḥ | Bhāskarāryaḥ s-ārdhdha(ārdha)-bhāgi |
 Mādhavāryaḥ | Garṃgadhāḥ(dha)-
 43 rāryaḥ | Brahmadēvaḥ | Siṃgayāryaḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Sarasvatī-bhaṭṭaḥ |
 Mamechenāryaḥ | ētē
 44 Yajuh-śākh-ādhyāyinaḥ | Kāśyapa-gōtrāḥ | Dēvayāryaḥ s-ārdhdha(ārdha)-dvi-
 bhāgi |
 45 Ayyalu-bhaṭṭaḥ dvi-bhāgi | Sōmaya-bhaṭṭaḥ | Nilakaṇṭhāryaḥ | ētē Bhurag(R̥ig)-
 vēdi-
 46 naḥ | Peddanāryaḥ | Annamāryaḥ pād-ōna-bhāgi | ētau Yajur-vvēdināu | Viśvōśvara-
 bhaṭṭaḥ
 47 Kāṇva-śākh-ādhyāyī | Śāṃḍilya-gōtrāḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Nāgayāryaḥ | Siṃgga-
 48 yāryaḥ | Mādhavāryaḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Nārāyaṇa(pā)ryaḥ ardhhdha(ardha)-bhāgi |
 ētē Ya-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 49 juh-śākh-ādhyāyinaḥ | Vasishṭha-gōtrau ||(l) Narahari-bhaṭṭaḥ s-ārdhdha-dvi-bhāgi | Narasiṃh-
 50 ha-jyantishikāḥ dvi-bhāgi | ētau R̥ig-vēdināu | Radbī (tibh)ṭara-gōtrau | Sūrayāryaḥ dvi-bhā-
 51 gi | Vallabhāryaḥ [1*] ētau Yajur-vvēdināu | Gautama-gōtrau | Siṃggayāryaḥ | Māchay-
 āryaḥ
 52 ētau Yajur-vvēdināu | Jīyānāryaḥ R̥ig-vēdi | Kauśika-gōtrau | Perumāṇ-
 53 ḍi-bhaṭṭaḥ | Mārayāryaḥ | ētau Yajur-vvēdināu | Maitrēya-gōtraḥ Māṇ-
 54 chenāryaḥ dvi-bhāgi | Yajur-vvēdi | Bhārggava-gōtraḥ | Tippayāryaḥ | Yajur-vvēdi | Vi-
 55 shṇuvardhdhana(varddhana)-gōtraḥ | Gōpāla-bhaṭṭaḥ R̥ig-vēdi | Kāṇva-gōtraḥ Vāmaya-
 bhaṭṭaḥ
 56 R̥ig-vēdi [1*] | Gārgya-gōtraḥ | Mallayāryaḥ pād-ōna-bhāgi | Yajur-vvēdi || Śrī[h][1*]

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 57 Atha grāmasya śīmā-chihṇāni | tūrpunaku Mrāṇikoṇḍa-gurāṭa paḍumati gaṭṭu-
 58 nnu ā kuṇṭṭa dakṣhiṇapu maḍi tūru-pa-gaṭṭunnu dakṣhiṇa-mukhamai Dūmūkēru sahi-

- 59 tamai ā ēḡu dām̐ti Saṁkka(ka)nīpalli kōḍu sīmagānu vachchi a(ā)gnēyaṁ mūla Sa-
 60 ṁkanipalli polamēra-gaṭṭu mōchenu | dakṣhiṇamunaku Vinnakōṭa polamu vāya-
 61 vyam̐ mūla magiḍi dakṣhiṇaṁ-mukhamai pōyi Alligum̐ta mōchi aṭṭē pa-
 62 ḍumara-mukhamai pōyi nairṇiti-mūla Kanumallapūṁḍi polamu mōchenu[*]
 63 paḍumaṭi sīma Vaṭṭūri Akka-ḍor̐ka paḍumaṭi kara paṭṭikoni vachchi Vannēḡu
 sahita-
 64 mu-gānu Prattipāṭi polamu āgnēyaṁ mūla mōchi uttaraṁ-mukhamai

Fifth Plate ; First Side.

- 65 Nandi-vaṁppu sahitamugā vachchi Rājināyini-Pālaparti vellāḍi polamu mō-
 66 cbi mōḍitāpai Kṛīṁkulam̐ṛti polamu paḍumaṭi kara-vaṭṭukoni uttaraṁ-mukhamai
 67 pōyi Pālakōḍu dām̐ti uttara-mukhamai pōyi vāyavyam̐ mūla Kalu-
 68 vapūṁḍi kara mōchenu | uttaraṁ sīma ā karē sīmagānu tūrpu mukhamai
 69 sāgi vachchi aluka-pannāsa dakṣhiṇapūṁ-gara sīmagā vachchi Vannēḡu mōchi
 dakṣhiṇaṁ¹
 70 mukhamai Vannēḡe sīmagānu Kṛīṁkulam̐ṛṭṭu Pulipōḍu sahitamugā vachchi
 71 Gurum̐jakōḍu vāsina chōṭunu Vannēḡu dām̐ti tūrpu-mukhamai īsānyaṁ
 72 mūla Mrāṇikom̐ḍa polamu mōchenu || Sva-dattā[d*]=dvigūṇaṁ puṇyaṁ para-datt-ā-

Fifth Plate ; Second Side.

- 73 nupōlanam̐(nō) | para-datt-āpahārēṇa sva-dattaṁ nishphalaṁ bhavēt || [15*] Sva-
 dattāṁ para-dattāṁ
 74 vā yō harēta vasum̐ddharāṁ(rām) | shasṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyāṁ jāyatē
 kṛīm̐ || [16*]
 75 Ek-aiva bhagini lōkē [sarvvēśhām=api bhūbhujām(jām) | na bhōgyā na kara-grāhyā
 vipra-dattā vasuṁ-
 76 ddha(dha)rā || [17*] Ana-Vōta-narēṁdraṣya vidvān Bālasarasvatī | akarōḍ-ākarō
 vāchāṁ nī-
 77 rmmalaṁ dharma-āśanaṁ(nam) || [18*] Śivam̐-astu | Śrī[h] ||[*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) May the tusk of the Boar-incarnation of the Supreme Being, bearing the earth on its extremity and looking most beautiful like the crescent which is kissed at its cusp by the clouds, protect the worlds.

(Verse 2) May the Sun and the Moon resting (*respectively*) on the western and eastern mountains during the full-moon evenings and displaying, as it were, (*their*) former act of being the wheels to the chariot, the earth, of Purāri (i.e., Śiva), dispel your darkness.

(Verse 3) From the lotus feet of the lotus-navelled god (i.e. Vishnu) was born, for the good of the world, the noble fourth caste, virtuous, illustrious with rich life and divided hundredfold like the sacred Ganges rich with profuse water and split into a hundred branches.

¹ The *anuvāsa* is written in the next line.

(Verse 4) In that (caste) was born (a king) named **Prōlaya-Vēma** who constructed steps to Śrīśaila (mountain), who was expert in making gifts mentioned in the work on rituals (*Kalpa*) by Hēmādri and whose fame was established by his gifts of limitless lands.

(Verse 5) King Vēma made the Vṛisha (*lit.* bull, i.e., Dharmā) which was one-legged on account of the evil of the Kali age and (so) was limping in his walk, steady in its course by the power of the Vēdas (being chanted with *pada* and *krama*) by the Brāhmanas to whom *agrahāra* (villages) had been given.

(Verse 6) I fancy that the names spoken of in other *yugas* such as Dharmātmaja, Dāśarathi and Prithu are the sacred old names of king Vēma (*himself*).

(Verse 7) When the Nāga women were chanting his (i.e., Prōlaya-Vēma's) glory, the serpent king, being unable to see the beauty of their faces, which was the root of love, and at the same time listen to the musical composition (*sung by them*), could not bear (*the reputation of*) hearing through the eyes.

(Verse 8) When he attacked (*the enemy*) kings in fight, the crest-jewels of his foes, split by the arrows of him who was (*like*) Pārtha in battle, scattered about as though they were the sparks of the fire of his valour.

(Verse 9) From this king Vēma were born as from the eastern mountain, two sons (*viz.*), prince Ana-Vōta and prince śrī-Anna-Vēma, the protector of the world—who were the receptacles of valour and great splendour, who were equal to the Sun and the Moon in lustre.

(Verse 10) When the hearts of the enemies were broken by the deep sounds of the war-drums of king Ana-Vōta, the sentiment of fear coming from some unknown quarter drove away the spirit of heroism which was there already. It is meet that a powerful (*current*) of new water drives away the old water.

(Verse 11) The fire lit to the military barracks during the attacks on the palace of the enemy kings, shining with sparks that are the thick drops flowing from the pavement made of gold, looks, by the heat of its great glow, like (*lit.* puts on the garb of) the golden mountain (i.e., Hēmādri) which is combined with its hill ranges and the golden streams and is covered with rows of stars.

(Verse 12) The shrewd (*lit.* who had wisdom as their support) ministers (*of the enemy kings*) advise their masters, who were repeating the names of Arjuna immediately after hearing the sound of his (i.e., Ana-Vōta's) war-drums which resembled the sound of thunder, that those military titles of him who was the Arjuna on the battle-field (i.e., Ana-Vōta) should (*instead*) be repeated always for their protection.

(Verse 13) In the Śaka year counted by *gagana* (0), *iḥa* (8), and *vārya* (12), (i.e., 1280), in the month of *Pausha*, on a Tuesday which had the *darśa* (*tūhi*)—during the solar eclipse, king Ana-Vōta gladly gave to the Brāhmanas the village *Kōḍāru* along with the eight *aśvāryas* and eight *bhōgas*.

(Verse 14) May the village by name *Annavōtapuram* situated on the banks of the river *Malāpahā* and given to the Brāhmanas shine (*supreme*) as long as the Sun and the Moon (*last*).

(Lines 33 to 56) The names of the 61 *dohees* with their *gōtras* and shares are enumerated (see list on pp. 140 ff.).

(Lines 57 to 72) The boundaries of the gift village are specified in Telugu.

(Lines 72 to 77) Three imprecatory verses and a verse stating that the composer of the grant was *Bālasarasvatī*, the *vidvān* of king Ana-Vōta, are given here.

No. 14.—THREE COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM MAYURBHANJ.¹

By R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D., VICE-CHANCELLOR, DACCA UNIVERSITY.

A.—Ādipur Copper-plate of Narēndrabhaṇjadēva.

This is a **single plate** measuring about 11" by 8½". It contains 41 lines of writing engraved on both sides. A **circular seal**, representing a full-blown lotus, is attached to the middle of the top of the plate. The seal has a diameter of 3½", and on its surface is engraved, in relief, inside a raised circular rim, the figure of a humped bull with that of a small crescent above it, and the **legend** 'Śrī-Narēndrabhaṇjadēvarāja' below. There is a floral design underneath the legend. The seal bears a very close resemblance to that of Tribhuvana Mahādēvi of the Kāra dynasty.²

The plate was discovered in 1927 by a Kōl peasant in course of digging a field near the village of **Ādipur** in the Pāñchpir Sub-division of Mayūrbhanj State, and is now preserved in the Mayūrbhanj State Museum at Bāripadā. Mr. K. C. Neogy, the Dewan of the Mayūrbhanj State, kindly sent the plate to me for decipherment, and I am editing it from the original.

The plate is in a fair state of preservation, except a small part of the reverse which is badly corroded, with the result that a few letters in the formal portion of the grant are not legible.

The **alphabet** belongs to the Northern type and resembles that used in the Pāla records of the tenth century A.D. It contains **numerical symbols** for 200, 90, 3 and 1.

The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of eleven verses, including the usual imprecatory verses, the inscription is written in prose. Some of these verses are, however, very faulty, and require addition or omission of letters to suit the requirements of the metre. The author's knowledge of Sanskrit was rather poor and there are many mistakes both in spelling and in grammar.

As regards **orthography**, *ḥ* and *v* are not distinguished; the *anusvāra* is represented in some cases by guttural *ṇ* (*vaṇṣē* in line 6), while the final dental *n* is represented by *anusvāra* (*śatrūṇ* in line 11, *bhūpālāṇ* in line 15). Consonants are usually doubled after *r*, but there are exceptions (*kṛmīr-bhūmā* in line 29). Some other peculiarities seem to have been due to the ignorance of the author. Mention may be made of the use of *ś* for *s* (*śāt* in line 3, *śmāra* in line 10, *prāśaktāḥ* in line 13, *śalīla* in line 20); of *ṛ* for *ri* (*kṛiyatē* in line 32, *śṛiyam* in line 34); of *i* for *ī* (*Bhāvānītaḥ* in line 2, *āśit* in line 3, *śarīram* in line 31, *śṛitayā* in line 35); and of *u* for *ū* (*parva* in line 17).

As examples of the faulty knowledge of grammar may be mentioned *mānis-tyāgīr* in line 6, *uktāṇ-cha dādharmma-śāstrē* in line 24, *chēta* in line 32, and *vīndu-llōlām* in line 33.

The author's scanty knowledge of Sanskrit literature is best exemplified by the way in which the names of *gōtras* and *pravaras* are given in lines 17-18.

The inscription records the grant of the village **Vṛi(Bṛi)hat-Sārāi** in **Urtti-vishaya** in **Khij-jīnga** by king **Narēndrabhaṇja**, son of king **Vibhramatūga**, and grandson of **Kōṭṭabhaṇja**. At the end of the record proper, there is a sort of postscript written in smaller characters, referring to a Grant in the same district by **Mahārāja Rājabhaṇjadēva**, son of **Vibhramatūga**, and, therefore, a brother of **Narēndrabhaṇja**. The date, **samvat 293**, at the end of the record, evidently refers to this latter Grant. It appears at first sight that after the inscription-recording the grant of **Narēndrabhaṇja** was engraved on the copper-plate, a small space remained vacant,

¹ For the sake of convenience the historical materials in all the three Grants have been discussed together in the Introduction to A.

² Cf. e.g., the plate facing p. 425, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II.

and it was subsequently utilised for making a brief record of the other Grant, leading to the natural presumption, that Raṇabhañja was the younger brother of Narēndrabhañja and ruled after him. But some peculiarities in Inscription B, edited below, seem to point to the opposite conclusion.

The donee in the first Grant was Bhaṭṭaputra Śītaladēva-śarman belonging to Bahv-riṣha-charaṇa, Āśvalāyana-śākhā, and Vatsa-gōtra. The donee in the other case was Bhaṭṭaputra Trivikrama.

The inscription is of great historical importance as it furnishes new materials for the reconstruction of the history of the Bhañja dynasty. The kings mentioned in it, viz., Kōṭṭabhañja, his son Vibhramatuṅga, and the two sons of the latter, viz., Narēndrabhañja and Raṇabhañja, belong to what has been called the second group of Bhañja kings by Mr. R. D. Banerji.¹ This group is now known to us from the following eight copper-plate grants, though Mr. Banerji knew only the first three of them.

1. Bāmanghāṭi² plate of Raṇabhañja.³
2. Khaṇḍadēuli plate of Raṇabhañja.⁴
3. Bāmanghāṭi² plate of Rājabhañja.⁵
4. Ukhunda plate of Prithvībhañja.⁶
5. Kēśari plate of Śatrubhañja* (re-edited below, C).
- 6-7. Two Ādipur copper-plates of Narēndrabhañjadēva (edited below, A and B).
8. Ādipur copper-plate of Durjayabhañjadēva.⁷

The first two Grants now edited (Nos. 6-7) closely resemble Nos. 1-4 and possess all the special characteristics which distinguish them from those of the other Bhañja kings.⁸ As a matter of fact the texts of the historical portion of all these Grants (except Nos. 5 and 8) seem to have been derived from a common draft, though slight modifications have been introduced here and there. No. 5 contains some important additions which are not to be found in others, while No. 8 omits altogether the traditional account of the origin of the family.

All these records (except No. 8) begin with a reference to Virabhadra, the Ādi-Bhañja or the First Bhañja, also called Gaṇadaṇḍa. He is said to have come out of an egg of pea-hen in the hermitage called Kōṭyāśrama and was brought up by the sage Vaśiṣṭha.⁹ Only No. 5 adds a few more details, particularly that he was the lord of 88,000 villages.¹⁰ All the records (except No. 8) refer next to Kōṭṭabhañja who must be regarded as the first historical king of the

¹ R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 178.

² The Grant is also known as Jamdapir plate from its findspot (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 300-1).

³ Nos. 1 and 3 were originally edited by Babu Pratāpa Chandra Ghōṣa in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XL, pp. 161ff., and subsequently re-edited by Babu Nagendranāth Vasu in the *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja*, Vol. I, pp. 141ff. A stanza engraved on the pedestal of an image, now in the Khiching Museum, refers to a king called Rāyabhañja who may be the same as this king Rājabhañja (*Ann. Rep. Arch. Survey*, 1922-3, p. 128). But it contains no historical information. According to Mr. R. D. Banerji this Rāyabhañja was a different king (*Orissa*, p. 183).

⁴ Edited by MM. H. P. Śāstri in *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 172.

⁵ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, pp. 427 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 429 f.

⁷ Below, pp. 172 f.

⁸ For these characteristics cf. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 180. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XII, pp. 231 ff.

⁹ Ins. No. 8 applies some of these epithets to Raṇabhañja.

¹⁰ Mr. Misra, who edits the plate, translates the passage as follows: "..... Virabhadra who formerly was busily engaged by 88,000 sages, and in view of their request Rāmadēva served him and then made him the lord of 88,000 villages". This meaning is very doubtful. The word read as 'muni' is probably 'sūnu'. Cf. C, edited below.

famly known to us. The names of the successors of Kōttabhañja are, however, given differently in the different plates (Nos. 1-8).

In No. 1 the genealogy is given as follows:—

Kōtsubanjin

Diggbañja

Ranabhatia.

In No. 4 Raṣabhañja is said to have been born in the family of Kōṭṭabhañja, and no mention is made of Digbhañja. The son of Raṣabhañja is Pṛithvibhañja. The genealogy may therefore be described as follows :—

Kōttabhañja

Ranabhañja

Prithvibhāṣya.

No. 5 gives the following genealogy:—

Kōṭṭabhaṇḍja

Durjayabhañja

Rarabhuñja

Śatrubhāñja

(*gaurāṅja*) Narēndrabhaṅja.

In No. 6 the genealogy is given as follows :—

Kōṭṭabhañja

Vibhramatūṅga

Rambhājia.

Narēndrabhañja.

In No. 7 we find the same genealogy, though the relationship of Ranabhañja with the other kings is not clearly stated.

No. 8 gives us the following genealogy:—

Mahārājādhirāja Rājabhāṣja

Vibhramatūṅga

(mudrāṅga) Kōttabhaṅga.

The genealogies given in Nos. 2 and 3 have been interpreted differently and a short discussion is necessary to explain the different points of view.

No. 2 mentions Kōṭṭabhañja, his son Digbhañja, and the latter's son Raṇabhañja, and so far it agrees with No. 1. But after Raṇabhañja it adds two more names in the following passage : *tasya ch-ō(au)payi(i)k-ātmajaḥ śrī-Prithvībhañja-puta-śrī-Narēndrabhañjadēvō bhūtaḥ*. In addition to the two emendations noted within brackets, MM. H. P. Śāstri, who edited the record, made a further emendation by omitting the *visarga* in ' *ātmajaḥ* '. He, therefore, translated the passage as follows :—

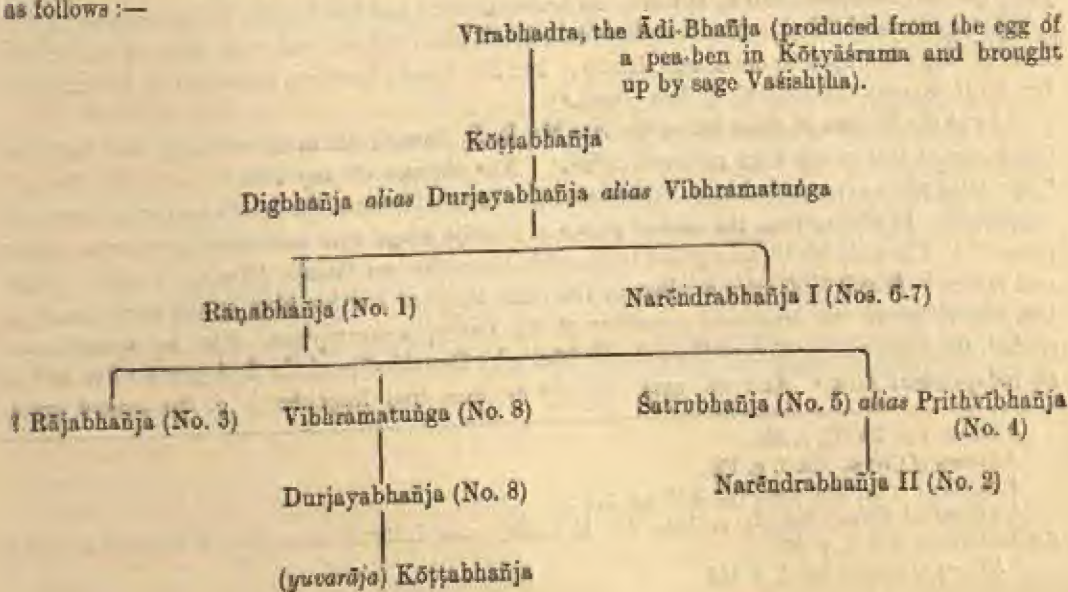
¹⁴ His reputed son Prithvibhaṇja, whose son Narendrabhaṇja was born."

At first sight the different genealogical accounts seem to be hopelessly conflicting and any attempt to reconcile them may justly be regarded as a vain and fruitless task. But there are some points of agreement in the majority of records which might give us a clue to the ultimate solution of the problem.

All the records are unanimous, firstly, in their accounts of the origin of the founder of the family, Virabhadra, from the egg of a pea-hen in the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha known as Kōṭyāśrama; and secondly, in regarding Kōṭṭabhañja as the first historical ruler. Here the unanimity ends. But with the exception of Nos. 3 and 4 all the other records represent Raṇabhañja as the grandson of Kōṭṭabhañja, and as the statement in No. 4 is not in conflict with this view, we may accept it as an established fact. The name of the father of Raṇabhañja is given as Digbhañja in Nos. 1 and 2, Durjayabhañja in No. 5, and Vibhramatuṅga in No. 6. There would thus appear to be three different kings bearing the same name Raṇabhañja. But on the other hand we should remember that all of them ruled in Khijjiṅga, and all of them evidently were contemporaries, being grandsons of the same king. This is specifically proved in respect of two of them as they issued Grants in the years 288 (No. 1) and 293 (No. 6). Three grandsons of the same king, bearing the same name, and ruling in the same locality at the same time (or at least within a few years of each other), may not be theoretically impossible, but must be regarded as very unusual indeed. We may, therefore, reasonably infer the identity of the three kings bearing the name Raṇabhañja. This would imply also the identity of Digbhañja, Durjayabhañja and Vibhramatuṅga, though it must be regarded as very unusual that the same king should have been referred to by three different names in the official records of the family.

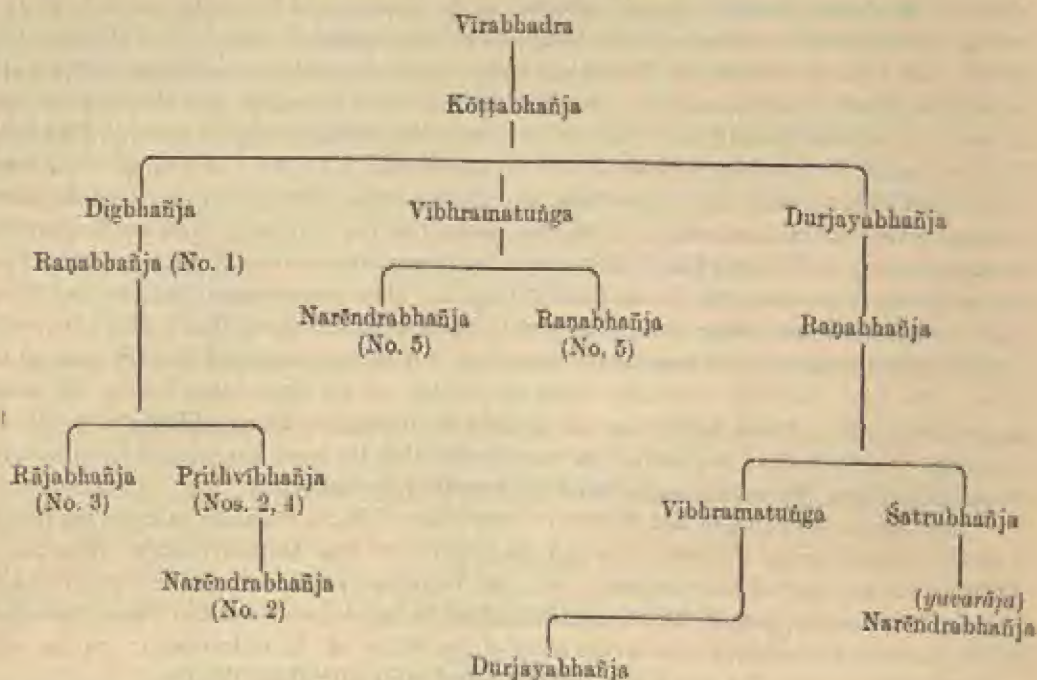
Then, again, according to MM. Śāstri's interpretation of No. 2, Raṇabhañja had a son (*aupāyika* or reputed) named Prithvibhañja and the latter's son was Narēndrabhañja. Now No. 4 confirms the first part of the statement, *viz.*, that Raṇabhañja had a son called Prithvibhañja, and No. 5, the second part of the statement, *viz.*, that he had a grandson called Narēndrabhañja. No. 5, however, gives Śatrubhañja as the name of the father of Narēndrabhañja, and the only way of reconciling Nos. 2, 4, and 5 is to identify Śatrubhañja with Prithvibhañja.

On the basis of the above hypotheses we may draw up the genealogy of the family tentatively as follows :—



Although this genealogy of the family cannot be regarded as finally settled, the above represents, I believe, the most reasonable inference that can be drawn from the data at present available to us.

If we reject the proposed identifications, and treat the kings with different names as so many different persons, the resulting genealogy would be as follows :—



It is unnecessary to discuss here the history of the other Bhañja kings known from copper-plate grants; no connection or relationship between them and the Bhañja kings discussed above has yet been established. The late Rai Bahadur Hiralal upheld the view that all the known Bhañja kings belonged to one single family,¹ but this theory has been shown to be untenable by Mr. R. D. Banerji² and Mr. C. C. Das Gupta.³

As to the *status* of these kings, the late Mr. R. D. Banerji laid much stress on the fact that the kings of this group bore no royal titles. "The absence of any title", says Mr. Banerji, "at a time when even petty kings had assumed the imperial titles of the Gupta period, is extremely significant. It proves that the second group of Bhañja kings were subordinates to some higher power".⁴ The title *Mahārāja* applied to Raṇabhañja in the two Grants (Nos. 6, 7) edited below, and the title *Mahārājādhirāja* applied to the same king (or another king of the same name) in Ins. No. 8, prove the erroneous character of Mr. Banerji's assumption. For he himself concluded, from the assumption of the title *Mahārāja* by Raṇabhañja of the first group, that he was an independent king.⁵ And we may equally presume that Raṇabhañja of the second group

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 286.

² *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 179.

³ *Annals, Bk. Or. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XII, pp. 231 ff.

⁴ *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 181. Dr. H. C. Ray also holds the same view, cf. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 423.

⁵ *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 166.

was also an independent king. Indeed in this respect the fact that a ruler issues land grants with a distinctive royal seal of his own is a far stronger evidence in support of his status as a *de facto* independent ruler than mere assumption of royal or imperial titles. It would be more reasonable, therefore, to regard the Bhañja kings, who issued royal charters with their own seals, as independent rulers, at least for all practical purposes, irrespective of the question whether they assumed royal and imperial titles or not.

The Grant No. 5 refers to Virabhadra as *Chakravarti-samah* or 'like an emperor', gives the titles 'Mahāmaṇḍal-ādhipati-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara' to Śatrubhañjadēva, and calls him the lord of eighty-eight thousand (villages). This is also an indication of the power and independence of the Bhañja kings of this group.

As to the period when these kings flourished we have two specific dates of Raṇabhañja, viz., Samvat 288 (No. 1) and Samvat 293¹ (No. 6). The era to which these dates are to be referred is not easy to determine. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar held that the alphabets of the records could not be earlier than the tenth century A.D., and referred the year 288 to the Gāṅga Era, which began according to him in 778 A.D.² This view was accepted by Mr. R. D. Banerji³ and Mr. C. C. Das Gupta.⁴ Many scholars, however, now hold that the epoch of the Gāṅga Era is to be placed in the sixth century A.D. or at the close of the fifth century A.D.⁵ Accordingly, king Raṇabhañja has to be placed towards the close of the eighth or in the ninth century A.D. Mr. Binayak Misra refers the date to the Harsha Era.⁶ That would place Raṇabhañja towards the close of the ninth century A.D. The palaeographic evidence, as noted above, does not militate against this view.⁷

Assuming that the Harsha era was used, the date of the present Grant would be A.D. 899, and Raṇabhañja must have been on the throne during the years 894-899 A.D. The rule of the Bhañja dynasty of Mayūrbhanj from Kōṭṭabhañja to Narēndrabhañja II may thus be placed between 850 and 950 A.D.

Utkala or Orissa was conquered by Dēvapāla in the first half of the ninth century A.D. This must have brought about the political disintegration of the kingdom, and as soon as the Pāla power was weakened by the middle of the ninth century A.D., local feudal chiefs found a good opportunity to carve out independent kingdoms for themselves. The rise of the Bhañja family to power may be explained in this way.

The Capital of these kings was undoubtedly Khijjiṅga, modern Khiching (situated about ninety miles to the west of Bāripadā the present Capital of Mayūrbhanj) which contains extensive ruins and has yielded a large number of fine medieval sculptures. All the Grants, except Nos. 5 and 8, refer to Khijjiṅga as the place of residence of the king. The village granted in No. 5 is situated in Urtti-vishaya, and this district, according to the present Grant, was included in

¹ The numerical symbol used to denote 200 is 'lu'. Kielhorn, in his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, expressed a doubt about the correctness of this interpretation (Above, Vol. V, App. p. 83, n. 6). Bühler's chart, however, gives the value 200 for the symbol (Pl. IX, Col. XVIII). Subsequently, Kielhorn also changed his view and took the symbol as denoting 200 (Above, Vol. VI, p. 134). This is now generally accepted (*History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 181).

² *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 361.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

⁴ *Annals, Bh. Or. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XII, p. 245.

⁵ *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, pp. 171 ff.; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 272-4; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI (1932), p. 237.

⁶ *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XIII, p. 427. Mr. Misra says that this was also the view of Kielhorn. He does not, however, give any reference, and I cannot find any in support of this statement.

⁷ Bühler in his *Palaeographic Chart* places the alphabet of the Bāmanghātī Ins. of Raṇabhañja in the 9th century A.D. (Plate IX, Col. XVIII.)

Khijjiṅga (*Khijjiṅga-pratibaddha*). The villages granted by the records seem to indicate that the kingdom of this group of Bhaṅja kings corresponded roughly to the present states of Mayūrbhanj and Keonjhar which are still ruled by chiefs bearing names ending in Bhaṅja. The name Mayūrabhaṅja undoubtedly preserves the tradition that the Bhaṅja family originated from the egg of a *mayūri* (pea-hen), and the legends that the ancestor was born out of an egg of pea-hen and nursed by the sage Vaśiṣṭha are to be found in the records of the present ruling family.¹ It is, therefore, very probable that the present Bhaṅja chiefs are descended from the group of Bhaṅja kings referred to above.

An attempt has been made to connect this Bhaṅja family with the famous **Maurya** clan, and even to identify Virabhadra, the traditional founder of the family, with the Maurya emperor Chandragupta. The suggestion which rests mainly on the following grounds was first made by Mr. B. Misra while editing No. 5² (re-edited below as C.).

1. The *Mayūra*-origin of the family really indicates an association with the Moriya clan, Moriya being the Prākṛit form of *Mayūra*.³

2. According to the Pāli *Mahāvagga*, the dominion of Bimbisāra embraced 80,000 townships. It is needless to say that the same dominion was included in the empire of Chandragupta. Evidently the lordship of Virabhadra over 88,000 villages (as recorded in No. 5) has some similarity with that of Chandragupta.

3. *Gaṇadaṇḍa*, the epithet of Virabhadra, means Republican Chief and signifies one whose army consisted of individuals combined for a definite object. If taken in this sense, Virabhadra may be supposed to have raised an army as Chandragupta did to overthrow the Nanda dynasty.

The arguments are wholly unconvincing. As regards the first, it refers merely to a totemic conception, and we need not necessarily find any historical allusion in it unless there are other valid grounds for doing so. As regards the second, the inference rests palpably on a very weak foundation. As to the third, *Gaṇadaṇḍa* has been interpreted by Rai Bahadur Hiralal as an officer of some *Gaṇa* or Hindu Republic. He takes it to be an abbreviated form of *Gaṇadaṇḍa-nāyaka* or *Gaṇa-daṇḍapāla*, i.e., either a minister or a commander of army.⁴ There is no justification for going further beyond this.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription other than Khijjiṅga, **Kōṭyāśrama**, the reputed hermitage of Vaśiṣṭha where Virabhadra was born, has been identified with Kuting, thirty-two miles from Bāripadā.⁵ **Urtti-vishaya** may be identified with a village called Urti in the Keonjhar State, about twelve miles to the north-west of Khiching, on the right bank of the river Vaitaraṇī. There is a village called Sorai near Urti,⁶ and this may represent either of the two villages, **Bṛihat-Sārāi** and **Svalpa-Sarāyi** mentioned in the Grant. It is not also impossible that both the names referred to two parts of the same village distinguished by the prefixes *bṛihat* and *svalpa* (i.e., big and small) and that this entire village is now represented by Sorai.

¹ While recently visiting the Museum at Bāripadā, I noticed the following documents: (1) Copy of a *Sanad* granted by Mahārāja Viratikramāditya Bhaṅja in 1121 A.D. (i.e., 1713-14 A.D.) in which the ancestor of the royal family is said to have been born of an egg of pea-hen and nursed by the sage Vaśiṣṭha. (2) A letter from the ruler of Talcher addressed to Lakṣmi Nārāyaṇa Bhaṅja, ruler of Mayūrbhanj (1660 A.D.) containing reference to the same legends. Upendra Bhaṅja, the famous poet of Orissa, who flourished about the end of the seventeenth century A.D., refers to these legends in respect of the kings of Mayūrbhanj.

² J. H. Q., Vol. XIII, pp. 420 ff.

³ [It may be pointed out that *mora* is the Pkt. form of *mayūra* and *Moriya* that of *Maurya*.—Ed.]

⁴ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 289.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 300. But Mr. P. Acharya, the archaeologist of the Mayūrbhanj State, rejects this identification on the ground that there are no remains of antiquities in the place.

⁶ I am indebted to Mr. P. Acharya, the State Archaeologist of Mayūrbhanj, for the information about the discovery of Plates A and B and for the identification of villages mentioned in them.

The fact that the villages are situated on the right bank of the Vaitarapī river, in the State of Keonjhar, is of great importance, as it proves that at least a part, if not the whole, of this state was included within the dominions of the Bhaṅjas of Mayūrbhanj in the ninth or tenth century A.D. This in a way lends some support to the local tradition recorded by Hunter that Keonjhar originally formed part of Mayūrbhanj and was formed into a separate state about two centuries ago.¹

The two copper-plates (Nos. 6 and 7) now edited being clearly engraved, enable us to correct some mistakes and remove some doubts about the reading and interpretation of the records of this group of Bhaṅja kings. MM. H. P. Śāstri, while editing the Khaṇḍadēoli plate claimed to have corrected some mistakes. "For instance," observed he, "my predecessors read *Kōṭyāśrama*, but my plate distinctly says *Koutāśrama*. They read the same word *Suladapḍa* in one plate and *Seṛṇadapḍa* in another, but it is really *Galad-apḍa*, the *breaking egg*". The present records confirm the reading *Kōṭyāśrama* and show beyond doubt that the other word is really *Gapa-dapḍa*, which also seems to be quite clear on the estampage of the Khaṇḍadēoli Inscription. In the three published records the adjective '*Khijjiṅga-Kōṭṭarāsi*' is applied to Raṇabhaṅja and it has been taken to mean that the king was usually resident in Khijjiṅga. The corresponding expression in the present records is *Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭ-ādhivāsī* meaning that the Grant was issued from Khijjiṅga. This is the more usual expression used in land-grants, and there is hardly any doubt that it was the original form which was misconstrued in others.

TEXT.

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 6, *Āryā* ; v. 5, *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 7-9, *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 10, *Drutacilambita* ; v. 11, *Pushpitāgrā*.]

Obverse.

- 1 Om¹ svasti [1*] Sakala-bhuvan-aika-nāthō
- 2 bhava-bhaya-bhīdurō Bhavō Bhavāni(n)śah | vividha-samādhi-vi-
- 3 dhijñah sarvvañḥō vah Śivāy=āstu || [1]* ²Āsi(śi)t-Kōṭyāśrama-ma-
- 4 hā-tapōvanāt=māyūr-āṇḍam bhūt[³]vā Gapa-dapḍa-Vīrabhadr-ākhyah [1*]
- 5 pratipakṣa-nidhana-dakāhō Vasiṣṭha-muni-pālītō nṛpa-
- 6 tiḥ || [2]* Tasy-⁴Adi-Bhaṅja-vañ(var)śē mānīs⁵-tyāgī⁶=adapḍakah khyā-
- 7 taḥ [1*] śūrah śuchir=vvinitō |⁷ jāta[⁸] ⁹śri-Kōṭ(ṭ)abhañ-eti || [3]* Pu-
- 8 tras-tad-ānurūpa⁷ |⁸ śreṣṭhaḥ śrīmān=maśakṣa⁹-sāmantaḥ [1*] nṛ-
- 9 pati-śat-ārchchita-charaṇō śrī¹⁰-Vibhramatuṅgō jagat-prathi-
- 10 taḥ || [4]* Tasy-ātmajaḥ Śma(Sma)ra-samō va(ba)lavān=varishṭhaḥ śūrah
- 11 [samuna]nta¹¹-yaśāḥ pravijitya śatrūrth(n) | rājā Yudhiṣṭhira

¹ Hunter's *Origins*, Vol. II, App. III, p. 80.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ In this verse the words *Kōṭyāśrama-mahā-tapōvanāt* must be left out in order to suit the metre. Read *Asin=māyūr-āṇḍam* etc.

⁴ Read *mānīs*.

⁵ Read *tyāgī*.

⁶ *Dapḍa* unnecessary.

⁷ Read *tad-ānurūpaḥ*.

⁸ This is probably a mistake for *śreṣṭha*.

⁹ Omit *śri* as in B for the sake of the metre.

¹⁰ Read *samunnata* as in B below.

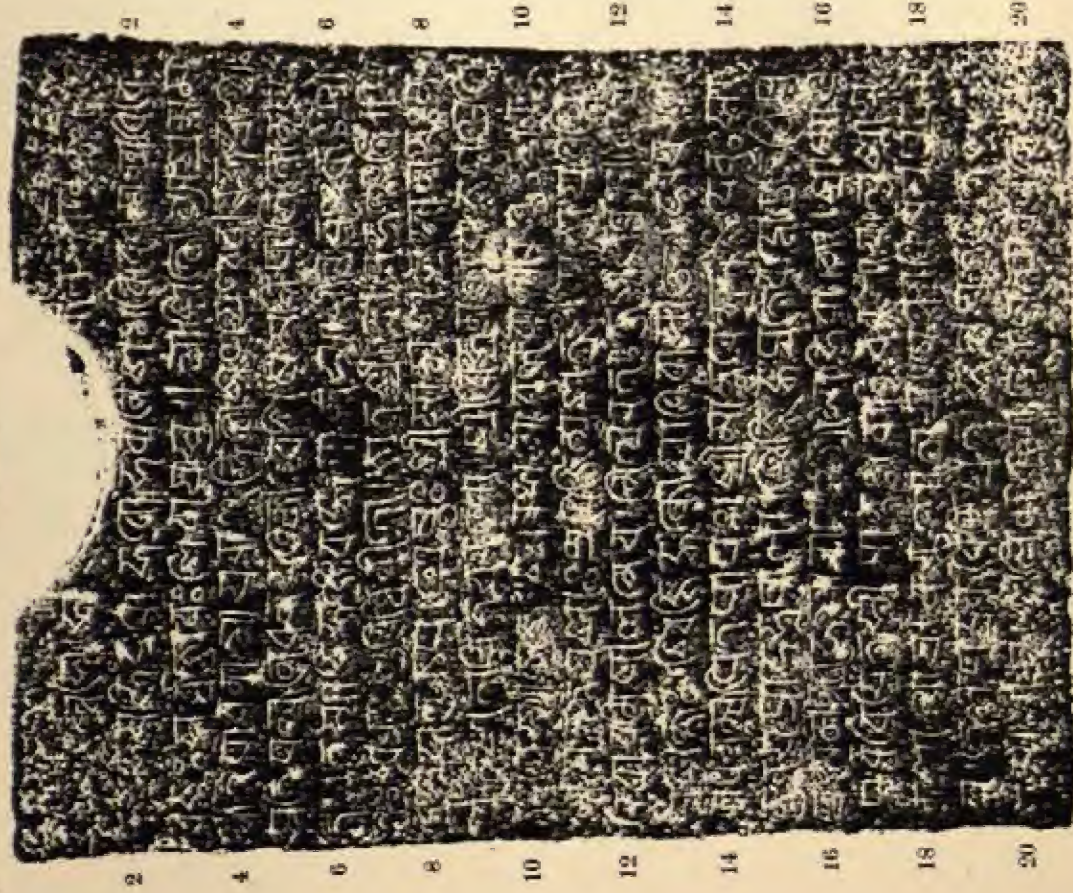
- 12 riv=āvanī¹-pālānē cha ² nityam rataḥ kuśala-karma-vidhau
 13 praśa(sa)ktaḥ [||5||*] **Khijjīṅga-kōṭṭ-ādhivāsāt** ³ Hara-charaṇ-ā-
 14 rādhana-kṣapita-pāpaḥ | śrīmān=**Narēndrabhaṇja-dēvaḥ**⁴ a-ā-
 15 nunayam prāha bhūpālān(lān) | [||6||*] **Khijjīṅga-prativeddhō**(baddha) **Urtti-viśa-**
 16 **ya-saṁmandha**⁵-**Vṛi(Bri)hat-Sārāi-grām-ābbidhānō** ⁶ grāmō-yath
 17 pu(pū)rvva - vidita-sīmāntaḥ ⁷ Vāvbi⁸-charaṇāya ⁹ Aślāya-
 18 na¹-ākhāya ¹⁰ Vachcha¹¹-gōtrāya ¹² pañchā-rishaya¹³-pravara-
 19 ya ¹⁴ **Tilapudraka-vinigrata**¹⁵- ¹⁶ bhaṭṭaputra-**Śi(Śi)tala[dēva]-**
 20 [śa]rmaṇāya¹⁷ ¹⁸ śa(sa)lila-dhārā[m*] puraskṛity-ākaraṭv[na vā]

Reverse.

- 21 ..[māttā(tā)]-pitrōr-ātmana
 22ndatō-smābhiḥ puṇyasetun-dadāya¹⁹ [||*] yāvat-ppi-
 23 [thv]dharmma-dākshinya(nya)tō vā | tāvat-kālam-pāla[n]jyō
 24 bhavadbhiḥ [||*] uktañ-cha ddharmma²⁰-āstrē | Va(Ba)hubhir-vvasudbā dattā
 25 rājabis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmī[s*]-ta-
 26 aya tasya tadā phala[m](lam) || [7||*] Mā bhāya phala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-
 27 dat=eti pāthivām | svadattā phalam=āntam para-
 28 datt-ānupālānē²¹ || [8||*] Sva-datta para-dattām=vā ²² yō harēti
 29 vasundharām²³ | sa viśvāyām kṛimīr-bhūtvā ²⁴ pīṭṭibhiḥ sa-
 30 ha pachyatō || [9||*] apī cha[||*] Kshītir-iyam kulā=ēva va(ha)hu-
 31 priyā ²⁵ hata-śari(rī)ram-idañ-cha vīni(na)śma(śva)ram(ram) | su-kṛī[taṁ]
 32 adya na chēta²⁶ kṛi(kri)yatō dhruvam ²⁷ vipadi dhakshyati vō-
 33 nuśay-ānalāḥ || [10||*] Iti kamala-dal-āmbu-vindu-||6.
 34 lām²⁸ śrī(śrī)yam-anuchintya manushya-jīvitāñ-cha | sakala-
 35 m-idam-uddhṛitadbhi²⁹ vudhvām³⁰ ³¹ na hi puruṣai[h*] para-ki(k)rtta-
 36 yō vilōpyām(pyāḥ) || o || [11||*] Likhitaṁ Rājakula-**Hēra-**
 37 **mvē(mbē)ṇ=ēti** || o || **Śri-Vibhramatunga-sutēna Mahārāja-śrī-Raṇa-**

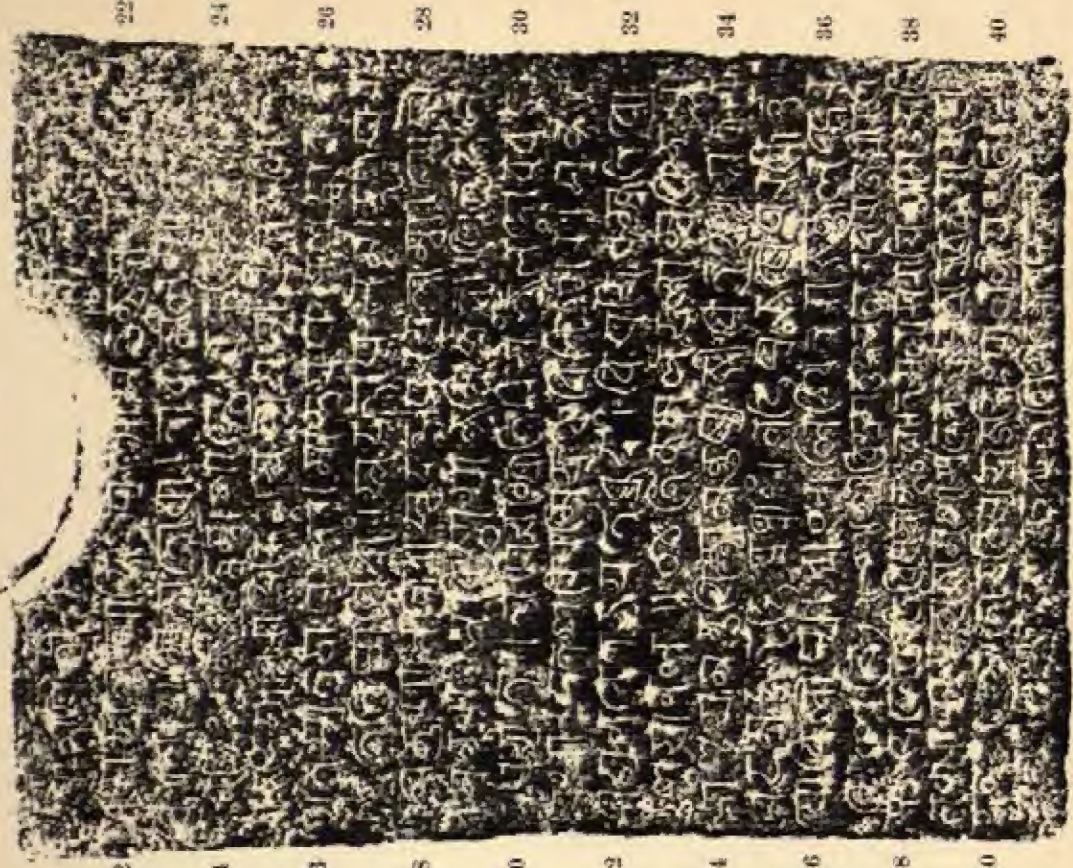
¹ Read ā=āvanī.² Datta unnecessary.³ The danda is unnecessary; to suit the metre we have to read *kōṭṭa-vāsāt=Dhara*, or *Khijjīṅga-kōṭṭavāsāt* as in other inscriptions.⁴ Omit *dēva* for the sake of the metre.⁵ Read sambaddha.⁶ Read Bahericha.⁷ Read Aślāyana.⁸ Read Vāta.⁹ Read Pañcharishi.¹⁰ Read vinigrata.¹¹ Read dharmma.¹² Perhaps the correct reading is *dattō-smābhiḥ puṇya-ēt-ādāya*. (The text from *māttā* to *bhavadbhiḥ* seems to form a verse in Śālini metre.—Ed.)¹³ Read dharmma.¹⁴ Read *Mā bhā=aphala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt=eti pāthivāḥ | svadatt=phalam=āntam para-datt-ānupālānē* ||¹⁵ Read *Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēti vasundharām*.¹⁶ Read *sukritam=adya na chēta*.¹⁷ Read *Iti kamala-dal-āmbu-bindu-lām*.¹⁸ Read *uddhṛitā=cha*.¹⁹ Read *buddhad*.

Obverse.



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20

Reverse.



22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40

38 bhañja-dēvaṇa Uratti-vishay-āntahpāti - Svalpa-Sarāyi-grāmaḥ sali-
 39 la-dhārā[m*] puraskṛitya tāmra-kāsanēna bhāṭṭaputra-Trivikramāya pra-
 40 dattaḥ āto¹ bhaviṣyad-rājabbīḥ pālaniya iti []
 41 Samvat 200 90 3 Phālguṇa va di 1 likhitaṁ kulaputraka-[Yaksha.....]²

TRANSLATION.

Oṃ svasti. (Verse 1) May the omniscient Bhava (Śiva), who is the sole protector of all the worlds, the destroyer of the fear of re-birth, the lord of Bhavānī, and conversant with the rules of the various modes of meditation,—bring you prosperity.

(V. 2) There was a king called Gaṇadaṇḍa (an officer in a republic ?) Virabhadra, skilful in killing enemies, who burst out of an egg of a pea-hen in the great hermitage, called Kōṭyāśrama, and was brought up by the sage Vasiṣṭha.

(V. 3) In the family of this first Bhañja (king) was born śrī-Kōṭṭabhañja, who was highly honoured, liberal, famous, brave, pure, and modest, and was averse to inflicting punishment (*adaṇḍaka*).

(V. 4) Then there was his worthy son śrī-Vibhramatuṅga, who was famous in the world, most excellent, and endowed with beauty ; who had numerous feudatories, and whose feet were worshipped by hundreds of kings.

(Vv. 5-6) His son śrīmān Narēndrabhañjadēva—who was like cupid (*in appearance*), strong, weighty, and brave ; who had acquired fame by defeating enemies ; who, like king Yudhiṣṭhira, was constantly engaged in protecting the earth, and was extremely fond of performing good deeds ; and whose sins were expiated by the worship of the feet of Hara ;—from his residence at the fort of Khijjiṅga says respectfully to the kings :

(Ll. 15-21) (*There is*) a village called Bṛihat-Sārāi, in the district (*vishaya*) of Urtti, situated close to the city of Khijjiṅga. This village, the boundaries of which are already known, is granted by me, free of rent, for the sake of (the religious merits of) my mother, father, and myself, with libations of water, to Bhaṭṭaputra Śitaladēvaśarma an emigrant from Tilapudraka and belonging to Bahvricha-charaṇa, Āśvalāyana-śākhā, Vatsa-gotra, and having the five *yishis* as his *pravaras* (or the noble ancestors).

(Ll. 22-35 contain the usual imprecations.)

(L. 36) Written by the Rājakula Hēramba.

(Ll. 37-40) By Mahārāja-śrī-Raṇabhañjadēva, son of śrī-Vibhramatuṅga, the village of Svalpa-Sarāyi in the district (*vishaya*) of Uratti has been granted to Bhaṭṭaputra Trivikrama, after sprinkling water and by a copper-plate deed. So this should be upheld by the future kings.

(L. 41) The year 200 (and) 90 (and) 3 ; (*the month*) Phālguṇa ; the dark fortnight ; (*the lunar*) day 1.

Written by Kulaputraka Yaksha.

B.—Ādipur Copper-plate of Narēndrabhañjadēva.

This is a single plate measuring about 10·6" by 8·8". It contains 38 lines of writing engraved on both sides. The engraver at first deliberately left a margin of about 3 inches at the top on the reverse side, but later, as the inscription could not be contained in the remaining part, he engraved the concluding portion in this space with the letters written in an opposite direction. This is a very natural and common method in letter-writing of the present day, but seems to be

¹ Read *ato*.

² [There seem to be only two letters at the end ; the reading may, therefore, be *Yakshap=eti*.—Ed.]

rather unusual in respect of engraving copper-plates. The original plate contained a circular projection at the middle of the top, and to this was later soldered a **circular seal** with a diameter of about 3". It bears the **legend** "*Śrīmān-Narī(rē)ndrabhañjadēvasya*" in a single line. Above the legend are the figures of a crescent with a conch below, and underneath it is the figure of a humped bull above a floral design, resembling those in the Plate A noticed above. The edge of the seal is turned up so as to form a raised rim all round. A portion of the back of the seal had to be cut away, as otherwise some letters, already engraved on the reverse of the plate, would have been hidden by it. This is an important and interesting point. For, as in Plate A, this portion of the plate contains, like a post-script, a short record about the donation of king Rāgabhañja. It is obvious that it was not a later addition, but was already engraved before the royal seal was attached.

The plate was found in the possession of one Sira Dās of the Ādipur village, the same person from whom Plate A was obtained. According to the statement of Sira Dās it was found some eighty years ago, and kept concealed in a house which was washed away by the flood of 1927 and hence abandoned. It was again brought to light some six years ago while digging the earth in that deserted plot. The plate is now in the Museum at Bāripadā. The Curator of the Museum, Mr. P. Acharya, who supplied me with the above account, kindly gave me the plate on loan, and I am editing it from the original.

The plate is in a fair state of preservation, except that a small portion of the edge, on both sides, along the length of the plate has been corroded, with the result that some letters at the beginning and the end of a number of lines have been rendered indistinct or altogether effaced.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the **alphabet** closely resembles that used in Inscription A. As a matter of fact the record is a close copy of that record with a few modifications. The only important additions are : (1) some additional conventional concessions in the formal portion of the grant (ll. 16-17), and (2) one additional imprecatory verse (ll. 29-30). These are, however, well-known phrases and occur in other Orissa records and the verse occurs in another grant of this family (cf. C below).

The author's knowledge of Sanskrit was rather poor, though he has avoided some of the glaring mistakes of A. As the errors and orthographic peculiarities in the two records are very similar, these need not be noticed in detail.

The inscription records the grant of the village **Śarapadraka** in the **Kōrakōra-vishaya** by king **Narēndrabhañja** whose genealogy is given in the same words as in A. The donee, whose name I doubtfully read as Bhūṭa **Dēvadēvadāma**¹, emigrated from **Oḍra-vishaya** and was evidently associated (in a manner which is not quite clear) with the village **Rāmaparkatī** in the **Khijlāga-maṇḍala**². The grant was made on the day on which the summer solstice began (*Raviśamkrāntya-vilāyām*). The second record, at the end, refers to the grant of a village by Rāgabhañja. The name of the village may be doubtfully read as **Pāḍēvā**, but there may be another letter at the beginning.

Of these **localities Kōrakōra** is still the name of a village in Ghoshdāpir in Ādipur Parganā, situated about twelve miles to the South-South-East of Khiebing. It is shown as Kerkera in the Indian Sheet Atlas (Scale 1"=4 miles, sheet 73 G). Near by is a village called Soras in the same sheet and this may be the same as **Śarapadraka**. The village called Saradaha in Katanjia Parganā may also be the modern representative of **Śarapadraka**. **Rāmaparkatī** may be identified with the village called Ramasahi in Kiapir in Joshipur Parganā. I am unable to identify **Pāḍēvā**. The

¹[See p. 160, n. 10 below.—Ed.]

²[To me it appears that the donee was a resident of the village Rāmaparkatī in Khijlāga-maṇḍala and that he originally hailed from Ālīpadraha, a Brahmin village (? *Bhūṭa-grāma*) in the Oḍra-vishaya.—Ed.]

mention of *Odra-nishaya* is very interesting, showing that the name which was afterwards applied to the whole province was as yet confined only to a small region and originally denoted only a small district.

The history of *Narēndrabhañja* and his predecessors has already been discussed. As noted above, the inscription also records, at the end, the grant of a village by *Bhañja Mahārāja-Raṇa-bhañja*. The word immediately preceding this seems to be clearly *naptā* or grandson. Unfortunately, the word of three letters before *naptā*, although very clearly engraved, cannot be read with certainty. The first and third letters are 'ā' and 'sa', but the letter in the middle is a peculiar one, and looks like *sai* or *stai*, none of which, however, gives any sense. In any case, for the present, *Raṇabhañja* of this short record must be identified with king *Raṇabhañja*, a similar short record of whom is engraved at the end of Plate A. It is very curious that a short record of this king was in both these instances added as a sort of post-script to the record of *Narēndrabhañja*. In the present case, at any rate, we are tolerably certain, by the position of the last few letters of the plate in respect of the back part of the seal, that the whole record was engraved before the seal was attached, i.e., during the reign of king *Narēndrabhañja*. The only reasonable conclusion seems to be that *Raṇabhañja* was a predecessor of *Narēndrabhañja*, and an earlier grant made by him, perhaps to the same donee or to his family, was repeated in brief at the end at the latter's request, so that the same plate might serve him as a charter for both the grants.¹

One peculiarity in the text of this grant requires special mention. In all the copper-plate grants of this family of kings, the word *kukālī* or *kukalinah*, generally added as an adjective of the king in the prose portion, immediately after his proper name, is omitted, and in most of them the words *s-ānunayaṁ prāha bhūpālān* take the place of the usual verbs *mānayaṁ bōdhayaṁ samādīśati*. In the present grant we have all these three combined, with the exception only of *samādīśati*.

Attention may be drawn to the expression '*Śiva-charaṇa-sarōja-śaṭpada*' (l. 13) used with reference to *Narēndrabhañja*. The corresponding expression in A is '*Hara-charaṇ-ārūdhana-kṣhapita-pāpaḥ*' (ll. 13-14). These prove that king *Narēndrabhañja* was a devoted worshipper of Śiva. The invocation to Śiva at the beginning also shows that the family was Śaiva. The discoveries at Khiching fully corroborate this. The finest image unearthed from the ruins at Khiching is that of a standing Śiva which was no doubt installed in the main temple whose magnificent ruins have been laid bare by recent excavations.

TEXT.

[The metres are noted above in connection with A, but the verses 2 and 3 are defective as some words have been left out as pointed out in the footnotes.]

Obverse.

1 Svasti [?]

2 Ōm² namō Avighnēśvarāya³ || Sakala-bhuvan-nika-nā-

3 thō bhava-bhaya-bhīdurō Bhavō Bhavān(nī)śaḥ [?]⁴ vividha-samādhi-vi-

¹ [It is difficult to believe that *Raṇabhañja* of the postscript grants in A and B was a predecessor of *Narēndrabhañja*. It is not impossible that a portion of the back of the seal of B had to be cut away to make room for the last line of the subsidiary record for which no other space was available. In ll. 36-37 B clearly states that the subsidiary grant was inserted in the original grant (*śāstman-śca śāstmanē prakṣipya*). The date of writing in these additional grants is quite different from that of the original grants. The writer in the two additional grants appears to be the same person, viz. *Yakṣasiddhanta* and the donor is also the same *Raṇabhañja* in both. The reading in l. 25 of B is *śāstira naptā*. If *śāstira* stands for *asy-āstira*, the person referred to must be the first ruler mentioned in the original grant, i.e., *Koṭṭabhañja* whose grandson *Raṇabhañja* was.—Ed.]

² There is a symbol preceding *Ōm*.

³ Read *namō-riḡhatīśvarāya*.

- 4 dhijñō(jñah) sarvajñō vah śivāy-āstu || [1]* Āśi(śi)te-Kōtyāśrama-
 5 mahātapōvanān¹ niyūr-āṇḍarā bhivā² Gaṇa-daṇḍa-Vīrabhadra-ākhyā(h*) [*]
 6 kṣha³ -nidhana-dakṣhō Vasiṣṭha-muni-pālitō nripati(h*) | [12]* Tasy-Ādi-Bharh-
 7 ja-vañśā(vañśō) māni(nī) tyāgi(gī) adaṇḍaka(h*) kbāto(khyātah) [*] jātō(tah)⁴ śrī-Kōṭṭa-
 bharjō-pi [13]*
 8 Putras=tad-ānurūpaḥ śrēṣṭhaḥ śrīmān=asaṅkṣha(samkhyā)-śāmantah | nripati-śa-
 9 t-ārochita-charaṇō Vibhramatuṅgō jagat-prathitah || [4]* Tasy-ātmajaḥ
 10 Smara-samō va(ba)lavān=varī(ri)ṣṭhaḥ sūrah samunnata-yaśā yudhi ni-
 11 rjīt-āriḥ⁵ | rājā Yudhiṣṭhira iv=āvanī-pālānē cha nityam rataḥ
 12 kuśala-kārmma-vidhaḥ praśa(sa)ktah || [5]* Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭ-ādhipāśakāt [*]
 13 Āśi(si)-dhār-ārjita-kirttiḥ Śiva-charaṇa-sarōja-śaṭpadaḥ śrī(mā-
 14 n) | ripu-vanītā-vaidhavya-da-Narēndrabharjā-kuśali(lī) jagata(t)-khyā(tah) [*]
 15 sānūyayā prā(ha*) bhūpālān yath-ārham mānayaṭi vō(bō)dhū(ya)ti Kōrakō-
 16 ra-vishaya-pratīva(ba)(dha)-Śarapadraka-grāmaḥ-chaṭah-śīmā-paryantah ś-ō-
 17 pari(nī)kara-s-ōd(dō)śa-sa-tantravāya-gō-kuṭa-śauṇḍi(ṇḍi)k-ādi(di)kaṁ prā-
 18 [kṛ]tika-sarvva-piḍā-varjīt-ālēkhani(nī)-pravāśatayā bhūmī(mi)ebbhī(echhi)dr-ā-

Reverse.

- 19 pi(bhī)dh[ā]ḥa-nyāyēn=āchandr-ārka-kṣhiti-sama-ka(kā)la(nī) mātā-pitrōr-ātmanah [ya]-
 20 śah-puṇy-ābhivṛddha(yē) | Ōdra-vishayē Bhaṭṭagrāma Ālavida . . .
 21 nirgataḥ Khijjiṅga-maṇḍalasya Rāmaparkatī-grāma-śāsa . . .
 22 Vyavbhichā-charaṇāya⁶ Vatsa-gōtra-pāñchārshaya⁷ Ya(Ja)madagni(gnī)-pravara(rāya)
 bhaṭṭa-
 23 D[ē*]vadōvadāma(h)¹⁰ bhaṭṭa-(Vaḍḍha)kā¹¹dāma-suta(sutāya) Ravisaṅkramaṇa-
 vōlāyān
 24 haṣṭ-ōḍakēna tānra-śāsanikṛity-ākṣhaya-ni(nī)vi-dharmmēṇ-ākaraṭvō-
 25 na pratipādītō¹²-kṁābhīḥ || tad-ōś(ah)=āśmad-(d*)attir=iddharmma-gauravād-bha-
 26 vadbhīḥ paripālani(nī)ya¹³ | uktaḥ-cha dharmma-sā(śā)strē [*] Va(Ba)bubhir-vasudhā da-
 27 ttā rājabhīḥ Sagar-ādibhīḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmī(s*)=tasya tasya tadā
 28 phalam(lam) | [16]* Mā bhuh(bhūd=a)phala-śaṅkā va(h*) para-datt-ēti pāṭhivāḥ |
 sva-dattāt phalam =ā-
 29 nantyan para-datt-ānupālānē | [17]* Sva-dattā[n] para-dattām=vō(ttām vā) |¹² yō harēta
 vasundharām(rām) [*]

¹ To suit the metre omit Kōtyāśrama-mahātapōvanān- as in A.

² Read bhivā. There is a sign after this which is redundant.

³ Read pratipakṣha as in A, the first three syllables of which have obviously been dropped through mistake in this record.

⁴ The words sūrah śachir-vanītō occurring in A have been left out before jāto(tah) through inadvertence.

⁵ A has pravijitya ātrām(a).

⁶ This seems to be a verse in Gāthā metre.

⁷ [To me the reading appears to be Ālāvadaka-vinirgataḥ(tāpa).—Ed.]

⁸ Read Bahericha. [Reading after grāma seems to be śāśata-vātarya-Pa(Ba)hericha-. Śāśata may be a mistake for śāśata in which case Rāmaparkatī, the residence of the donor, would be an agrahāra or a gift village.—Ed.]

⁹ Read pañchārshī or pañch-ārshya.

¹⁰ [I think the name of the donor is Dvadāma. The syllables Dva at the beginning of the line seem to have been wrongly written and may be considered superfluous. Read Dvadāma.—Ed.]

¹¹ The reading of this name is very doubtful.

¹² Dandā unnecessary.

Obverse.

Reverse.

- 30 sa vishṭhāyām kṛimi[r*]=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē [18 [*] Haratē hāratē(yēd)
bhūmim [manda]-
- 31 [bu*][ddhi][s*]=tamā(mō)vṛitō(taḥ) [*] sa va(ba)ddhō vāruṇī-[pā*]śā=ēva trīgayyōnī
shu¹ jāyatē | [19 [*] Iti ka-
- 32 mala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlām śrī(śri)yam=anuchintya manushya-[jīvitāñ=cha] [1*]
33 [saka]lam=idam=udāhṛitāñ=cha ² vuddhā(buddhvā) na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō³
vilō-
- 34 pyāḥ || [10 [*] Iti(ti) tāmra⁴-śāsana-vitāṇi-bhāṇḍa kāryyaḥ⁵ ||
- 35 Ōm⁶ svasti [*] āsaiva⁷ [na]ptā Bhañja-mahārāja-śrī-Raṇabhañjadēvēna
- 36 Pādēvā⁸-grāmaś=chatuḥ-simā-paryantaḥ ētasma(smi)nn=ēva tāmra-śāsa-
- 37 nē prakshipya salila-dhārā-puraḥsarēṇa pratipāditō bhavadbhiḥ
- 38 paripālānīyaḥ | khanitaṁ Yakshadattēn=ēti ||

C.—Kēsari Copper-plate of Śatrubhañjadēva.

This is a **single plate** measuring 8½" by 6½". It contains twenty-four lines of writing engraved on both sides. A **circular seal**, a little more than 2½" in diameter, is attached to the middle of the top of the plate on its longer side. It contains one line of legend with the figure of a couchant bull below, and there are figures of a trident and a crescent respectively on the upper right and upper left of the bull. The edge of the seal is turned up so as to form a raised rim all round.

The record was first published with a text and English translation by Mr. Binayak Misra in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, pp. 429 f. and 431. According to him it was discovered by a Ho servant of Arjun Giri at Kēsari, 10 miles north-west of Khiching. The plate is now in the Bāripadā Museum. I am indebted to Mr. P. Acharya for having kindly lent the original plate for re-editing it.

The plate is in a good state of preservation. The **alphabet** belongs to the Northern type and resembles that used in Plates A and B edited above. The **language** is Sanskrit. As regards metre, orthography, and the author's knowledge of Sanskrit, the remarks made in connection with Plate A apply equally well in this case, and detailed notices are unnecessary.

The inscription records the grant of the village of Syallāmāyī in the Urtti district by Mahā-maṇḍalādhipati-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara Śatrubhañjadēva, lord of eighty-eight thousand (villages). He was the son of Raṇabhañja, grandson of Durjayabhañja, and great-grandson of Kōṭṭabhañja. Reference is made to Virabhadra's birth, as in Plates A and B. Some additional information is, however, given about this Virabhadra in ll. 3-5 which is not to be found in the other records of the family. The exact meaning of the passage is obscure, as the grammatical construction seems to be faulty. It begins with a reference to Virabhadra's eighty-eight thousand sons (and not sages as interpreted by Mr. Misra). What follows seems to indicate that on account of the prayer of these sons Virabhadra was protected (*sēvitaḥ*) by Rāmadēva and made lord of eighty-eight thousand villages.⁹ Rāmadēva is no doubt the god Rāma. The phrase 'Rāmadēvēna

¹ Read vāruṇaiḥ pāśais=tiryag-yōnīshu.

² Daṇḍa unnecessary.

³ There is a superfluous na after yō.

⁴ Read tāmra.

⁵ The reading of the word is very doubtful. The word vitāṇi-bhāṇḍa can be clearly read but offers no meaning.

There is a letter ka written just below the space between the last two letters.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ The second letter looks like sai but the word offers no meaning. [See above, p. 159, n. 1.—Ed.]

⁸ A letter may have been effaced at the beginning of this line.

⁹ [According to my reading only one son, who was protected by Rāmadēva, seems to have been favoured with this gift. See p. 162 n. 13 below.—Ed.]

sēvitaḥ 'can therefore be hardly interpreted as 'served by Rāmadēva' as translated by Mr. Misra. According to the dictionary, the root 'sēv' also means 'to protect,' and I have taken that interpretation. The word '*vyāpitaḥ*' is also a difficult one. I think *v* is a mistake for *dh* (which resembles it very closely) and the word '*dhyaṇitaḥ*' has been used to indicate that the eighty-eight thousand sons were made to perform meditations (*dhyaṇa*) in order to please Rāmadēva and obtain the boon from him.

The very important and far-reaching conclusions of Mr. Misra based on the above data have already been discussed above.¹ The only other information of historical character supplied by the record is the mention of two members of the royal family viz., **Anakaḥdēvi** (perhaps a mistake for **Anakadēvi**), the chief queen, and **Narēndrabhaṇja**, the *Yuvarāja* (ll. 12-13), and of a number of officers (ll. 13-14).

Attention may be drawn to the expression *Bhagavad-bhaṭṭāraka-Śaṅkaram samuddiṣṭya* occurring in ll. 14-15. The reference may be to the great Śaṅkarācārya in whose honour the gift was made, though it is possible to take it in the ordinary sense to refer to God Śiva. In the latter case, however, the form ordinarily met with, is '*Bhagavat-Śiva [Nārāyaṇa or Buddha]-bhaṭṭāraka*.'

As to the localities mentioned, *Urṭti-vishaya* has been discussed above. I am unable to identify the village **Syallāmāyi**. Mr. Misra reads the name of the village as 'Llāmāyi' remarking in a footnote that '*sya*' is unnecessary. I do not see any reason to uphold this view.

TEXT.

Obverse.

- 1 Ōm² svastiḥ³ [||*] Sakala-bhuvan-aika-nāthō bhava-bhaya-vi(bhi)durō Bhavō Bhavāni-(nī)śa[h|*] vivi-
- 2 dha-samādhi⁴-samādhi-vi[dbi*]jñāḥ sarvva⁵jñō vaḥ si(śi)vāy=āstu || [||*] Āśita(sit)⁶ Kōṭṭā-śrama(mō) nā[ma]⁷
- 3 tapō-dhishṭhānam=uttamam⁸ [*] mayūr-āṇḍ-ōdbhava[s*]=tasmāta(d=) gaṇa-daṇḍō Vi⁹(Vi)-rabhadra-ākhyah¹⁰ [|| 2 ||*] Aṣṭāśi-
- 4 ti-sahasrai[h*] sūnubhi[h*]¹¹ vyāpitaḥ¹² purā [*] tēshān=tu prā[r]thanām dṛishṭvā Rāma-dēvēna sēvitaḥ(taḥ) [|| 3 ||*] Tatō=¹³
- 5 śhṭāśiti-sahasra¹⁴-grāmasy=ādbipatiḥ kṛitaḥ [*] chakravi(va)[r]tti¹⁵-sama(maḥ) sarvvapādō-nañcha vasthiti¹⁶ [|| 14 ||*]

¹ See p. 154 above.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read *svasti*.

⁴ The second *samādhi* is redundant.

⁵ M. reads *sarva* (M. denotes Mr. Binayak Misra).

⁶ M. reads *āśit*, but the word actually engraved is *āśita*.

⁷ M. reads *Kōṭṭyāśrama-mahā*.

⁸ M. reads *uttama[m]*.

⁹ There is no sign of medial *i* on *v* as M. reads.

¹⁰ This *pāda* conforms to the fourth *pāda* of an *Aryā* metre. This is apparently due to its being copied verbatim from the other records.

¹¹ M. reads *sahasrais=tu mu[ni*]bhīḥ*. [I would read *-sahasrais=tu [sū*]nubhi[r=]*.—Ed.]

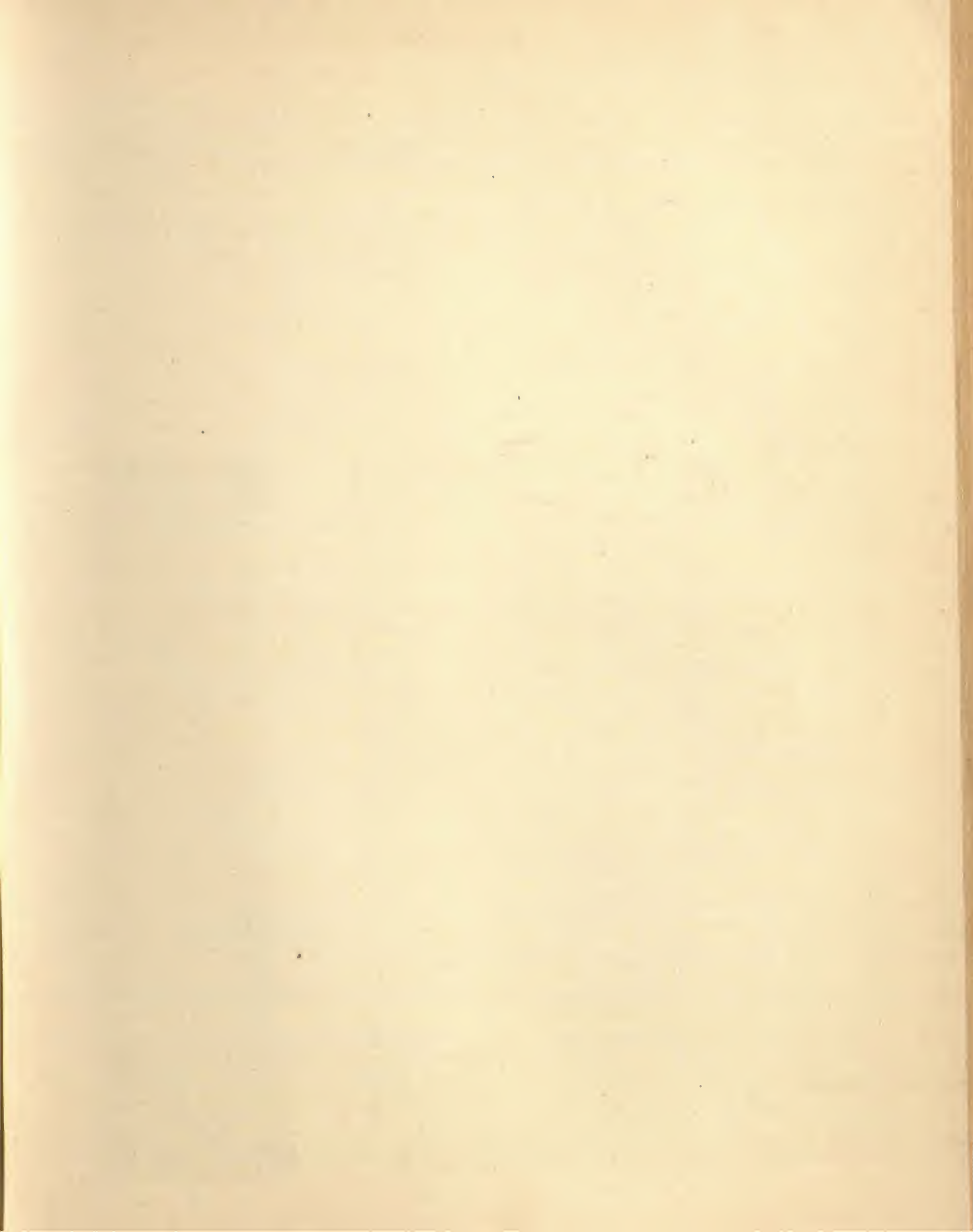
¹² M. reads *vyāpiḥ*.

¹³ [To me the reading appears to be *sēvita(taḥ)* [||*] *Sutō=*.—Ed.]

¹⁴ [Read *-sahasra-* as the sixth syllable in this *pāda* should be long.—Ed.]

¹⁵ M. reads *varī*.

¹⁶ M. reads *sarvō pādōnañchanasthitaḥ*. Perhaps the word intended is *sarvv-ōpādānāñ=ch=āvasthitiḥ*. [But this would make the *pāda* short by one syllable.—Ed.]

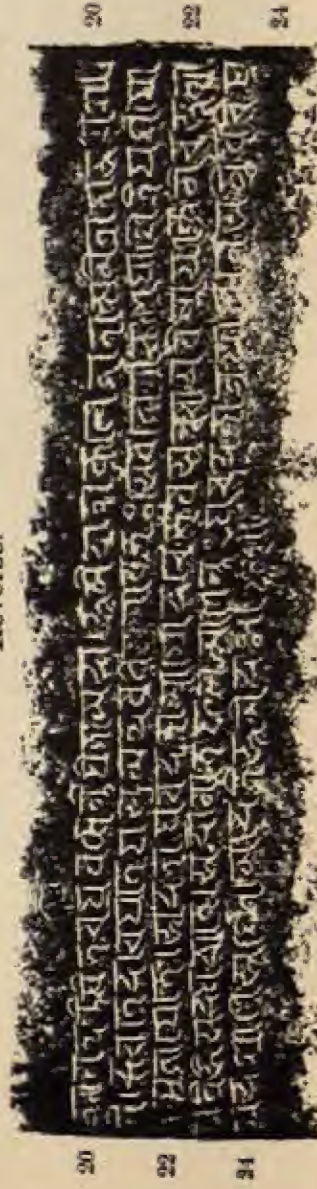


(From Photographs).

...



Reverse.



(From Photographs).

10



13



- 6 pratipaksha-nidhana-daksbō Vasi(śi)shtha-mu[ni*]-pālītō nripatīh¹. A*(A)dibhañjah
ripu-dabana²-dā-
- 7 vānalah | śaraśvatirvvinittō³ jātah | Śrī-Kōṭṭabhañja-suta-māṇḍalika-sa(saj)t-ārechita-
chara-
- 8 ṇa-kamalah | śrī-Dū(Du)rjayabhañjadēvō-bhūta(t) [l] tasy-ātmajah su(śu)chih pratāpi(pī)
k[ri]tajñah satya-
- 9 vādī⁴ Hara-charaṇ-ā[rā*]dhana-tatparaḥ guru-dēva-pūjakah śrī-Raṇabhañjadēvō-
bhūta(t) tasy-ā-
- 10 tmajah sūrah pratāpi(pī) nirjjita-śatruḥ satya-dharm-ā[n]vitaḥ Yūdhishtīra-samah prajā-
pālana-ta-
- 11 tpara[h*] Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati-Mā(Ma)hārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara[h*] aśt[ai]śīti-sahaśra-
a(sr-ā)dhīpa-
- 12 ti[h*] | śrī-Śatrubhañjadēva-pādaiḥ⁵ | mā(ma)hādēvi(vī)-śrī-Anakaḥdēvi(vī) || ju(yu)-
varājā(ja)-śrī-
- 13 Narīndrabhañja | sandhivigrahi-śrī-Prajāpati[h*] | mudrabasta-śrī-Bhī(ī)ma[h*] | prati-
hāra⁶-śrī-Manōratha[h*] | pura-
- 14 śrēṣṭhi-śrī-Vishvudattaḥ mātā-pitarō⁷r-ātma[na*]ś-cha⁸ ¹⁰ dharmma-yashō(śō)-vri[d*]-
dhay⁹ | Bhagavata(d)-bhaṭṭāraka-Śanka-
- 15 ra[ni]¹² samu[d*]dīś[ya] Urtti-visa(sha)ya-pratīva(ba)ddha-Syallāmāyī¹³-grāma(mah) sa-
jala-sthala(lah) chatu[h*]śīnāvatsina¹⁴
- 16 sa-viṭapa-latā ¹⁵ Madhya¹⁶dēsa(śa)-vina(ni)rgata-bhaṭṭaputra-Nārāyaṇasya pautrāya
bhaṭṭaputra-Cha-
- 17 krapāṇīsyā¹⁷ putrāya | Bhaṭṭaputra-Daṇḍapāṇī¹⁸ | Kaūśī(Kauśi)ka-sagotrāya triyāri-
shaya¹⁹-pra[va*]rāya²⁰ ²²
- 18 Vasishtha-gotrāya Vasishtha-pra[va*]rāya | tāmra²¹-sā(śā)sanī(nī)kṛita(tya) pradat-
[t*]ō-smābhūh ([*]) Bhūmī[m*] yaḥ pratigrihṣā-
- 19 tī ²³ yaś-cha bhūmī[m*] prayachchhati | ubhau ttan²⁴ punya(nya)-karmamāṇau niyatan²⁵
svargga-gāminau || [ō [*]]

¹ This forms half of a verse in Arjā metre. See A, v. 2.

² The initial vowel is a and not ā as M. reads.

³ M. reads *dalana*.

⁴ M. reads *śaraśvatirvvinittō* and amends it as *Sarasvatī-vinittō*. There is no doubt that the phrase intended is *śaraśvatirvvinittō* as in A, l. 7.

⁵ M. reads *surapāpa*, but the word *satyaśōdī* is quite clear.

⁶ M. reads *pādāh*. The correct form should be *pādāh*.

⁷ M. reads *Pratīhārī*.

⁸ M. reads *pitararātmanya*.

⁹ M. reads *dharmmayasō(śō)bhībrūdh(dh)ayī*.

¹⁰ M. reads *Bhagavantaṁ bhaṭṭārakaṁ Śankaram*.

¹¹ M. reads *gī*.

¹² M. reads *madha*.

¹³ Read *pāpāyī*.

¹⁴ M. reads *ścha* after it, but I find no trace of it. [As there seems to be only one donee the *gotra* and *pravara* mentioned first were probably engraved by mistake and later corrected as found in l. 18.—Ed.]

¹⁵ *Daṇḍas* unnecessary.

¹⁶ Read *tan*.

¹⁷ Read *pitrōrī*.

¹⁸ *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

¹⁹ Read *śim-ārochchinnah*.

²⁰ Read *pānēh*.

²¹ Read *tryārahīya*.

²² Read *tāmra*.

²³ Read *niyatan*.

Reverse.

- 20 Ānandanti¹ pītara[h*] prava[lg]anti² pītāmahā[h*] [I*] bhūmi-dātā kulē jātā ssami-
trātā bhaviśya(sya).
21 ti³ | [16 ||*] Haratē hārayatē(yēd=)yas-tu manda-vudhis⁴-tamā(mō)vritah⁵ | sa
va(ba)dāhō Vāruṇē pāsā triyaga⁶ yō-
22 nisu(shu)⁷ jāyētē⁸ | [17||*] Sva-dattā[m*] para-dattām=vā yō harēta⁹ vasundharā[m I*]
sa viśhṭhāyā[m*] krimira¹⁰ bhūtvā¹¹
23 pītribhi¹² saha pachyatē | [19 ||*] Sva-dānāta¹³ phalam-āṇantaṁ¹⁴ para-dat[t*]-ānu-
pālānē[l*] sashṭhi-varisha¹⁵
24 sahaśrā(srā)ṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ || [10*] ||¹⁶

No. 15.—AN INCOMPLETE GRANT OF SINDA ADITYAVARMAN: SAKA 887.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A. AND M. G. DIKSHIT, B.A.

Of the two leaves of a set of copper-plates, which are edited here for the first time, the first is from the collection of the late Mr. G. K. Chandorkar, a well-known researcher of Khândesh. It is now deposited in the Rājwāde Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍala, Dhūlia. The second plate was found in the collection of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala, Poona. No definite information is available regarding the original findspot of these plates, but they were probably discovered somewhere in the Poona District of the Bombay Presidency.¹⁷ They are edited here with the kind permission of the authorities of the two Institutions in which they are now preserved.

They are the **last two plates** of a set which must have originally consisted of three or four copper-plates. The initial one or two plates, which probably contained a glorification of some ancestors of the donor, are not now forthcoming. The present plates contain a hole $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter at the top, which indicates that the plates were held together by a ring. But the ring together with the seal, if it had any, is now lost. The plates measure from 9·5" to 9·7" broad and from 7·5" to 8·2" high. The first plate weighs 66 *tolas* and the second 44½ *tolas*.

¹ M. reads *āpṭhāyanti*. The usual expression is *āpṭhāyanti*.

² M. reads *pragalbanti*.

³ M. reads the passage as follows: *bhūmi-dātā kulē jātā(h*) sa na(e)=trātā bhaviśyati*. This is undoubtedly the correct form, (cf. Manhall Copper-plate line 53, J. A. S. B., 1900, pp. 65 ff) but not the correct reading of the text.

⁴ Read *buddhis*.

⁵ M. reads *tamvritah* which is undoubtedly the more usual form.

⁶ Read *tiryag*.

⁷ M. reads *tiryag-yōnau* [sa] jāyātē.

⁸ Read *jāyātē*.

⁹ M. reads *jō haratē*.

¹⁰ Read *krimir*.

¹¹ M. reads *krimirbhūtvā*.

¹² Read *pītribhi*. This is M's reading.

¹³ Read *dānāt*.

¹⁴ Read *-āṇantam*. M. reads *āṇantam*.

¹⁵ Read *sashṭhi-varisha*.

¹⁶ There is one ornamental mark between the two sets of *daṇḍas*.

¹⁷ As shown below, the donated village is in the Poona District. Another Sinda copper-plate, dated Saka 933, has been recently discovered at Nārāyāngāon near Junnar in the same district.

The extant portion of the inscription, which is in a state of excellent preservation, contains fifty-two lines of writing, of which sixteen are engraved on the first and seventeen on the second side of the first plate. The second plate has nineteen lines inscribed on one side only. The characters are of the Nāgari alphabet. Several letters appear in a transitional stage and exhibit more than one form each. Besides, the record was written in a cursive hand and engraved in a careless manner, several strokes being left out. The reading of a few *akṣaras*, especially in lines 32-33 and 51-52, is consequently not free from doubt. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the forms of *kh* in *Bhīm-ākhyō*, l. 1 and *śākhā*, l. 28, the former of which has a loop in the left limb, while the latter is without it. Similarly the letters *g*, *m*, *n* and *r* present looped and unlooped forms, see, e.g., *g* in *garvhaśthō*, l. 5 and *nagara*, l. 10; *m* in *chintāmaṇi*, l. 3 and *viṣṇaya*, l. 18; *n* in *janānāṁ*, l. 4 and *sēnāpati*, l. 9 and *r* in *jarad*, l. 12 and *guṇa-rāṣi*, ll. 1-2. The several forms of the palatal *ś* seen in *śri*, l. 2, *guṇa-rāṣi*, ll. 1-2 and *āśrita*, ll. 3-4 and of *v* in *vilālāḥ*, l. 19 and *śv-aikaḥ*, l. 21, are also noteworthy. The left limb of *dh* is undeveloped, *dh* and *h* are almost identical in shape, and *ph* is drawn cursorily, see *śamadhigat*, l. 6, *Bhīm-ākhyō*, l. 1, *mahādadhīḥ*, ll. 4-5 and *phaṇindra* l. 7. Finally, the record exhibits here and there the use of the *prishṭha-mātrās* to denote medial diphthongs.

The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is composed in a good style, but contains several mistakes due to careless writing. The extant portion contains one incomplete and ten complete verses¹ in ll. 1-5, 17-21, 40-45, and 48-51, the rest being in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are the use of the vowel *ri* for *ri* in *āśrita*, ll. 3-4 and that of *v* for *b* as in *mahāsanda*, l. 6 and the reduplication of a consonant following *r* as in *kuhara-varṭi*, l. 14 and *gandhāreva*, l. 16.

The inscription is one of the Sinda king, the *Mahāsāmanta Adityavarman*, who had obtained all *mahāśabdas* and was born in the lineage of *Drishṭivisha*, the lord of *Nāgas*.² The object of it is to record the grant, by *Ādityavarman*, of a village named *Kipihikā* which was included in the (larger) village *Paṅgarikā* and was situated in the *Rāmatīrthikā*-Eighty-four. Among the boundaries of the village, which are specified in ll. 33-35, are mentioned a *layaṇa-giri* (hill containing cells) which bounded it on the west and a river named *Indra* which flowed on its north. The donee was the *Brāhmaṇa Navaśiva*, son of *Chandrabhaṭṭa*, who belonged to the *Kauṇḍinya-gotra* and was a student of the *Bahvricha-śākhā* (of the *Rigveda*). He had emigrated from the *Madhyadēśa*. The grant was made by *Ādityavarman*, while residing at *Junninagara*, on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred on the new-moon day of *Chaitra* in the expired *Śaka saṁvat 887*, the cyclic year being *Krōdhana*. The date is regular. The expired *Śaka 887* (corresponding to A.D. 965-66) was *Krōdhana* according to the southern luni-solar system and there was a solar eclipse on the *amāvasyā* of the *paurṇimānta* *Chaitra*. The corresponding Christian date is Monday, the 6th March A.D. 965.

The genealogy of *Ādityavarman* which was given in the initial portion of the record is now almost wholly lost. The extant portion of the record contains only two names, viz., *Bhīma* and his son *Muñja*, the grandfather and the father respectively of *Ādityavarman*. About *Muñja* we are told that he was superior to (another) *Muñja* in merits. It is not clear who this latter personage was. The reference can scarcely be to the homonymous king of the *Paramāra* dynasty, the celebrated poet and patron of Sanskrit learning; for he was not a contemporary of

¹ The verse in ll. 17-19 occurs also in the *Bhādāna* grant of *Aparājita*, *Śaka 919*, above, Vol. III, pp. 273-74.

² *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XII, pp. 141ff.

Ādityavarman's father and had not in fact ascended the throne even at the time when the present record was incised. His father Siyaka was ruling in V. S. 1029¹ (i.e., A.D. 972-73) and was, therefore, on the throne for at least seven years after the issue of the present charter. It is not, therefore, likely that Muñja was already so famous in A.D. 965 as to induce the author of the present record to institute a comparison between him and the father of Ādityavarman. The name of one other Muñja, who also belonged to the Sinda family, is known from his Tiḍgundi plates,² but he belongs to a much later age, as he was a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI of the Later Chālukya dynasty.

As said above, Ādityavarman belonged to the Sinda family and claimed descent from the Nāga lineage. He had on his banner the figure of a golden lion. As he does not claim a higher title than *Mahāsāmanta*, he was plainly subordinate to some paramount power. His suzerain was probably the powerful Rāshtrakūṭa king **Kṛishṇa III**, for whom, it is interesting to mention, we have a record bearing the same date as the present record, viz., 6th March A.D. 965.³

The Sindas, Chhindas or Chhindakas of the Nāgavamśa are known from several earlier and later records. Most of these come from the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency and Mysore and Hyderābād states, while some are found in the Bastar state of the Central Provinces. Legendary accounts of the origin of the family are furnished by some later inscriptions. Thus, according to the Bhairanmaṭṭi stone inscription the eponymous founder of the family was a certain long-armed Sinda, who was born from the serpent king Dharaṇendra at Ahichchhatra in the region of the river Sindhu and reared by a tiger.⁴ According to another account Sinda was born from the union of the god Śiva and the river Sindhu and was brought up by the king of serpents on tiger's milk.⁵ It seems, therefore, that the original habitat of the family was somewhere in North India, probably in the valley of the Indus. Many of these Sinda or Chhinda kings call themselves *Bhōgavatī-pura-var-ādhiśvara* 'the lord of Bhōgavatī, the best of towns'. The exact location of Bhōgavatī is not settled, but according to the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* of Padmagupta it was situated to the south of the Narmadā, perhaps in the Bastar state.⁶

From their original home in North India several branches of the family migrated to the South and established themselves in different parts of the peninsula. According to one account the aforementioned Sinda married the daughter of a Kadamba king and had by her three sons who established the family of Sinda kings. This Sinda was probably a feudatory of the contemporary Kadamba king and seems to have been ruling somewhere in the Kuntala kingdom. The Jāvali plates⁷ of the Western Gaṅga prince Śrīpurusha-Prithivī-Kōṅṇi speaks of a *Sinda-vishaya* which, according to Mr. Rice⁸, extended over parts of the Dhārwar, Bijāpur and Bellary Districts. Another account states that the long-armed Sinda, the founder of the family, settled in the Karahāṭa-Four-thousand province, which evidently comprised the territory round Karhād in the Sātārā District of the Bombay Presidency. Later on we find several branches of the family established at Bāgaḍagē⁹ (Bāgalkōṭ in the Bombay Presidency), Erāmbargē¹⁰ (Yelburgā in the Nizām's Dominions) and Chakrakōṭya¹¹ (in the Bastar state).

¹ See Dhanapāla's *Pāṇalachchīmālā*, verse 198.

² Above, Vol. III, pp. 306 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 262.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 231.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 232.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, p. 151.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Introd., pp. 7 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. III, pp. 230 ff.

⁹ *J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 219 ff.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 174 ff.

¹¹ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, pp. 103 ff.

Most of these Sinda or Chhinda families distinguished themselves from the 10th to the 12th centuries A.D. as feudatories of the Later Chālukyas. But some we can trace to earlier times. The Nēsari plates¹ of the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III, dated Śaka 727, mention a prince named Nāgabastin who was an ornament of the great Chhinda family and belonged to the lineage of the lord of serpents. The family of Ādityavarman also was, as we have seen, a feudatory family which probably owed allegiance to the Rāshtrakūṭas.

We have not so far come across records of the Sindas or Chhindas earlier than the age of the Rāshtrakūṭas. But that does not mean that these families rose into prominence for the first time in the ninth century A.D. As we have already seen, the founder of the family was a contemporary and probably a feudatory of the Kadambas. He must, therefore, have lived in the fifth or sixth century A.D. when the Kadambas were powerful in the South. As a matter of fact we find in that age a family with the analogous name Sēndraka which was subordinate to the Kadambas. The territory under its rule was called *Sēndraka-vishaya*. From the statement in the Bennur grant² that the Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarman II made the gift of a village in the *Sēndraka-vishaya* while on a victorious march to Vijayantī (modern Banavāsi in North Kanara), it is conjectured that the *Sēndraka-vishaya* lay not far from the Banavāsi kingdom. It is generally identified with the Nagarakhanda division of the Banavāsi-Twelve-thousand which from another inscription³ is known to have been under the rule of the Sēndrakas. It was thus contiguous to, if not identical with, the *Sinda-vishaya* mentioned above. The Sēndrakas appear first as feudatories of the Kadambas,⁴ but on the downfall of the latter they transferred their allegiance to the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi, with whom some of them had become matrimonially connected.⁵ When Pulakēśin II conquered Mahārāshtra and Lāṭa from the Kalachuris, he placed a trusted Sēndraka chief named Bhānuśakti⁶ in charge of part of the conquered territory, viz., Southern Gujarāt and Khāndesh. Grants of land⁷ made by Bhānuśakti's grandson Allaśakti have been discovered in those parts of the country. Later on he was ousted from Southern Gujarāt, but he and his son continued to rule in Khāndesh. The latest record of the Sēndrakas found in Khāndesh is the Mundkhēḍē copper-plate inscription⁸ of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti, which is dated Śaka 602 (A.D. 680).

The inscriptions of the Sēndrakas do not generally connect their family with any eponymous hero, but the Lakshmēśvara stone inscription⁹ states that they were of the *bhujagēndr-ānvaya* or 'lineage of the king of serpents'. It seems, therefore, that the Sēndrakas came in course of time to be called Sindas or Chhindas; for, besides similarity in their names, the two families claimed descent from the same race and in some cases ruled over the same territory.

¹ G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediæval History of the Deccan* (Marāṭhī), Vol. I, pp. 15 ff.

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, pp. 594 ff.

³ See the Balagāmvē inscription of the time of Vinayāditya, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 142 ff.

⁴ See Hālsi grant of Hariyvarman, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 31.

⁵ The Sēndraka prince Śrīvallabha Sēnānandarāja was a maternal uncle of Pulakēśin II, above, Vol. III, pp. 50 ff.

⁶ No records of this chief have so far come to light, but as his grandson Allaśakti was ruling in A.D. 653 and 657, Bhānuśakti has to be placed in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. He was thus a contemporary of Pulakēśin II.

⁷ One of these was discovered at Bagumrā in South Gujarāt and two in Khāndesh. See *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 747. Bühler gives this chief's name as Nikumbhallaśakti, but Nikumbha was only a *biruda*. It is used as such with the name of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti also. The recently discovered Sēndraka plates spell the chief's name as Nikumbh-allaśakti. See *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 747.

⁸ This record was first published in the first volume of the Marāṭhī magazine *Prabhāta* of Dhūlia. See also the *An. Rep. of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhaka Maṇḍala*, for Śaka 1834, pp. 169 ff.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 106. This record is, however, held to be spurious.

After Jayaśakti we have no records of the Sēndrakas from Mahārāshtra. After the lapse of nearly three centuries we get the present grant of the Sinda family. It is not known if the family of Ādityavarman was connected with any other Sinda families. But we may note that the names Bhīma and Muñja, which occur in the present record, figure again as names of Sinda feudatories in the Tiḍgundi plates of the time of Vikramāditya VI. The similarity of names suggests some sort of connection between the two families. The present plates state that the banner of Ādityavarman had the figure of lion on it and it is noteworthy that the seal of the aforementioned Tiḍgundi plates also contains a figure which Kielhorn took to be that of a tiger or a lion.¹

As the provenance of the plates is not known, it would have been difficult to identify the **localities** mentioned in them, but the mention of the **Indra** river and a *layaṇa-giri* among the boundaries of the donated village affords an important clue. The former is evidently identical with the Indrāyaṇī river which forms the northern boundary of the Poona *tāluka*. The donated village **Kiṇihikā** is probably identical with Kinhai situated on the south bank of the Indrāyaṇī near Shelārwaḍi, about 16 miles North by West of Poona. There are some caves to the west of it.² Its situation therefore exactly answers to the description in the present plates. Paṅgarikā cannot, however, be traced in its vicinity. **Rāmatīrthikā**, the headquarters of the subdivision in which Kiṇihikā was included, is probably identical with Rāmatīrtha where Ushavādāta made certain gifts to Brāhmaṇas as recorded in a Nāsik cave inscription.³ The latter is taken by some to be a holy *kuṇḍa* situated in or near Śūrpāraka⁴ with which it is mentioned in the aforementioned inscription. But the description in the present plates shows that it was the headquarters of a small subdivision of eighty-four villages and must have been situated not very far from Kinhai. No place of that name can, however, be traced now in its neighbourhood. **Junninagara**, where the king's camp was pitched, is probably identical with Junnar,⁵ a well-known place about 55 miles north of Poona.

TEXT.⁶

First Plate⁷; First Side.

- 1 पू(त्र)णामतिदुर्जयः⁸ ॥१॥* तत[स्व]नूजय⁹ भीमाख्यो गु-
- 2 णराशिरभूवृ(त्र)पः । उदपादि ततः श्रीमान्मंजो मं-

¹ Above, Vol. III, pp. 307.

² There are about twenty caves at or near Shelārwaḍi, all of about the first or second century after Christ. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 212; *Cave Temples of India*, p. 246.

³ Inscription No. 10, above, Vol. VIII, p. 78.

⁴ As the inscription reads *Śōrpārāgē cha Rāmatīrthē*, Bhagwanlal and following him Senart take Rāmatīrtha to be the modern Rāmakuṇḍa reservoir in Śōpārā (see *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 572, n. 3 and above, Vol. VIII, p. 79). But the draftsman of the record has offended against Sanskrit grammar in other places also. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar translates the above expression as 'in Śōrpārāga and Rāmatīrtha' (see his *Collected Works*, Vol. III, p. 24) and Bühler as 'at Rāmatīrtha near Śōrpārāga' (see *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 100).

⁵ R. G. Bhandarkar suggested that Junnar was derived from Jirṇanagara (i.e., 'old town'). See *Collected Works*, Vol. III, p. 60.

⁶ From the original plates.

⁷ As stated above, this plate was originally the second or third plate of its set. It is now preserved in the Rājwāde Sainśōdhana Maṇḍala, Dhulīa.

⁸ Read *śatrūṇām=ati-durjayaḥ*. Metre of this and the next verse : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁹ Read *tatas=tanūjō*.

- 3 जगुणा[धि]कः ॥[२॥*] अहितकुलकालकेतुः चिंतामणिरा-
 4 मृ(त्रि)तजनानां(नाम्) [1*] आदित्यवर्ममतनयोभूततो धैर्यमहो-
 5 दधिः¹ ॥[३॥*] यच्च गर्भस्थोराचम[यु]वतिगर्भ[ह]ना[म्ना]² अ[प]रि-
 6 ण प्रख्यातः ॥ तदसौ समधिगताशेषमहा[श]ब्द(ब्दो) महापा(सा)-
 7 मंत(तो) दृष्टी(ष्टि)विषफणीन्द्रवंशोद्भव[ः*] सिन्दान्वयप्रसूत[ः*] [स्व]र्णम-
 8 यमृगेन्द्रध्वज[ः*] कुशली जुन्नित(न)गरावस्थितयोमदादित्यवर्मः³
 9 सर्वान्स्वसंव(व)ध्यमानकान् महामात्यसे[ना]पतिमहासाह[सि]-
 10 कराज[पु]त्रनगरग्रामस्थान(न्) पौरविस्त्रिजक⁴ग्राम[कू]टनि-
 11 युक्तानि[यु]क्तप्रधानाप्रधानन⁵ । समनुवो(वो)धयत्यस्तु वो वि-
 12 दितं यथा वाताहतजलतरंगवीचीभंगुरा विभवाः ।⁶ जरद्रा-
 13 क्षसीयस्यमान(नं) पचटिन⁷ विकारभागस्थिरं यौवन(नं) ।⁶ कृन्ता(ता)न्ता-
 14 स्यकुहरवर्तिजलवुडु⁸दवत्क्षणदृष्टनष्टमायुः [रं]भास्त[म्भ]-
 15 सारवदसारं शरीरकं ।⁶ स्वप्नोपालंभमृगदृष्टिकाभःसम(मं)
 16 वा[पि] गन्धर्वनगराप(प)मम[स]त्क[ल्प]प्रायं च चा[रु]क(त्वं)

First Plate ; Second Side.

- 17 चला विभूतिः क्षणभंगि यौवनं ।⁹ कृतान्तदंतांत[र]वर्त्ति
 18 यौवनं(नम्)¹⁰ [1*] तथाप्यवज्ञा परलोकसास(ध)ने अहो नृणां विस्मयका-

¹ Metre Upagiti. The last pāda of this verse is faulty.

² Read garbbhasthō=rāti-yuvati-garbbhaha-nāmn=āparēva.

³ Read Śrīmad-Adityavarmā.

⁴ I have not come across the name of this official elsewhere. Perhaps he is identical with the Purapati (Mayor of a town) mentioned in the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita, above, Vol. III, p. 273.

⁵ Read pradhān-āpradhānān. The following daṇḍa is superfluous.

⁶ This daṇḍa is unnecessary.

⁷ Read pratidinam.

⁸ Read jala-budbudavat=.

⁹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁰ As yauvanam is already mentioned, some word like jivanam is required here. The aforementioned Bhādāna grant has jivitaṁ in this verso.

- 19 रि चेष्टितं(तम्)¹ ॥[४॥*] तथा च । संपदो जलतरंगविलोलाः यौवनं चिचतु-
 20 राणि [दि]नानि । शारदाभ्रचलचंचलमायुः किं ध[नैः] कुरुत धर्मम-
 21 निन्द्य(द्यम्)² ॥[५॥*] सर्वमेवासत्कल्पमेवमवगत्य धर्म एवैकः सा(शा)[स्व]त[सु](स)-
 22 ङ्ग[ः*] सखा व(व)सुरमुचा³पर[त्र] च नान्योभूतीत्यवधार्य शकनृपकान्ताती-
 23 तसंवत्सरशतेश्वष्टयु(सु) सप्ताशीत्यधिकेषु क्रोधनसंव[त्स]रान्तर्ग-
 24 तचैवामावा[स्या]मादित्यग्रहणपर्वणि मी(मा)तापित्रोरैहिका-
 25 मुष्मिकफलावामय आत्मनश्च मुख्ययशोभितृद्वये पूर्व-
 26 जैरग्रहारस्थित्या पतदीयातीतपुरुषाणां प्रतिपालितोवि-
 27 [रुध]⁴रि[दा]नीं सर्वपरिहारान्विधाय मया मध्यवे(दि)गविनिर्गतकौ-
 28 णिण(ण्ड)न्यसगोत्रव(त्र)हूत्र[शा]स्त्रासन्न(न्न)ह्यचारिणि महादिजाय श्री-
 29 नवशिवाय श्रीचन्द्रभट्टसुताय परमया भक्त्या पांदा⁵ प्रज्ञास्य ह-
 30 स्तोदकप्रदानपूर्वकं रामतीर्थि[का]चतुरशीति[कान्तः]पातिकि-
 31 णिहिकाग्रामः पं[ग]रिकाग्राम एवाभ्यन्तरः पूर्वदत्तदेवदायत्र(त्र)-
 32 ह्य[दा]यवा(वा)ह्यः व(व)ह्यग्रामदे(?)विज्ञकग्राम⁶विहो(?)लासमेतः प्रद-
 33 त्तः [1*] यस्याघट्टनानि [पु]र्व्वतः सीमा [चे]मयणपतिः

Second Plate.

- 34 दक्षिणतः सीमा च चैरी डोङ्गरिका । पश्चिमतः सीमा लय-
 35 गगिरिः । उत्तरतः सीमा इन्द्रनदी । एवं चतुराघाटसमे-
 36 तः साभ्यन्तरसिद्धिः सदण्डदशापराधोपि भवि[त्थ]⁷दागामिभोक्तृ-

¹ Metre : *Pāṇḍastha*.

² Metre : *Saṅgāthā*.

³ *Aparātra* seems to have been used here in the sense of *atra*.

⁴ Perhaps *pratipālī-āśirvādham-iddānīm* is the intended reading.

⁵ Read *pāda*.

⁶ Compare with this the expression *māhā (t) vallihā-pratīśukā* in ll. 41-42 of the Tōrkshō plates (above, Vol. III, p. 56).

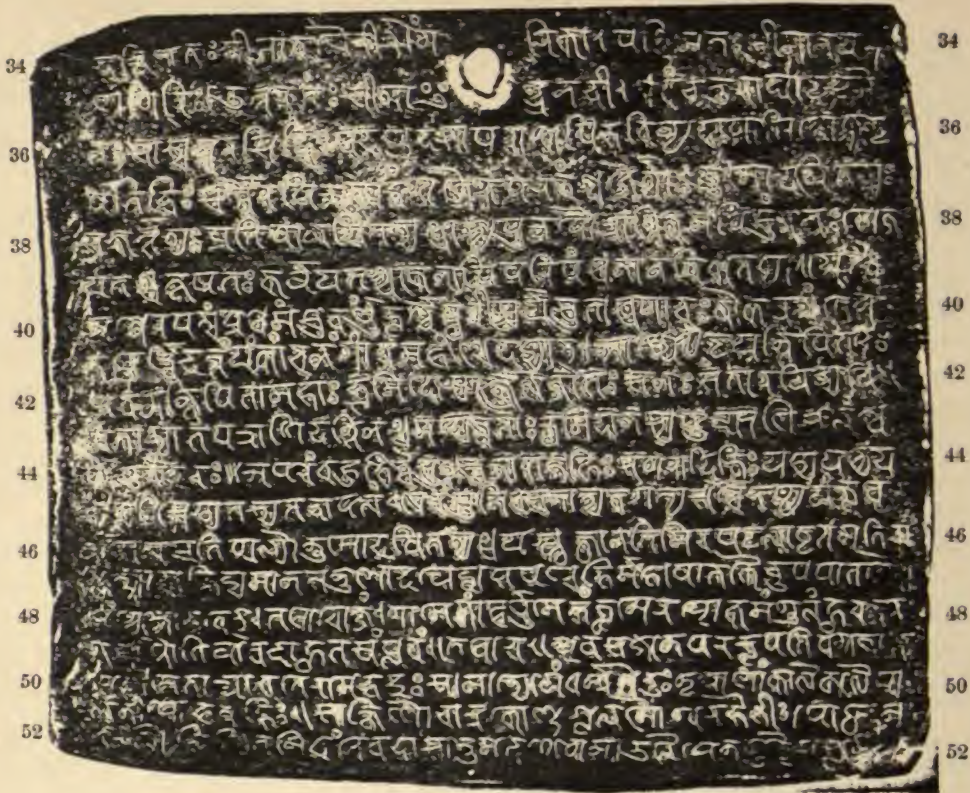
⁷ This plate was originally the third or fourth plate of its set. It is now preserved in the Bhārata Jihās Samśodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona.

⁸ This word, which means the same as *āpāmi*, is superfluous.

पुष्पमन्त्रि दुर्ग ३॥ तत् ॥ १ ॥ २ ॥ ३ ॥ ४ ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥ ११ ॥ १२ ॥ १३ ॥ १४ ॥ १५ ॥ १६ ॥ १७ ॥ १८ ॥ १९ ॥ २० ॥ २१ ॥ २२ ॥ २३ ॥ २४ ॥ २५ ॥ २६ ॥ २७ ॥ २८ ॥ २९ ॥ ३० ॥ ३१ ॥ ३२ ॥ ३३ ॥ ३४ ॥ ३५ ॥ ३६ ॥ ३७ ॥ ३८ ॥ ३९ ॥ ४० ॥ ४१ ॥ ४२ ॥ ४३ ॥ ४४ ॥ ४५ ॥ ४६ ॥ ४७ ॥ ४८ ॥ ४९ ॥ ५० ॥ ५१ ॥ ५२ ॥ ५३ ॥ ५४ ॥ ५५ ॥ ५६ ॥ ५७ ॥ ५८ ॥ ५९ ॥ ६० ॥ ६१ ॥ ६२ ॥ ६३ ॥ ६४ ॥ ६५ ॥ ६६ ॥ ६७ ॥ ६८ ॥ ६९ ॥ ७० ॥ ७१ ॥ ७२ ॥ ७३ ॥ ७४ ॥ ७५ ॥ ७६ ॥ ७७ ॥ ७८ ॥ ७९ ॥ ८० ॥ ८१ ॥ ८२ ॥ ८३ ॥ ८४ ॥ ८५ ॥ ८६ ॥ ८७ ॥ ८८ ॥ ८९ ॥ ९० ॥ ९१ ॥ ९२ ॥ ९३ ॥ ९४ ॥ ९५ ॥ ९६ ॥ ९७ ॥ ९८ ॥ ९९ ॥ १०० ॥

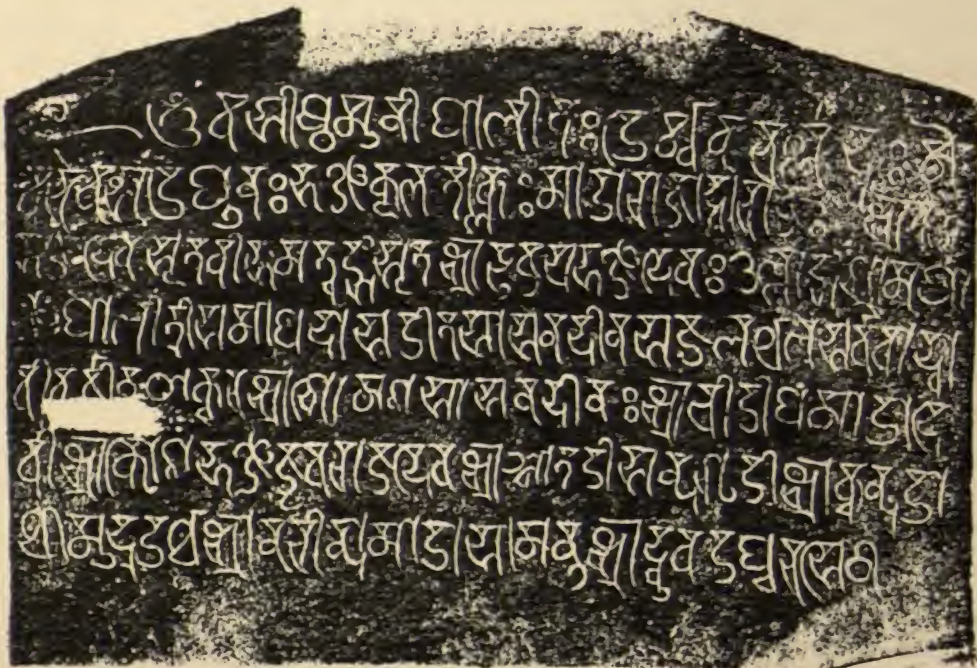
First Plate: Second Side.

18
20
22
24
26
28
30
32



SCALE: ONE-HALF.

ADIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF DURJAYABHANJA.



SCALE: FOUR FIFTHS.

- 37 पतिभिः सर्वैरपि अस्मद्वंशजैरपरवंशजैर्वाऽनुमोदयितव्यः
- 38 सत्कर्त्तव्यः प्रतिपालयितव्यश्चास्¹ पुत्रपौत्रान्तिकमपि भुञ्जतः भोज-
- 39 यतश्च कृपतः कर्षयतश्च केनापि परिपंथना न विधातव्या ॥ यतः
- 40 अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वर्णवौ सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [1*] लोकत्रयं तेन
- 41 भ[वि]र्दि² दत्तं यं(यः) कांचनं गां च महीश्च दद्यात् [1६॥*]³ आस्फोटयन्ति⁴
पितरः
- 42 प्रव[ला]न्ति पितामहाः [1*] भूमिदोस्मत्कुले जातः स नः संतारयिष्यति ॥[७॥*]
- 43 सितान्यातपत्राणि⁵ दन्तिनश्च मदोदताः [1*] भूमिदानस्य पु[ष्पा]णि फलं [स्व]-
- 44 द्य(र्गः) पुरंदरः⁶ ॥[८॥*] अपरं च [1*] व(व)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरा-
दिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य य-
- 45 दा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[९॥*] एवं मुनिवचनान्यवगत्य [स]र्वैर-
प्ययं भूध-
- 46 [र्म]दाय[1*] प्रतिपाल्योनुमोदयितव्यश्च [1*] यस्त्वज्ञानतिमिरपटलादृतमतिरा-
- 47 च्छि[न्धा]दाच्छिद्यमान[म]नुमोदयेद्वा स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैरुपपातकै[श्च]
- 48 संयु[क्तो] भवेत् । तथा चोक्तं(क्तम्) । गामिकां स्वर्णमिकां [च*] भूमेरप्येक-
मगुलं(लम्) । हरद्वर-
- 49 कमा[प्रो]ति यावदाहृतसंप्लवं(वम्) ॥[१०॥*] तथा च ॥ स्ववंशजान(न्) परभू-
पतिवंशजान्वा
- 50 सर्वामि(ने)तान्याचते रामभद्रः [1*] सामान्योर्यं धर्मसेतुः नृपाणां⁷ काले काले ॥
- 51 लनीयो भवद्भिः⁸ ॥[११॥*] साक्षिणौ चात्र⁹ कोण्डगू(?)ल मौख[र]हेहीः । पाठभ १।म-
- 52 तिलो(?) लिखितमिदं रेवदासानुमतं गोगमाउरैवेन बुद्धैयाष्टमि[न] १ [1*]

¹ Read *pratipālayitavyaś=cha* | *Aśya*.² Read *bhaved=dhi*.³ Metre : *Indravajrā*.⁴ Metre of verses 7-10 : *Anuṣṭubh*.⁵ This *pāda* has one *akṣhara* wanting. Read *Susitāny*-. The usual reading is *dhavalāny*.⁶ This *visarga* is superfluous.⁷ Read *sētur=nripāṇām*.⁸ Metre : *Śālinī*. The first *pāda* is irregular.⁹ We are not sure about the reading of the last thirteen *akṣharas* in lines 51 and 52 each.

No. 16.—ADIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF DURJAYABHANJA.

BY KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M.A.

This copper-plate was in possession of one Rajakisor Pattanayak of Adipur, a village about three miles to the north-west of Khiching, the ancient capital of the rulers of Mayūrbhanj. The owner at first brought it to the notice of Mr. Sailendra Prasad Bose of the Khiching Museum and then of Mr. K. C. Neogi, the Dewan of the Mayurbhanj State, who acquired it for the Archaeological Museum at Bāripadā. Mr. P. Acharya, the State-Archaeologist, handed it over to Pandit Binayak Misra of the Calcutta University for publication. I am indebted to Pandit Misra for the kind permission he has given me for editing the plate.

The plate measures about 8" × 6" and contains an inscription of only seven lines on its obverse. A seal surmounted by an *amalaka* is attached to the top, which contains in relief the figure of a couchant humped bull but no legend. The engraving has been neatly and carefully done and the inscription is in perfect preservation. The characters used in this grant point to an age when the Oriya characters were in the process of assuming their present forms. This is evident from the forms of *śh* (1.1), *ṣ* (1.2), *p* (1.3), *ṭh* (1.4), *ḥ* (1.5), and *ṣ* (1.6) which distinctly look like the modern Oriya characters.

The letters of this plate especially the letters *ṣ*, *ḥ*, *p*, *ṛ*, *ḥ*, and *ṣ* closely resemble those used in the Mahada Plates of Yōgēśvaradēvavarman¹ and the Patna Museum Plate of Sōmāśvaradēva². On palaeographical grounds the latter grant has been assigned to the fourteenth or fifteenth century A. D. though the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri was not inclined to assign such a late date to it.³ The orthography of the plate deserves more than a passing notice. Though an attempt has been made to compose the text in Sanskrit as is evident from the use of several *vīśargas*, the composer of the inscription seems to have no knowledge in Sanskrit at all. The text makes no distinction between the long and short vowels, nor does it often use the three sibilants—dental, palatal and lingual—correctly, a fact which has been illustrated throughout the inscription. It also presents a number of phonetic peculiarities of colloquial Oriya language, e.g., *Hērama* (1.1), *ḥaddha* (1.1), *uptana* (1.2), *ṭikla* (1.2), *māhārājādhirāja* (1.2), *vibhama* (1.3), *Durjaya* (1.3), *sāsana-dīna* (1.4), *sa-jala-thala* (1.4), *sandayirihī* (1.5), *mudrahārtha* (1.7), *Narindā* (1.7) and *pura-sṛṣṭhī* (1.7) which are the corrupt forms of Sanskrit *Hērama*, *ḥaddha*, *utpanna*, *ṭilaka*, *māhārājādhirāja*, *vibhrama*, *Durjaya*, *sāsan-ādīna*, *sa-jala-sthala*, *sandhivirakha*, *mudrā-hasta*, *Narēndra* and *pura-śrēṣṭhī* respectively. Another peculiarity of the text is that it contains no verb at all⁴, and its sense can be made out only by adding certain verbs in their proper places. I have deemed it better to publish the text as it is, for, an attempt to correct it will result in its wholesale change.

The introductory passages common to the Bhañja records of Mayūrbhanj, are conspicuous in this grant by their absence. The inscription abruptly begins with certain epithets of **Raṇa-bhañjadēva**, surnamed **Vibhramatūṅga**⁵, representing him as having been nurtured by the sage Vasiṣṭha, as a receiver of boon from Hērama, as born in the Mivara family and as the frontal mark of the Bhañja lineage. He has further been given the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. Then it gives out that his son **Durjayabhañjadēva**, who has been given no title at all, granted the village **Ōḥaṅga** along with **Pāñchapālī** and **Trisamāpadā** (probably two other villages)

¹ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 218 ff.² Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 97 ff.³ *P. B. A. S., E.C.*, 1916-17, p. 4, para. 5.⁴ [The text does contain a verb and that twice, which Mr. Panigrahi seems to have overlooked. In l. 4 *sāsana dīna* and again in l. 5 *sāsana dīna* mean 'grant has been given', the form *dīna* 'given' being derivable from the Prakrit *dīna*.—B.C.C.]⁵ [Dr. Majumder assigns this surname to Durjayabhañja; see above, p. 15].—Ed.]

to Thākura śrī-Gōmaṭa for unimpeded enjoyment. At the time the grant was made, Chihīpa the chief queen, Kōṭabhañja the heir-apparent, Ātaḥī the Minister for war and peace, Kunda-hāthī the custodian of the Royal Seal, Narindā the chief feudatory and Ddhuvaha the town-banker were present.

Durjayabhañjadēva, the donor, has been represented in this record as the son of Raṇabhañjadēva and the father of Kōṭabhañja. In the Keshari plate of Śatrubhañjadēva,¹ however, Durjayabhañja figures as the son of Kōṭabhañja and the father of Raṇabhañja. Evidently the donor of the present grant is not identical with Durjayabhañja of the Keshari plate. Until further discoveries are made, it is not possible to assign a place to Durjayabhañja of this record in the Bhañja genealogical table.

The plate does not mention the traditional account relating to the origin of the Bhañjas as other Bhañja grants of Mayūrbhanj do. It, however, refers to a Mivara family (ll. 1-2) to which Raṇabhañjadēva is said to have belonged. Judging from the numerous mistakes of the text, it may at once be conceded that Mivara is a mistake for Mivāra (Mawār in Rājputānā). The author of the inscription, therefore, seems to refer the original home of the Bhañjas to Mewār. But the tradition² ascribes the connection of the Mayūrbhanj family with Jaipur which was never a part of Mewār. Moreover, the name Mewār itself is not to be found in early inscriptions. This, together with the unorthodox style in which the plate has been written, points to the fact that the document was drawn up by a person sometime about the fifteenth century A. D., who not only did not know much about the copper-plate grants, but also did not know the origin, either real or traditional, of the family he was describing.³

The villages Pāñchapālī and Ōllānga may conveniently be identified with Pañchupālī and Dēlāng, both situated in the Anandpur Sub-division of the Keonjhar State. As to the village Trisamāpadā, I cannot suggest any identification.

TEXT.⁴

- 1 Siddham⁵ [!]^{*} Ōm Vasiṣṭha-muni-pālitaḥ Hērmva-vaṇa-laddhaḥ Mi-
- 2 vara-vaṇsa-uptanaḥ Bhañja-kūla-tiklaḥ mākārājāddhirājaḥ śrī-Raṇa-
- 3 bhañjadēva-sūta Vibhamatuṅga-sūta śrī-Durjayabhañjadēvaḥ Ōllānga-grāma Pā-
- 4 ṇchapālī Trisamāpadā sahita sāsanadīna sa-jala-thala sarva-vāddhā
- 5 vīvarjita Thākura śrī-Gōmaṭa sāsanadīnaḥ śrī-Chihīpa-māhādā-
- 6 vi śrī-Kōṭabhañja-jūvarājadēva śrī-Ātaḥī-sandagrihi śrī-Kundahā-
- 7 thi-mudrahartha śrī-Narindā-māhāsāmanta śrī-Ddhuvaha-purasēthi [!]^{*}

No. 17.—HALAYUDHASTOTRA FROM THE AMARESVARA TEMPLE.

By PROF. P. P. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, B.A. (OXON.), M.A. (MADRAS).

Halāyudha (one who wields the *halā* or plough as a weapon) is a well known name in Sanskrit literature. Dr. Aufrecht has listed more than sixteen works under Halāyudha. On the inner

¹ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIII, p. 429.

² Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 290.

³ [All these combined with the fact that the language of the record is full of errors seem to show that the grant never passed through the secretariate and thus makes one doubtful about its genuineness.—Ed.]

⁴ From ink-impressions and the original.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

side of the southern wall in the *mandapa* of the **Amarēśvara Temple** at **Māndhātā** on the left bank of the river Narmadā in the Ninnar District of the Central Provinces is carved a *stōtra* called the **Halāyudha-stōtra** (vide Hiralal, *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), p. 84, No. 151). Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, has been good enough to send me an impression of this *stōtra*. There are several manuscripts of the Halāyudha-stōtra in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (D. Nos. 11271 to 11278). A critical edition of the Halāyudha-stōtra, using the text as appearing on the Amarēśvara temple wall as the basic text (*) and giving variant readings from three other manuscripts of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library is appended to this note. The record at the Amarēśvara temple is dated **Samvat 1120, Kārtika-vadi 13** or A. D. 1063.

From the *stōtra* above referred to, we are sure that its author Halāyudha must have been a staunch devotee of Śiva. We agree with Dr. Chakravarti that as the *stōtra*-record is dated 1063 A.D., the author of the *stōtra* must have lived prior to the 11th century and could not therefore be identical with the famous Halāyudha who adorned the court of King Lakshmapasēna of Bengal and who is the author of several *sarvasvas* like *Brāhmapasarsava*, *Paṇḍitaparsava*, *Mimāṃsāpasarsava*, etc.

The Telugu poet Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha who lived about 1190 A.D., refers in his *Deipada Basavapurāṇa* to a Halāyudha, a follower of the Śaiva cult, and who was a native of Navagrāma. The last verse of the *stōtra* in the Amarēśvara temple distinctly refers to its author as a native of the village Navagrāma. We are therefore on sure ground if we identify the author of the *stōtra* with the Halāyudha referred to by Sōmanātha as an ardent devotee of Śiva. The last stanza above referred to reads as follows :

Dvijō dakṣiṇa-Rādhīyō Navagrāma-vinirgataḥ |

Halāyudha-vu(bu)dhas-Śambhōr-īmārḥ stutim-arīrachat || (v. 64)

Of the works listed under the name Halāyudha by Aufrecht, the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* deserves our attention. In stanza 25, p. 4, of the work edited by Aufrecht in 1861 we find that among the several names of Viṣṇu, 'Śambhu' also is given as one. This is rather interesting as it reveals the mentality of the author. No other lexicographer has given the name Śambhu as synonymous with Viṣṇu. And only a staunch Virāṣaiva, who believes that every word should ultimately denote only 'Śiva' as Śiva is all-pervasive, could have allowed himself to use 'Śambhu' as a synonym of Viṣṇu. Thus, it is not too much to assume the identity of authorship between the author of the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* and the Halāyudha-stōtra.

In his instructive introduction, Dr. Aufrecht has argued that Halāyudha the lexicographer should be assigned to a date earlier than the eleventh century A.D. And we find that the author of the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* should be identical with the author of the *Kavirahasya* as the last stanza of the last mentioned work reads as follows :

Iti samāptam-avāpta-guṇ-ōdayam Kavirahasyam-idaṁ rāsika-priyam |

śaṅk-ābhidhāna-nidhāna-Halāyudha-dvija-varasya kritiḥ sukrit-ātmanah ||

The third quarter is indeed an indirect reference, in accepted poetic style, to the author's other work, his lexicon, *Abhidhānaratnamālā*. Dr. Keith has fixed the date of Halāyudha, the author of *Kavirahasya* as contemporaneous with his patron the Rāshtrakūṭa King Kṛishṇa III.

We therefore conclude that the author of the Halāyudha-stōtra should be identical with Halāyudha, the author of the *Kavirahasya* and the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* and should have flourished in the latter half of the tenth century A.D.

The edition of the *stōtra* is based on four texts of which *म* is the record found at the Amarēśvara temple, and is printed as the basic text.

अ represents the manuscript described in D. No. 11271.

क represents the palm-leaf manuscript written in Telugu script described in D. No. 11274.

ग represents the paper manuscript in Telugu script described in D. No. 11272.

TEXT.

[Metres : vv. 1-61, *Mandākrāntā* ; vv. 62, 64, *Anushtubh* ; v. 63, *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

- 1 १ ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ विघ्नं निघ्नन्दिदवदनः प्रीतये वोस्तु^१ नित्यं वामे कूटः प्रकटितवृ(ष्ट)हृदक्षिणस्थूलदन्तः । यः श्रीकण्ठं पितरमुमयाञ्जितवामार्द्धदेहं दृष्ट्वा नूनं स्वयमपि ^२दधान्वनारीश्वरत्वं(त्वम्) ॥१॥ श्लाघ्यः पुत्रः स भवति किल स्वस्य वसुः सकाशाद्वत्ते कै[श्चित् कचिदपि गुणैर्य]-^३
- 2 : समुत्कर्षलेखाम् । इत्थं वाङ्क(वाञ्छ)न् पितुरधिकतां पञ्चवक्त्रस्य नूनं षष्ठं वि(वि)भ्रह-
दनमपरं पातु विघ्नं विशाखः ॥२॥ एको देवः स जयति शिवः केवल^४ज्ञान-
मूर्तिर्देवी सा च त्रिभुवनमिदं यद्विभूतिप्रपञ्चः । यत्कूटस्थं मिथुनमविनाभाव-
संबन्ध(बन्ध)योगान्मिथी[भूतं तदखिलजगज्ज]-
- 3 अर्चयिष्ये नमामि ॥३॥ एकः स्रष्टा सकलजगतामादिभूतः स्वयंभूस्त्राता तेषां त्रिभुव-
नगुरुर्व्यासुदेवः प्रसिद्धः । यस्तौ द्वावप्यतु^५लमहिमा संहरत्यन्तकाले कस्तस्यान्यो
भवति सदृशः श्रीमहाकालमूर्तेः ॥४॥ वक्तुं वाञ्छां हर निरवधि त्वन्महिम्नः
[स्वरूपं चेतश्चैतत्क]-
- 4 तिपयपदज्ञानमात्रावसन्नं(ब्रम्) । ^६ज्ञात्वैवेदं विनयन^७ मया त्वद्गुणस्तोत्रभक्त्या स्वात्मन्येव
स्वयमपि कृतो धृष्टतापद्व(व)न्धः ॥५॥ वागीशस्त्वं युगपदखिलज्ञानसंपत्तियुक्तः
का ते^८ तुष्टिः स्तुतिरचनया मादृशस्याल्पशक्तेः । एवं ज्ञात्वा हर विर[मति स्तोत्र-
हेतौ हठा]-
- 5 नमो भक्त्यावेशाद्यसरति सुखाद्भारती किं करोमि ॥६॥ यत्ते तत्त्वं निरूपधि परं
वाङ्मनःपारभूतं ब्र(ब्र)ह्मादीनामपि हर गिरस्तत्र भग्नाः प्रवेष्टुं(ष्टुम्) । अर्वा-
चीनं यदपरमिदं^९ पार्वतीवल्लभन्ते रूपं भक्त्या वरद तदहं वाग्भिरभ्यर्चयामि
॥७॥ अन्यैः स्तो[त्रं रचितममृतस्यं]-

^१ नोऽस्तु (ग)

^२ दधान्वर्धं (ग)

^३ The portion between square brackets in this and the following verses has been restored from manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

^४ केवलं (क)

^५ अमल (क)

^६ विनयन (अ, क)

^७ काले (ग)

^८ ज्ञात्वा च (ग)

^९ यदि परिमितं (क), यदि परिमितं (अ)

- 6 दिभिर्व्याखिलासेः फलाप्रायैः किमिदमियता लब्धते महचोभिः । किं वा कैचित्कन-
ककमलैरर्चितं पादपीठं भक्त्या शंभो न पुनरपरः¹ पूजयत्वर्कपुष्पैः ॥८॥ पथ्या-
हारो² हर जलमुचां यौ च यौ पक्व(इ)जानां मित्रामिचौ वरद हवि[पां
दाहकप्राहकौ]
- 7 यौ । यौ शंभस्व प्रजनवह्नौ तानहं तुष्टिहेतो³रष्टौ वन्दे त्रिभुवनगुरोर्मूर्तिर्भदास्तवे-
तान् ॥८॥ सन्मा(संसा)रेस्त्रिभुवमसुलभं मानुषं जन्म जन्मा(व्या) युष्मानेको
भजति सुकृतो कश्चिदन्धं च देवं(वम्)⁴ । आरूढोऽपि स्मरहर गिरिं रीक्षणं
भाग्ययो[गादेको रत्नं कलय]-
- 8 ति महत्काचमन्यच्च फल्गु⁵ ॥१०॥ ये त्वामर्हन्मुगत इति वा भक्तियोगाद्भजन्ते तेभ्यः
शम्भो फलमभिमतं त्वं ददासीति युक्तं(क्तम्) । अध्वकान्तैः स्वरुचिरुचिरं नाम
किञ्चिद्ब्रूहीत्वा शीतं पीतं जलमिह जनैः किं न वृत्तिं करोति ॥११॥ [आदि-
त्यादिशङ्ख]-
- 9 रिकारो याति चायाति नित्यं कालखायं दिवसरजनीपक्षमासर्तुचिह्नः । एतत्सर्वं ननु
[न घटते] प्रेरकत्वं विना ते कार्यं चास्मिन्न पुनरपरस्यास्ति सामर्थ्यमेतत्
॥१२॥ तस्यागारं गिरिश रमते धेनुवत्कामधेनुः क्रीडावाटे विटपि[सहजः
कल्पते क]-
- 10 [लपञ्चः । लाचारक्षामणिरिव करे तस्य चिन्तामणिः स्थायस्मिन् सिद्धः¹⁰ सकृदपि
कृपादृष्टिपातप्रसादः¹¹ ॥१३॥ मौलौ लोलचिदगतटिनीतोयशीतैश्चतांशुं कण्ठे क्रूरं
ज्वलितविषश्रामले व्यालराजं(जम्) । ज्योक्तागौरं [वपुषि वि]-
- 11 शदं वि(वि)भ्रतो भस्मरागं ज्ञाता सम्यक्निनयन¹² मया योगभूषा तवैव¹³ ॥१४॥ घत्ते
शोभां युष्मन्तिलकस्पर्धि चक्षुर्ललाटे मौलौ लम्बा¹⁴ चिदगतटिनी मालतीमालिकेव ।
ज्जेडं क्रीडासुगमदमयो पञ्चलेखेव कण्ठे [आद्यः शम्भो स्फुरति सहजः को]-
- 12 पि भूषाविधिस्ते ॥१५॥ दग्धं धेन त्रिभुवनसिदं देव दुर्वारधाम्ना दग्धः सोपि
चिनयन¹⁵ भ[व]दृष्टिपातेन कामः । युक्तं चैतद्भवति पुरुषो यः परस्योपतापी

¹ पुनरपि परः (ग)² पथ्याहारौ (च)³ दृष्टिहेतोः (घ, ग), दृष्टिहेतोः (क)⁴ देहम् (क)⁵ मन्वयोगान् (म)⁶ फल्गुम् (ग)⁷ Four letters seem to have been first engraved after this and then erased.⁸ कावे (क)⁹ क्रीडावाटीविटपि (क, ग)¹⁰ [To me the reading here seems to be "यसा[सी]दः —Ed.]¹¹ दृष्टिपातः प्रसादः (घ, क)¹² निनयन (क, ग)¹³ [I read स्यायोगभूषा तवैव —Ed.]¹⁴ मया (क)¹⁵ निनयन (क, ग)

तस्यावश्यं पतति शिरसि क्रोधदण्डः प्रभूणां(णाम्) ॥१६॥ कस्य चेमो भ[वति
बलिना स्पर्धमानस्य सार्धं]

13 यस्त्वत्कोपाच्चिनयन¹ भवच्चक्षु[पा वच्चि]तोभूत् । प्रेम्णा दष्टेऽधरकिसलये दृष्टवान् यः
स गामी² लीलानृत्यचतुरवनिताभ्रूलताप्रेक्षणानि ॥१७॥ ये दारिद्र्योपहतवपुषो
ये च दीर्भाग्यदग्धा ये वा शत्रुव्यसनविकला ये च मौर्ख्योपतप्ताः³ । [ये
वा कैश्चित् चिनय⁴]-

14 न⁴ दृढं पीडिता⁵ दुःखशोकैस्तोषामेकस्वमसि⁶ शरणं तर्षितानामिवाश्रयः ॥१८॥ आर्घ्यं
जन्म श्रुतिपरिणतिः सत्क्रियायां प्रवृत्तिः प्रौढिः शास्त्रे ललितमधुरा संस्कृता
भारती च । स्मृता लक्ष्मीर्वपुरपि दृढं चन्द्रलेखाङ्गमौले⁷ युष्मत्सेवा[पद⁸विरहितं
सर्वमे]-

15 तत्पलालं(लम्) ॥१९॥ त्वत्पूजायां कुसुमहरणे धावतः पादयुग्मं⁹ यत्पाषाणव्र[ज]परिकरो-
त्कीर्णरेखाङ्गमासीत् । यत्तस्यैव¹⁰ त्वदनु चरतो रुद्रलोकं गतस्य व्र(त्र)ह्मादीनां¹¹ मकुट-
किरणश्रेणयः शोणयन्ति¹² ॥२०॥ येषां युष्मत्प्रतिकृतिगृहं लि[म्पतां पाणयो ये¹³ त्व]-

16 इक्तानां सलिललुलितैर्गोमयैः संप्रलिप्ताः । तेषामीश चिदशनगरीनायकत्वं गतानां
ते लिप्यन्ते मृगमदरसैः खेचरीणां कुचेषु ॥२१॥ यस्ते कृत्वा स्रपनममृतैः पञ्च-
भिद्यन्द्रमौले पद्यात्कैश्चित्कुसुमनिकरैर्मूर्ध्नि बध्नाति [मालाम् । तस्यावश्यं]

17 सकलभुवनैकाधिपत्याभिपिक्ते¹⁴ बध्नन्त्यन्ये¹⁵ शिरसि परमैश्वर्यसाम्राज्यपट्टम् ॥२२॥ एतच्चित्रं
क्वचिदपि मया नैव दृष्टं श्रुतं वा तद्विस्पष्टं कथय किमिदन्नाथ कौतूहलं मे ।
यत्ते भक्त्या हर चरणयोरर्पितं पुष्पमेकं सद्यः सूते फल[मभिमतं कीटि]-

18 शः कामरूपं(पम्) ॥२३॥ यस्ते भक्त्या वरद चरणद्वन्द्वमुद्दिश्य दद्यादेकं नीलो-
त्पलदलमपि त्वत्प्रसादेन नूनं(नम्) । तत्प्रत्यंतं निपतति पुनर्दृष्टिरालोल¹⁶तारैर्दिव्य-
स्त्रीणां कुवलयदलश्रेणिदीर्घैः कटाक्षैः ॥२४॥ कृत्वा मालां घनपरिमलो[द्गार-
धाराकदम्बै]-

¹ चिनयन (क, ग)

² यस्य गामी (ग), यः स कामी (म) [Reading seems to be दृष्टवान्प्र कामे.—Ed.]

³ मौर्ख्यावतप्ताः (ग)

⁴ चिनयन (क, ग)

⁵ दुःखिता (ग)

⁶ त्वमपि (क)

⁷ यस्मिन् (ग)

⁸ फल (ग)

⁹ यः पाषाणं व्रजपरिकरोत्कीर्णरेखाङ्गमासीत् (ग)

¹⁰ त्वदनुभवतां (ग)

[Reading is परिकरोद्गीर्णरेखाङ्गमासीत्तस्यैव.—Ed.]

¹¹ मकुट (क)

¹² शोणयन्ते (ग)

¹³ प्राङ्गण्यं (ग)

¹⁴ भुवनैकाधिपत्याभिपेक्षैः (ग)

¹⁵ [Reading is बध्नासि त्वं.—Ed.]

¹⁶ दृष्टतानील (ग)

- 19 यंस्ते कण्ठाभरणपदवीं प्रापयित्रीलकण्ठ । दिव्यस्त्रीणां विपुलपुलकैर्बाहुभिः कण्ठ-
लम्बैस्तस्यापि त्वं वितरसि चिरं निर्भर्(भं)राशेषसौख्यं(स्वम्) ॥२५॥ कृत्वा पूजां
तव चरणयोरादरादष्टमूर्ते यः साष्टाङ्गं प्रणमति महीष्ट(ठ)पीटे(ठे) लुठित्वा ।
प्रत्यास[न्नं] चित्तिपतिपदं]
- 20 प्रीतिव(व)हानुरागा तस्मैत्वङ्गे लुठति धरणी रेणुकच्छलेन ॥२६॥ त्वामुद्दिश्य चिन्-
यन् जनो यः प्रदीपं ददाति ज्योतिर्वासादलिततिमिरं द्योतितान्तर्निर्जेतं(तम्) ।
तस्मै सायारजनिविलसद्वाटमोहान्धकारच्छेदप्रौढं त्वमपि दि[शसि] ज्ञानमात्मप्रका]-
- 21 सं(ग्रम्) ॥२७॥ चित्रैर्मांलारचितकुसुमैर्धूर्जटे^१ पूजयित्वा यः स्तौति त्वां जय जय
महादेव देवेति^२ वाचा । सोप्यारोहकर तव पुरं^३ मौलिव(व)हाञ्चलीनां शक्रा-
दीनां स्तुतिविषयतां त्वत्प्रसादात्प्रयाति ॥२८॥ भस्मस्नानं वहसि शिरसा स्त[र्धुनी]-
वारिभारं^४ शा-
- 22 तां मूर्तिः(त्तिं) कलयसि करे कार्मुकं युक्तमेतत् । अथन्येषां कतिपयपुरस्सामिनां
चित्रभूताशेषा इष्टास्त्रिभुवनपतेः किं महेशस्य न स्युः ॥२९॥ त्वामाराध्य
त्व(त्तिं)दशपतयो भुञ्जते राज्यनक्ष्मी भिक्षाभुञ्जं तदपि च महादेवशब्दै(ब्दै)क-
वाच्यः । [नैराशिश्वं वरद]
- 23 परमैश्वर्यकोटिप्रतिष्ठं^५ तच्चेदस्ति त्वयि किमपरैः फलुभिः शीविलासैः^६ ॥३०॥ अस्थि-
धयिः पिलवनभवं मम^७ भूधाहरागः प्रीतिः^८ प्रेतैस्तव सहचराः फेरवाः कोच
दोयः । यस्मैश्वर्यं परमपदवीं प्राप्य विद्यान्तमुच्चैस्तस्य यावा कनकमय[वा]
सर्वमेतत् समा]-
- 24 न(नम्)^९ ॥३१॥ आवासस्ते पिलवनमहिः क्रीडनं दानमुच्चा भिक्षापात्रं हर नरशिरः^{१०}
कार्यं नैव दोषः । पारातीयस्त्रिनयन^{११} भवत्यस्यसंस्थो हि^{१२} लोको निस्त्रैगुण्ये पयि
विचरतां को विधिः को निषेधः ॥३२॥ प्रेतवासः शयनभग्नं [भैक्षमाशाच वा]-
- 25 सः खट्वाङ्गं च ध्वजमुपहृ(त्तिं)तं त्वस्मिन्नेपथ्यमङ्गे । यद्यप्येवं तदपि भगवन्नीश्वरत्व-
स्य^{१३} नाशो निःसामान्यस्त्वमसि विषयो नापरः कश्चिदस्ति ॥३३॥ दारुधानि
ह्रिजवरवधूपप्लवो रैतसाग्नौ होमः सन्धानटनमिति ते चेष्टितं नैव दुष्टं(ष्टम्) ।
[मिथ्याज्ञानोप]-

^१ विषयन (क, ग)^२ धूर्जटि (ग)^३ सुनदीवारिपुरं (ग)^४ पिलवनभग्न (ग)^५ दृष्टिचमिरसः (ग)^६ दुष्ट इत्यस्य (ग)^७ दधाति (ग)^८ दीप्य (क)^९ प्रतिष्ठा (च)^{१०} प्रीतिः (ग)^{११} विषयन (क, ग)^{१२} विगलद (ग)^{१३} पुरी (क)^{१४} शीविलासैः (क)^{१५} पलायन (ग)^{१६} संश्लोडपि (च)

- 26 इतमेनसां मार्गमुक्तं दूरं ये निःक्रान्तिः¹ न तां (तान्) लोकवादाः स्मृ-
न्ति ॥३४॥ देवाः सर्वे दधति वपुषा भूषणं हेमरत्नं गुह्याभावं कनकमपि
ते² नास्ति कर्षं करे वा । मार्गातीतं स्फुरति सहजं यस्य सौन्दर्यमङ्गे
तस्याहार्यं³ [चित्तरजनवचा]-
- 27 दरः स्यादुणेषु ॥३५॥ त्वं ब्र(ह्म)ह्मादित्रिदशगुरुभिः⁴ पूजितः स्वार्यहेतोरित्यावायो न
खलु भवता प्रार्थितः कश्चिदन्यः । इच्छामावात्स्नयमुपनमन्त्यगतो यस्य भावा-
स्तस्यापेक्षा कथमिह भवेदीश्वरस्येतरेषु ॥३६॥ खण्डचन्द्रः शिरसि परशः
खण्डमे]-
- 28 वायुधन्ते भिचापात्रं द्रुहिणशिरसः खण्डमेकं कपालं (लम्) । खण्डप्रायस्तव परिकरो
यद्यपौत्यन्तथापि त्वं सर्वेषां स्मृतिमुपगतः⁵ सर्वपूर्णत्वहेतुः ॥३७॥ पृथ्वीपीठे
‘कृतपदमदः स्वच्छमाकास(श्च)लिङ्गं’ तारापुष्पैः शिरसि रचिताभ्यर्चनं चन्द्रचूड ।
इत्थं भावाद]-
- 29 वञ्चितधियो ये भवन्तं भजन्ते ते लीयन्ते त्वयि जलनिधौ निम्नगानामिवौघाः ॥३८॥
वाराणस्यां स्फुरति यदिदं देवदेवाविमुक्तं मै(शै)वं ज्योतिः सकलभुवनालोकना-
दर्गभूतं (तम्)⁶ । कृत्वा तस्मिन्प्रमहसि पदे चेचसंन्यासयोगं [त्वय्ये]कत्वं ब्र[जति
पुरुषस्तोज]-
- 30 सौव प्रदीपः ॥३९॥ यत्प्रत्यक्षं सकलभुवनाद्यर्थभूतं विभाति ज्योतिर्बिम्बं कनककपिशं
योगिरी ज्योत्स्नि दिव्यं (व्यम्) । तत्पश्यन्तः शिव मुकृतिनख्यक्तसंसारवन्धास्वत्का-
रुष्याच्चिरं गणपदप्राप्तिभाजो भवन्ति ॥४०॥
- 31 वाचाधीशं⁷ हुतवहतनुं शक्तिपाणिं भवन्तं ये ध्यायन्ति चिनयनं⁸ मनस्तेजसा निर्द्वन्द्वं-
(तम्)⁹ । गङ्गास्नोतः सदृश-
- 32 विलसद्भयपद्मप्रवाहैः¹⁰ सद्यस्तेषां प्रसरति [सुखाद्वा]रती नाच चित्रं (चम्) ॥४१॥
भास्वज्ज्योतिःकिरणमरुणं [दक्षि]ण[क्षि]¹¹ स्थितं त्वां ये वीक्षन्ते पुरुषमुदितं¹²
स्वात¹³ मादित्वमूर्त्तिं (र्त्तिम्) । ते सर्वत्राप्रतिहतदृशः सूर्यपर्यन्तलीकं पश्यन्त्ये
करतललुठत्वं [दुकस्पटरूपम्]

¹ निःक्रान्त (क, क)² विदकपतिभिः (ग)³ मुवमादर्गनालोकभूतम् (ग)⁴ वाचातीतं (ग) [Reading seems to be *vidhy-ātinam (tan)*.—Ed.]⁵ चिनयन (क, ग)⁶ दक्षिणाक्षि (क)⁷ कपिशं (ग)⁸ भवगतः (ग)⁹ [Probably the reading is¹⁰ [Probably the reading is¹¹ तमस्तेजसां निर्द्वन्द्वम् (ग)¹² पुरुषहृदयं (ग)¹³ तस्याहार्यं चिरतं (ग)¹⁴ कृतपदमपि स्वच्छमाकाशलिङ्गं (ग)¹⁵ कारुष्या* [न] स्मिरं—Ed.]¹⁶ प्रभावा (क)¹⁷ आरामं (ग)

- 33 ॥४२॥ ये ध्यायन्ति स्वहृदि विमलं चित्त^१मात्मैकरूपं विश्वादर्शं^२ प्रसरदभितो भूर्भुवः-
स्वस्त्रिलोकीं(कीम्)^३ । इत्थं गत्यागतिपरिचयात् तवैव प्रसादात्सर्वज्ञत्वं हर
विकरणीं शीलयन्तो लभन्ते^४ ॥४३॥ ये त्वां शंभो हृदयभवनांभोरुहाभ्यन्तरस्थं^५
ज्ञान[ज्योतिस्तदुपधिव]-
- 34 शाद्वीहिशूकायसूक्ष्मं(क्षम्) । उद्गीचन्ते दृढतरलयं तेषुपाधिप्रज्ञाशास्त्रय्येकत्वं नभसि
कलशाकाशवन्निर्विशन्ति ॥४४॥ अर्चिर्विद्युत्प्रभृतिभिरलं मार्गविश्रामलोके(कै)यं गच्छन्ति
चिन्तयन्^६ पथा देवयानेन केचित् । भुक्ता भोगाननुपमरसान् स्वेच्छ[या ब्रह्म-
लोके]
- 35 ते तस्यान्ते पुनरपि शिव त्वन्मयत्वं भजन्ते ॥४५॥ यत्रानन्दः स्फुरति परमज्योति-
रालोकजन्मा भुज्यन्ते च स्वयमुपनता^७ यत्र दिव्याश्च भोगाः [।*] यत्रावृत्तिर्न
भवति पुनः पञ्चमाध्वप्रसिद्धं तद्वैराजं^८ पदमपि शिव प्राप्यते त्वत्प्रसादात् ॥४६॥
त्वय्यात्मा[नं निहितम्]-
- 36 खिलैस्वहुणैः संप्रयुक्तं स्वच्छादर्शं सुखमिव चिरं चेतसा निश्चलेन । ये पश्यन्ति
चिन्तयन्^९ मनोवाञ्छितार्थप्रसूतिस्तेषामाविर्भवति सुधियामेव^{१०} धर्मः समाधिः ॥४७॥
ज्ञानज्योतिः सकलजगतां स्व^{११}प्रकाशस्वरूपं त्वामात्मानं परिहितगुणस्पर्श[मीशान-
मौले]
- 37 ^{१२} यच्चैकस्मिन्नवहितधियां^{१३} योगदृष्टिस्थितानां स्वच्छादर्शं प्रतिफलितवद्विषमेतच्चकास्ति ॥४८॥
भूतं भूतस्मरणविषयं भावि^{१४} नान्यत्र काले सूक्ष्मं मध्यं क्षणमि^{१५}ह तयोर्वर्तमानं
वदन्ति । तस्मिन्सौख्यं कियदमतयो येन मत्ता^{१६} मनुष्या यु[ष्मत्सेवां भव भ]-
- 38 वभयध्वन्नि(ध्वंसि)नीं नाद्रियन्ते ॥४९॥ ज्ञानं न स्यात्कचिदपि किल ज्ञेयसम्ब(संव)न्धशून्यं
ज्ञेयं सत्तामपि न लभते ज्ञानवा(वा)ह्यं कदाचित् । इत्यन्योन्यग्रथितमुभयोर्व्या-
पिकं यत्स्वरूपं^{१७} तत्ते प्राहुः प्रकृतिपुरुषस्यार्धनारीश्वरत्वं(त्वम्) ॥५०॥ यत्प्रत्यक्षं
न भ[वति नृणामि]-

^१ चित्तं (च)^२ विश्वादर्शं (ग)^३ त्रिलोकान् (ग)^४ भजन्ते (क)^५ ज्ञानज्योतिः (ग)^६ विचिन्तयन् (क, ग)^७ उपगताः (ग)^८ तद्वैराज्यं (च)^९ विचिन्तयन् (क, ग)^{१०} सुधियामिषः (ग) [Reading seems to be सुधियामिषं(ए)कः समाधिः—Ed.]^{११} सुप्रकाशं (ग)^{१२} There is a sign of visarga before this *danḍa*.^{१३} धिया (ग)^{१४} भावि नास्माव काले (ग)^{१५} इव (ग)^{१६} मित्राः (ग)^{१७} यत्तु रूपम् (ग)

- 39 न्द्रियाणामशक्तैर्यत्स्वस्व(त्वं)मध्यग्रहणविरहान्नानुमेयं च किञ्चि(किञ्चि)त्¹ । शब्दा(ब्दा)दीनामपि न विषयं यत्परोक्षस्वरूपं ज्ञानज्योतिर्यदिह परमं सत्व(त्वं)मध्यात्ममूर्तिः² ॥५१॥ त्वामात्मानं वरद परमानन्दबो(बो)धस्वरूपं ये बु(बु)ध्यन्ते³ विगलितजगद्देमायाप्र-पञ्चम् । रागत्यागात्]
- 40 स्तिमितमनसो देव जीवन्त एव [भ्रश्य]न्माया⁴निविडनिगडग्रंथयस्ते विमुक्ताः ॥५२॥
⁵स्नाध्यं⁶ यत्तत्कृपि(प)णमनसां⁷ सप्तलोकाधिपत्यं या⁸ मृग्यंते तरलमतिभिः सिद्धयद्या-णिमाद्याः । एतत्सर्वं मदनदहन त्वत्पदप्राप्तिभाजां तत्व(त्वं)ज्ञानामृतर[सजुपां]⁹ योगि]-
- 41 नामन्तरायः ॥५३॥ ¹⁰आशा वासः शयनमवनिर्व(व्र)ह्मचर्यं च दीर्घं मौनं दण्डग्रहणम-शनं भिक्षया भस्म शौचं(चम्) । वैराग्यञ्च त्रिनयन¹¹ भवत्तत्त्वबो(त्त्वबो)धादिहीनं मूलादेवं ध्रुवमलवणं सर्वमेतद्विभाति ॥५४॥ स्थित्वा कालं चिरतरमपि ब्र(व्र)-ह्मशक्रादि[लोके कर्म]-
- 42 च्छेदात्पुनरपि ततः स्यादवश्यं निपातः । एकं नित्यं पदमुपगतः¹² क्लेशकर्मोर्भिपाकं शैवं ज्योतिर्यदिह सुलभं ज्ञानयोगेन पुन्सां(पुंसाम्) ॥५५॥ शक्रादीनां क्रतुफल-यु(जु)पां यत्सुखं नाकलोके¹³ तत्कीटादेर्नरकनिलयस्यापि तुल्यं विभाति । येनै-कान्तं]-
- 43 न भवति सुखं कस्यचिन्नापि¹⁴ दुःखं इदं यस्तं त्रिभुवनमिदं त्वं तु तस्माद्विमुक्तः ॥५६॥ व(व)न्मच्छेदादिह तनुभृतां यत्त्वया साकमैक्यं सा चेन्मुक्तिः शिव किम-नया यातु यद्दाम्बकूपं(पम्) । त्वं मे स्वामी भवदनुचरः शर्व यत्सर्वदाहं तद्वि स्नाध्यं स्वपति[पदवीं काम]-
- 44 यन्ते न मृत्याः ॥५७॥ वातोद्भूतस्फुटपुटकिनीपत्रतोयोपमाने को विश्वासं व्रजति चपले जन्मिनो जीवितेस्मिन् । ¹⁵कान्तस्त्रीणां प्रियसहचरैर्निर्भरालिङ्गितं मे चेतः शम्भो स्वपिति न यथा तद्वसाद¹⁶ कुरुष्व ॥५८॥ त्वन्नेत्राग्नि¹⁷ व्यतिकरमिव प्रा[क्तनं पुष्पचा]-

¹ कदाचित् (च, क, ग)² मूर्ते (ग)³ ग reads ये बुध्यन्ते etc., as third quarter and रागत्यागात् etc., as second quarter.⁴ निगलनिविड (च, क)⁵ ग reads this stanza as 60th stanza.⁶ जन्तोः कृपणमनसः (ग)⁷ सर्व (च)⁸ ये (ग)⁹ सृजा (ग)¹⁰ ग reads this stanza as 62nd stanza.¹¹ त्रिनयन (क, ग)¹² उपनतक्लेश (ग, म)¹³ नाकलोके (ग)¹⁴ नास्ति (च, क, ग)¹⁵ [Reading seems to be चात(चन्त)सुखाप(प्र)यसहचरी etc.—Ed.]¹⁶ तद्वसाद (च, क)¹⁷ दुतिग्रमयं (ग)

- 45 पः ।¹ स्मृत्वा नूनं व्यवसितमतिर्वैरनिर्यातनाय । यस्मिन्(कंस)क्तं तव चरणयोर्देव
मेवानुरागात्तस्मै चेतः प्रहरति शरैस्त्यज्य तद्वत् यन्नात् ॥५८॥ भिक्षापात्रं सृग्-
जमजिनं जीर्णकौपीनमकं कंथा रघ्यानिपतितजरञ्जोरत्नेशैश्च लब्धौ । एतावा-
[न्मै हर परिक]-
- 46 रस्त्वत्प्रसादेन नित्यं भूयाद्भूयस्त्व चरणयोर्भूयसौ भक्तिरंका ॥६०॥ देवस्तावद्वति
भगवन्भर्मासर्मस्य सारस्तस्मात्पूर्वं महदिति पदं प्रोक्तमुत्कर्षमाह । माहात्म्यं ते
स्मरहर महादेव नानैव लोके दूरारुढं वरद किमहं स्तोचमन्यत्करोमि
॥६१॥² कालेन]
- 47 नीतः³ सर्वोपि पुनरावर्तते जनः । महाकालेन नीतस्य नावृत्तिर्विद्यते पुनः ॥६२॥
अव्यक्ताचरजल्पितैरपि शिशोः प्रीतिर्गुरुणा भवेत्तेनास्मद्वचनं मलौमसमपि स्वात्तु-
द्विहेतुस्तव । आन्तस्त्वद्गुणकीर्तनात्किमपि यत्पुण्यं मयोपा[र्जितं तेन]
- 48 स्याज्जानानान्तरपि महती त्वय्येव भक्तिर्भूय ॥६३॥⁴ हिजो दक्षिणराष्ट्रीयो नवग्रामवि-
निर्मातः । जलायुधवु(वु)धश्शम्भोरिमां स्तुतिमरीरचत् ॥६४॥

¹ Danda unnecessary.

² सर्मसर्मस (व)

³ च, क, and ग read the following two stanzas as 62nd and 63rd stanzas and कालेन नीतः, etc., as 64th stanza :—

यत्र कचिद्वत् देव मनुष्यतिग्मवीर्यं स्वकर्मपरिपाकवशात् प्रगतिः ।
तत्र स्त्रितस्य मम वाग्व्यवाहरीति नित्यादभक्तिरवलाप्तं भवप्रसादान् ॥
तत्र चरणयोरजे दत्तमेकं प्रभूतं फलति कचिद्विद्यावेष्टितां भूतधात्रीम् ।
प्रतिदिवसपरोमभक्तिर्कौतुहलानां फलमिदमिति शब्दो शक्यते किं वक्तुम् ॥

⁴ This syllable should ordinarily be short.

⁵ काल (क)

⁶ क adds the following before हिजो दक्षिण etc. :—

महाकालेन मेवे कदाचिद्वलमिच्छया ।
संसारममवोपेतदमापनयने यमा ॥
अष्टाष्टमहाकालसितलो(१)वये ततः ।
यतः कारवमुत्पत्तिरुपचारैः प्रवर्तते ॥

and reads the stanza हिजो दक्षिण etc., slightly modified :

हिजो दक्षिणराष्ट्रीयो नवग्रामविनिर्मातः ।
जलायुधमिदं शम्भोरिमां स्तुतिमरीरचत् ॥

D.11271 (च) adds the following stanza before हिजो दक्षिण etc. :—

महाकालेन सेव्यनामामोदिन विरक्तया ।
संसारोद्धतदेहस्य स्वरूपदृश्यं यमम् ॥

and reads the stanza हिजो दक्षिण etc., slightly modified :—

हिजो दक्षिणराष्ट्रीयो नवग्रामविनिर्मातः ।
जलायुधवुधः शम्भोरिमां स्तुतिमरीरचत् ॥

No. 18.—A NOTE ON THE HALAYUDHA STOTRA IN THE AMARESVARA TEMPLE.

BY N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D., OOTACAMUND.

There are several Sanskrit *stōtras* engraved on the side walls of the *ardhamandapa* in the Amareśvara Temple at Māndhātā, which were copied by me early in 1938. The northern wall contains three of these, viz., (1) a *stōtra* in 8 lines and 9 verses in praise of the river Narmadā, (2) the well known Śiva-Mahimna-*stōtra* in 40 verses taking up 22 lines and (3) a single verse in 3 lines in praise of Śiva and Pārvatī. The main record on the southern wall contains the text of the *Halāyudha-stōtra*. Several manuscripts of this *stōtra* are preserved in the Government Oriental Library at Madras (Nos. 11271-11278), some of which are with commentaries in Sanskrit, Telugu and Kanarese. I have already noticed these records in the *Annual Report, Arch. Survey of India*, for the year 1937-38 in the chapter on Epigraphy. Though Hiralal¹ noticed all these records as unimportant, I found the colophon of the *Halāyudha-stōtra* to be of sufficient interest for the history of Sanskrit literature, and as the *stōtra* has not yet been published, I requested my friend Vidyāsāgara Vidyāvāchaspati P. P. Subrahmanya Śāstrī, Professor of Sanskrit in the Madras Presidency College and honorary Curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras, to undertake to edit the record in the *Epigraphia Indica*—a request to which he readily responded. This note only supplements the information contained in his introduction to the text edited above. I have also given below the text of ll. 48-56 of the record which Professor Śāstrī has omitted as it is not relevant to the *Halāyudha-stōtra*.

The whole record is in 56 lines, and is engraved on four rectangular slabs of stone fixed into the wall on the southern side. The first slab contains 10 lines, the second 21 lines, the third 22 lines and the fourth only 3 lines of writing. The last lines of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th slabs (i.e., ll. 31, 53 and 56) are only half lines. A few letters at the end of each complete line are now missing but wherever possible these have been restored from manuscripts now preserved in the Government Oriental Library. The script is **Nāgarī** and the language **Sanskrit** throughout. The engraving is rather shallow but on the whole well executed. There are a number of grammatical and other errors, particularly in the portion which is the writer's own composition. All these have been noticed in footnotes or in the body of the text. These mistakes show that the writer, though he calls himself a Pandit, was not well versed in Sanskrit.

The record opens with the phrase *Om namaḥ Śivāya* which is immediately followed by the *Halāyudha-stōtra* in praise of Śiva. The *stōtra* actually finishes in v. 63, the last verse being a colophon containing an account of the author of the hymn. This is immediately followed by another hymn (ll. 48-50) in 5 verses the text of which is identical with that found in the *Śiva-dvādaśa-nāma-stōtra*² and gives the 12 principal names of Śiva. Then comes a verse enumerating five *jyōtirliṅgas*, viz., those at Avimukta (Benares) and Kēdāra, besides Ōmkāra, Amara and Mahākāla (at Ujjayinī). It may be noted here that though the names of Ōmkāra and Amara have been given separately, the eight other great *liṅgas* have been omitted in this list.

Lines 51-53 give the names of a few Śaiva teachers in the following terms: In the city of Bhōja, living in the Sōmēśvaradēva monastery and hailing from Namdiyaḍa was the Pāsupata teacher Bhaṭṭāraka śrī-Bhāvavālmika whose disciple was Bhaṭṭāraka śrī-Bhāvasamudra. L. 53 mentions also Paṇḍita Bhāvavirimchi. Apparently the two mentioned last were responsible for setting up the records found on these four slabs. The next two lines contain an account of the

¹ *List of Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), p. 84, No. 151.

² See *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras*, Nos. 9259-9261.

writer, Paṇḍita Gāndhadvaja of the Chapala-gōtra. He was a disciple of Vivēkarāsi who was again a disciple of the Paramabhāṭṭāraka śrī-Supājītarāsi.

The last line contains the date, undoubtedly of the setting up of the record, which I have read as *Sameat 11 1 320 Kārtika vadi 13*. The reading of the second digit is, however, uncertain which may also be read as 2. The same date is given at the end of the *Mahimna-stotra* found engraved on the northern wall which was also written by the same Paṇḍita mentioned there as Gāndhadvaja, and also at the end of the Narmadā-stōtra, without giving the month and the *tithi* in both the places. But in these instances also the second digit is not clear. Unfortunately the date cannot be verified for want of sufficient details. If the year is 1120 the date would ordinarily correspond to Friday, the 21st November, A.D. 1063 and if read as 1220 the corresponding date in Christian era would be Sunday, the 27th October, A.D. 1163, taking the year as Chaitrādi and the month *pūrṇimānta* in both cases.

I have in the *Annual Report* referred to above discussed in detail the identity of the poet Halāyudha and also of Dēchaya who wrote a commentary on this *stōtra* in the sixteenth century A.D. I have shown there that the Halāyudha of our record could not be any of the three scholars of the same name mentioned by Mr. J. C. Ghosh,¹ all of whom flourished during the reign of the Sēna kings of Bengal. Prof. Śāstri has now adduced an additional proof that undoubtedly the same Halāyudha has been referred to in the Telugu *Deipada Basavapurāṇa*² of Pēlkuriki Sōmanātha who lived towards the end of the twelfth century. I have also suggested in the same place that our Halāyudha may be identical with the author of the *Kavirahasya*, the *Abhidhānavatnamālā* and the *Mṛitasāñjivani*, the last mentioned being a commentary on Piṅgala's *Chhandahśūtra*. It need not worry us that the first named work was written in the court of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇarāja III (A.D. 939-967) and the last mentioned work in the court of a different ruler, viz., the Paramāra Muṇja-Vāḥpati (A.D. 974-993), as it is quite possible that the poet after the death of his Rāshtrakūṭa patron moved to the Paramāra court which was noted for its patronage for learning at that time. Mr. Ghosh has identified Navagrāma in Dakṣiṇa-Rājha with the village of the same name in the Bhurshut *pargana* of the Hooghly District in Bengal.³ We cannot argue that it is not possible for a poet hailing from far off Bengal to be at the courts of two prominent Indian rulers, one having his capital at Mālkhedi in the Nizām's Dominions and the other at Dhār in Central India, when we know of several other scholars from Bengal who held a similar position.⁴

L. 51 of the record mentions Bhōjanagara and a monastery there known as Sōmēśvaradēva-maṭha. One is tempted to identify Bhōjanagara with Dhārā, the capital city of the Paramāras and the monastery with an establishment built probably by the Chālukya Sōmēśvara I who for a time occupied the Paramāra kingdom. But it is to be remembered that the capital city of the Paramāras is always referred to as Dhārā even at the time of Bhōja and his successors also continued to use the same name. It is not also certain whether the *maṭha* was built by a ruler called Sōmēśvaradēva or was simply attached to a temple of Śiva known as Sōmēśvara. I am also not able to identify Nandīyāja, the original residence of the Śaiva ascetic Bhāvavālmīka.

¹ *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 503 ff.

² According to this work Halāyudha belonged to Navapura which is apparently the same as Navagrāma of our record, see *Basavapurāṇa* (Andhra-granthamālā series), p. 127.

³ *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 503. Bhurshut is the ancient Bhūriśrēṣṭhī in Dakṣiṇa-Rājha where Śrīdhara completed his *Nyāyabrahmā*, a commentary on the *Puṣṭārthapravāṇa* in Śaka 213 (A.D. 991). It is also the Bhūriśrēṣṭhīka of the *Pravāṇaśāstrī* of Krishṇamūṛti (11th century), which is stated to be the birth-place of 'Alaṅkāra'. This leaves no doubt that the place was well known in the 10th and 11th centuries.

⁴ See *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 702 and Vol. II, pp. 300 f. See also the Kollagallu Inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa Khōṣṭiga (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 263 ff.) which mentions a Gadādhara of Taḍḍa-grāma in Bengal.

TEXT.

- 48 Prathamam tu¹ Mahādēvam dvitīyam cha Mahēśvaram(ram) | tri(tri)tiyam Śaṅkaram
jñeyam² chaturtham Vṛṣabhadhvajarā(jam) ||1||³ Pañchamam Kṛīttivāsam cha sha⁴].⁵
- 49 śhṭham Kāmāṅganāśanam(nam) ||⁶||⁷ saptamam Dēvadēvāśam⁸ Śrīkaṇṭham ch=āśhṭamam
smṛitam(tam)⁹ ||2||¹⁰ Navamam Īśvaram¹¹ dēvam¹² daśamam Pārvvatīpriyam(yam) ||¹³||¹⁴
Rudram=ēkādaśam nāma dvādaśam Śivam=uchyatē ||3||¹⁵ Dvādaś=aitāni¹⁶ nāmāni ubhayā
samdhyat yaḥ paṭhēt¹⁷ ||¹⁸||¹⁹ gōghnaḥ kṛitaghnas=ch=aiva vra(bra)hmahā guru-talpakaḥ²⁰
||4||²¹ Stri-vā(bā)la-[ghātakaś=ch=aiva²²].²³
- 50 surāpayi²⁴ vṛṣali-patiḥ²⁵ ||²⁶||²⁷ muchyatē sarvva-pāpēbhyō Rudra-lōkam²⁸ sa gachchhati
||5||²⁹ Avimuktas=cha Kēdāra Omkāras=ch=Āmaras=tathā ||³⁰||³¹ pañchamam(mas=) tu
Mahākālāḥ pañcha-līṅgāḥ prakīrttayō³² ||6||³³ Ajñānā(d*)-jñānatō vā=pi yad=viruddham=
anushṭhitam(tam) | tat=sarvvaḥ paśu-bhūpasya kṣantavyam kāraṇ-ēśvara ||7||³⁴
- 51 Svasti ||³⁵||³⁶ Śrī-Bhōja-nagarē śrī-Sōmēśvaradēva-maṭha-nivāsī Namdiyaḍa-vinirggatam-(taḥ)
praṇāma-gōtra-yama-niyama-samja(ya)ma=svādhyāya - dhyān - ānushṭhāna - rata - parama-
Pāsupat-āchārya-bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Bhāvavūlmika[h*] śrī-Amarēśvaradēv(va)-trailōky-
ādhipatiḥ(tēh) dhyāna-puṇya-sa -³⁷
- 52 ētat(ch)-si(chhi)shya i[śhṭ-ādhi]ka-prādāna-rata-triḥ(tri)kāla-samdhyā(dhyā)-samādhi-
kāraṇa-guru-pāraṇparya-vidhāna-yukta[h*] śrī-Amarēśvaradēva-pāda-paṇṭkaja-bhramara
ādhvīna(ādhvānika)-pathaerā(śrā)nta-tapōdhan-ābhyāgat-ālaya³⁸ - - saritāpaḥ ||³⁹
- 53 śrī-Amarēśvaradēva-vikṣaṇa-mūrtti-sadā-nivāsī bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Bhāvasamudrah || paṇḍita-
Bhāvavirīnchi[h*] praṇamati Śivāḥ(vam)||
- 54 || Om⁴⁰ avastī||⁴¹ Śrī-Amarēśvara-dēvasy=āyatan[ā] trailōkya-vīrut[ā] sthānē dēva-dānava-
dur[jjaya]-dēva-guru-na(ta)pōdhata(na)-su(su)ārūbhā-rata-paramabhāṭṭāraka-śrī-Supū-
- 55 jitarāsi(āh) ||⁴²||⁴³ etat(ch)-si(chhi)shya-Vivēkarāsi(āh) ||⁴⁴||⁴⁵ punaḥ tasya śishya(śishyēṇa)
Chapalagōtra-vinirggata-sahaja-bhakti-ānta-mūrtti-paṇḍita-Gāndhadhvajēna parama-
bhaktyā mahimna⁴⁶ Ha-
- 56 lāyudha-stutim ātmasy=ārthē⁴⁷ svayam likhitam=iti || Samvat 1[1]20 Kārttika-vadi 13||⁴⁸||
Maṅgalam mahāśrīḥ || ||

¹ M. cha (M. denotes Ms. No. 9260 in the Govt. Or. Manuscripts Library, Madras).² M. nāma.³ Restored from M.⁴ M. Dēvadēvaś cha.⁵ M. Nīlakaṇṭham=ath=āśhṭamam.⁶ Read Navamam=I⁶.⁷ M. nāma.⁸ M.=aitāni.⁹ Read as in M. tri-sandhyam yaḥ paṭhēt=naraḥ.¹⁰ M. brāhmaghaṇḍ guru-talpagaḥ.¹¹ Read surāpayi.¹² M. surā-pān-āti-pātakaḥ.¹³ M. Śīvalōkam.¹⁴ Read prakīrtitāḥ.¹⁵ Metre of verses 1-7 is Anushṭubh.¹⁶ These two letters are illegible. A few letters after these also appear to have been missing.¹⁷ There is some space between ā and la but this portion seems to have been left un-engraved owing to a damage in the stone.¹⁸ Daṇḍas unnecessary.¹⁹ Expressed by a symbol.²⁰ Apparently intended for Śīva-mahimnā.²¹ Read atma-brēyārthē.

No. 19.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS ON COPPER-PLATES FROM NUTIMADUGU.

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

These **copper-plates** which were in the possession of a peasant of the village **Natimadugu** in the Anantapur District were shown to Mr. C. N. Jeevanna Rao, B.E., Minor Irrigation Supervisor of the District, when he had gone to the village during one of his periodical official visits. It appears that while the cattle-shed attached to the house of the peasant was being repaired, the plates were found buried under the lower wooden hinge of the door of the shed. Mr. Rao kindly brought them to the notice of Mr. M. Srikanta Srinaty, B.E., Local Fund Assistant Engineer, Anantapur, who sent them on to me for examination. As they were somewhat corroded when I got them, they were sent to the Archaeological Chemist in India who was good enough to clean them. I edit them below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The plates are **three** in number each of which is $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and $9\frac{1}{4}$ " in length from the centre of the arch at the top. They are strung together on a copper ring which did not bear any seal when the plates were received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. It was found that the ring had not been soldered. So it is difficult to say definitely whether this is the original ring which held the plates when they were issued; it is not impossible that the original ring to which the royal seal was attached, might have been lost and the present ordinary ring substituted in its place. The rims of the plates are slightly raised in order to preserve the writing. The weight of the plates, with the ring, is 116 *tolas*.

At the outset it must be observed that the set of plates is a **palimpsest** containing two records, **one**, an **Eastern Chālukya** grant of the 10th century A.D. and the **other**, which has been engraved over the earlier inscription, of the time of the **Vijayanagara** prince Triyambaka. I am unable to explain the circumstances under which the original Chālukya document was used by prince Triyambaka of the first or Saṅgama dynasty of Vijayanagara for writing his own charter more than five centuries after the original was engraved and why it was defaced and a new one incised upon it.

Of the original **Eastern Chālukya** grant which I shall call **A**, both the beginning and the end are missing. The extant portion starts on the first side of the second plate of the Vijayanagara grant (hereafter called **B**) and after being continued on its second side and on the first (outer) side of the first plate ends on the second side of the latter, after giving the name of the king and the geographical division in which the donated village or land was situated. The portion which must have contained the details of the gift such as the name, *gotra*, family, etc., of the donee, the name of the village or land granted and its boundaries, the date of the grant and the imprecatory verses, is lost. This must have been engraved on a separate plate which was probably removed at the time when the Vijayanagara grant was engraved and the third plate of the present set which is altogether a new one inserted in its place. Both the plates of the earlier grant are inscribed lengthwise like all Eastern Chālukya grants. It should be noted that these two plates have been slightly cut out at both the corners on the top (i.e., on the left-hand side when held lengthwise) in order to give them the shape of an arch like all Vijayanagara copper-plate grants. During this process some letters in each line have been lost. The later grant was engraved upon three of the four sides of the earlier one. Even on the side that was not defaced by being again written upon (i.e., the first side of the first plate of **B**) a portion on the right-hand side is damaged by corrosion and some of the letters cannot be read. On the second side of the second plate of **B**, only half the portion of the original document has been written upon and the letters on the other half, though well beaten, are visible and can be read. Of the remaining portion of the inscription only faint traces are seen, but with the help of the other grants of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty I have succeeded in

deciphering to a great extent the preserved portion of the record. The alphabet is ancient Telugu of the 10th century A.D. and the language of the extant portion is Sanskrit.

In spite of the shortcomings noted above this inscription (A) which refers itself to the reign of **Vikramāditya (II)** is valuable as it is the first and only record of the king yet discovered. As pointed out above, its beginning, which must have been written on a plate which does not now form part of the set, is missing. The first king mentioned is **Jayasimhavarallabha** (i.e., Jayasimha I) who, as in all other records of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, is given a reign of thirty years. Then follows the genealogy of the dynasty recording the length of each reign, down to **Vikramāditya (II)** who is introduced in the usual prose preamble to the grant (ll. 25—27) with the *śrī* of *Samastabhucanāśraya*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭāraka* and *Paramabrahmayya*. He issues a command to the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* and others inhabiting the **Kaṇḍērvvāḍi-vishaya**. The name of this *vishaya* occurs in different forms as *Kaṇḍērvvāḍi*, *Kaṇḍērvvāḍi*, *Kaṇḍērvvāḍi* and *Kaṇḍērvvāḍi* in several Eastern Chālukya inscriptions and its chief town *Kaṇḍēru*, after which the district was named, has been identified with *Kantēru* in the Guntur District.¹ The grant portion which was recorded next and the date, if it was given, are lost thus depriving us of some valuable facts.

No information of any historical importance that is not already known can be gathered about the predecessors of the donor, viz., king **Vikramāditya II**. Attention may, however, be drawn to the length of reign assigned to **Vijayāditya II**, the builder of 108 temples of *Narēndrēśvara*. He is here stated to have reigned only for 10 years as in the majority of the Eastern Chālukya copper-plate grants. The verses describing the reign of **Vikramāditya (II)** are new and not found in any other record of the family so far known. The first of them states that he regained the ancestral throne which had been forcibly seized by *Tāla* after killing him. The verses that follow praise his prowess in war in a conventional style, but one interesting fact which one of them (v. 5) discloses is that he fought one hundred battles for eight years and took the kingdom (from his enemies) along with *Pāma*. But it is not possible to say whether this refers to his fight with *Tāla* or to another war as a result of which he made some conquests and extended his kingdom. If by the expression *rājyam kirttyā samam-agrahāt*, his obtaining the ancestral kingdom is meant we would get an idea of the period of time that was taken by **Vikramāditya** in regaining the throne from *Tāla*. No doubt the *Maliyapūṇḍi* grant of *Aminarāja II* tells us that **Vikramāditya (II)** slew "at the head of a rough battle this *Tāla-rāja* together with crowds of different vassals, who were joined by a superior army (and) had troops of furious elephants"². It is, however, not certain whether **Vikramāditya** was engaged in fighting *Tāla* and his allies after *Tāla* became king. But all the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions assign to *Tāla* a reign of only one month. If, however, the rival claimants were engaged in warfare for eight years, it is difficult to guess who ruled the country during this long interval between the period after the ejection of *Kaṇṭhikā-Bēta* by *Tāla*, and the time when the latter succeeded temporarily in seizing the Chālukya throne. No clue to such an interregnum is available from any of the Chālukya records. The question can be solved only by future discoveries.

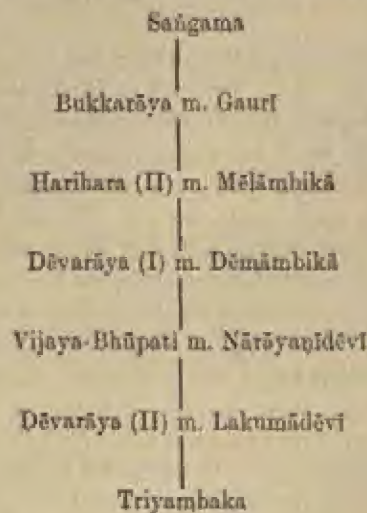
Of inscription **B** the second plate is written on both sides, the first and third being written on the inner side only. But the lower half of the second side of the second plate and the upper half of the third plate are left blank. The plates are numbered one, two and three respectively in Kannaḍa numerals. The record, like many other grants of the Vijayanagara kings, is written in **Nandināgarī** characters except the sign-manual *śrī-Triyambaka* in line 68 which is in

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 58.

² Above, Vol. IX, p. 55.

Kannaḍa-Telugu script. The alphabet employed is regular for the period to which the record purports to belong and closely resembles that of the Śrīraṅgam plates of Mallikārjuna¹ dated Śaka 1384, and the Śrīsaṅgam plates of Virūpākha of Śaka 1388.² The language is Sanskrit and excepting the words *īri-Gopādhīpatagē namaḥ* in the beginning of l. 1 and *īri-Triyambaka* in the last line the whole inscription is in verse. Many faults common to Vijayanagara grants such as mistakes of spelling, dropping of *anuvāra* or *visarga*, using them in places where they are unnecessary and omissions of letters, are found in this one also. As they have been corrected in the body of the text or in foot-notes it is not necessary to notice them here in detail.

The record is important as it is the **second known grant** of the **Yuvarāja Triyambaka**; the only other inscription of this prince is published in the *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1926,³ though its importance had not been recognised or discussed. The genealogical portion from **Saṅgama** down to **Triyambaka** is common to both the grants. Opening with invocations to the Bear-incarnation of Viṣṇu and Gaṇeśa respectively, the present grant mentions the Moon and his descendant **Yadu** who ruled the earth. The following genealogy is then given :—



The epigraph further proceeds to state that after Triyambaka's father had gone to heaven, **Immaḍi-Praṇḍha-Dēvēndra** (i.e., Mallikārjuna⁴) became king. Verses 15 to 17 tell us that he bore the paramount titles of *Rājādhirāja* and *Rājaparamēśvara* and give a list of the king's *śirudae*—the usual epithets of the Vijayanagara kings of the first dynasty. He is stated in verse 18 to have anointed his elder brother Triyambaka as *Yuvarāja*. This prince who was also called **Chikkaḍeya** was established (as Governor) at **Ghanādri** (i.e., Penugopḍa) by the king (v. 19).

The object of the inscription is to record that while Prince Triyambaka was governing his province (of Ghanādri) he granted the village of **Bommebālu**, renaming it as **Lakshmīpura**, after the name of his mother, to the Brāhman **Māchivōkta**, son of **Vallabhōkta** of the Śaṅklayajñ-*śākhā* on Monday, the full-moon day of **Kārttika** in the cyclic year **Yuva**, the **Śaka** year being **1377** which is expressed by the numerical words *dhātu* (7) *adri* (7) *guṇa* (3) and *bhū*(1). The date is slightly irregular as the full-moon day of Kārttika in the year cited fell on Saturday, the

¹ Above, Vol. XVI, plate between pp. 350 and 351.

² Above, Vol. XV, plate facing p. 22.

³ Pp. 98 ff.

⁴ See Ep. Cara. Vol., III, Srīngapatam 89 and Kiehlhorn's *Southern List*, No. 497.

25th October A.D. 1455. The discrepancy may be due to the fact that the engraver might have written Sōmavāra by mistake for Saurivāra; or it is not impossible that, while the grant was actually made on Saturday, it was recorded on Monday and this latter day was cited by mistake. The donee is stated to have been well versed in *Vēdas* and *Sāstras* and to have mastered the science of polity (*nīti-sāstra*). The *Yucarāja* made the grant in the presence of god Triyambaka at **Bhāskarakshētra** (i.e., Hampi). The donated village Bommehāṣa was situated in **Paṇḍemēru-māgaṇi**, which was a sub-division of **Gutti-rājya** in the *raṭta* (district) of **Penugonḍa**. After the imprecatory verses the record closes with the signature of the *Yucarāja* Triyambaka.

The donor *Yucarāja* Triyambaka is known, as already stated, only from two records (including the one under publication) and not noticed in any of the genealogies of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara so far published. From vv. 11—12 of the present record we learn that he was the son of Dēvarāya. But the most interesting fact revealed by our inscription is that he was the elder brother of the king Immaḍi-Praudha-Dēvēndra (i.e., Mallikārjuna). If he was actually the elder brother, how could his younger brother Mallikārjuna succeed to the throne? The question can be answered in two ways; one is to consider that Mallikārjuna, who ascended the throne after the death of Triyambaka's father, was the son of the *putta-mahishi* (senior queen) and Triyambaka, though older in age, was the son of a junior queen and that consequently the throne passed on to Mallikārjuna after his father's death. The second is to regard Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka as sons of brothers, that is to say, Mallikārjuna belonged to the senior line and Triyambaka to the junior line, for it is quite common among Hindus to address and mention cousins as brothers.¹ This raises an important issue, viz., if Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka were actual brothers, were they the children of Dēvarāya II or his younger brother Pratāpa-Dēvarāya? From the use of the epithet *praudha-pratāpa-vibharaḥ* which is applied in the present grant to Dēvarāya, the father of Triyambaka, it would appear that they were the sons of Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, who is considered by some scholars to have had the distinctive title of Praudha-Pratāpa.² From the inscription under publication we learn that Immaḍi-Praudha-Dēvēndra became king after the death of Triyambaka's father who, if Triyambaka and Mallikārjuna were brothers, would also be the father of the latter. This would mean that the father of the brothers i.e., Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, the younger brother of Dēvarāya II, was the predecessor of Mallikārjuna on the throne of Vijayanagara. And in support of this conclusion it may be argued that some inscriptions which refer themselves to the reign of a certain Vijaya and bear dates later than the death of Dēvarāya II (A.D. 1446)³ might have been issued by Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, who is known from an inscription⁴ to have had the surname of Vijaya. But there is one serious objection to this theory. Abdur Razak, who was an envoy from Persia to the court of Dēvarāya II, and who had an audience with him has recorded that the younger brother (Pratāpa) was killed in A.D. 1443, i.e., 3 years before the death of his elder brother.⁵ And there appears to be no reason to doubt the veracity of the statement of this contemporary writor. If, however, Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka were the sons of Dēvarāya II this difficulty would not arise. But in this case we would have to admit that Dēvarāya II, the father and predecessor of Immaḍi-Praudha-Dēvēndra was also described as *praudha-pratāpa-vibhara*. This expression, then, is to be regarded as either being used indiscriminately as a *biruda* both of Dēvarāya II and his younger brother Pratāpa-Dēvarāya or, that it was not a *biruda* and had no

¹ As it is not known from any source that Mallikārjuna was nominated as the successor to his father in preference to his elder brother, this alternative is not considered here.

² Above, Vol. XVII. p. 195.

³ *An. Rep. A. S. I.* for 1907-08, p. 251.

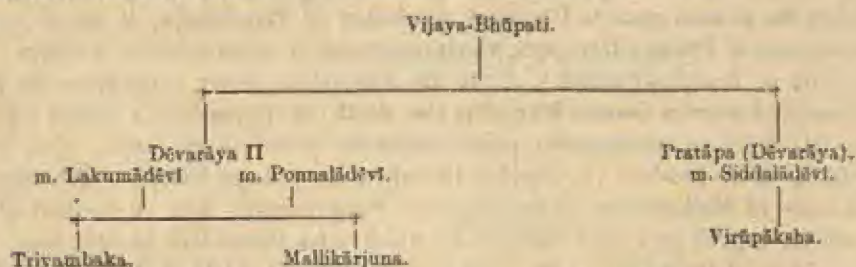
⁴ *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1921, p. 30.

⁵ Sewell; *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 73 ff.

special significance but was merely a descriptive epithet. This view is further strengthened by the fact that while all the known copper-plate grants of Virūpāksha, besides stating that his father was Pratāpa, contain a reference to Pratāpa's elder brother (i.e., Dēvarāya II), Mallikārjuna's copper-plate records mention only his father Dēvarāya II. We have also inscriptions¹ of Dēvarāya II where he is described as *prauḍha-pratāpa-prakaṣita-mahimā* or *prauḍha-pratāpa-vibhavaḥ*. If this surmise is accepted, the inscriptions which refer themselves to the reign of Vijaya, after the date of the death of Dēvarāya II, will have to be attributed, as suggested by the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri,² to Mallikārjuna himself.

Now let us examine the possibility of taking Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka as cousins, the latter being the son of a junior member of the line though older in age than the former. As pointed out above, according to our inscription Immaḍi-Prauḍha-Dēvēndra (i.e., Mallikārjuna) succeeded Triyambaka's father Dēvarāya after the latter's death. In other words Mallikārjuna (who belonged to the senior line) succeeded his uncle. Since Dēvarāya II is not known to have had more than one brother who was variously called Pratāpa, Dēvarāya and Śrīgiri, it follows that Pratāpa did reign at least for sometime after the death of his elder brother. But this surmise again comes into conflict with the definite statement of Abdur Razak who was a contemporary of Dēvarāya.

It, therefore, appears to me that the most satisfactory solution of the problem is to consider both Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka, as the sons of Dēvarāya II from two different queens and that Mallikārjuna, being the son of the *paṭṭa-mahishī* (senior queen) ascended the throne after his father. As a matter of fact, we know that Mallikārjuna's mother was Ponnalādēvī³; and Triyambaka's mother was Lakumādēvī. If this view is correct the order of descent of the princes of this family from Vijaya-Bhūpati downwards would be as shown below :—



Attention may be drawn to another interesting fact revealed by the inscription, namely, that Triyambaka had the surname Chikkoḍeya. Nuniz mentions after Dēvarāya II a prince named Pinaroo who was assassinated.⁴ If we could rely upon this writer's account—in many places his statements are inaccurate—there would be no impossibility in considering Chikkoḍeya to be identical with Pinaroo, the latter name being but a Telugu variant of the Kannada form Chikkoḍeya.

Of the geographical places mentioned in the inscription it is well known that Bhāskara-kshētra is Hampi (Bellary District) which was the capital of the Vijayanagara kings. The donated village Bommebālu may be identified with Bommeparti situated at a distance of seven miles from Anantapur. Gutti, after which the division Gutti-rājya was named, is Gooty, the headquarters of a taluk in the Anantapur District. Ghanādri is the Sanskritized form of Penugonḍa which is also the headquarters of another taluk in the same district. It was from the

¹ See e.g., *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Chitaldroog 29 and *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, Nagar 65.

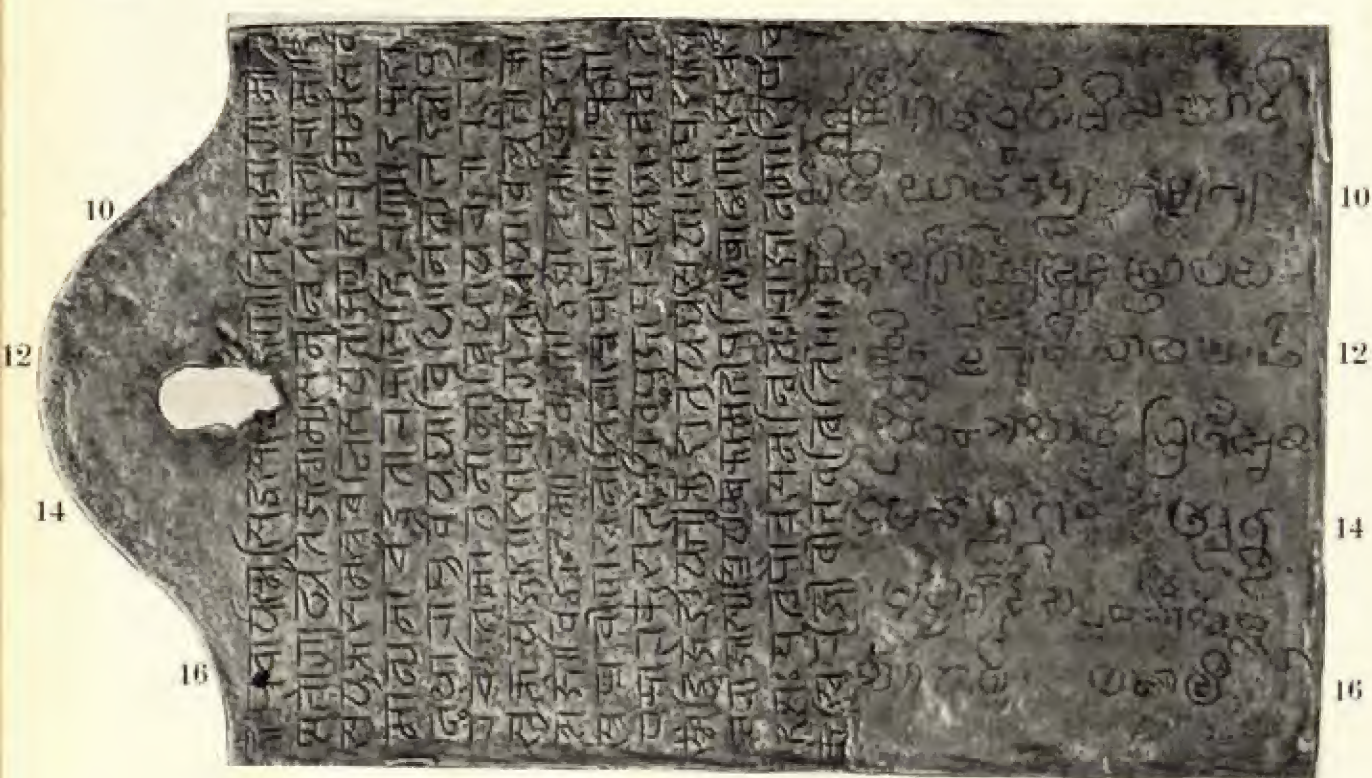
² *As. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1907-08, p. 246.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nagar 65.

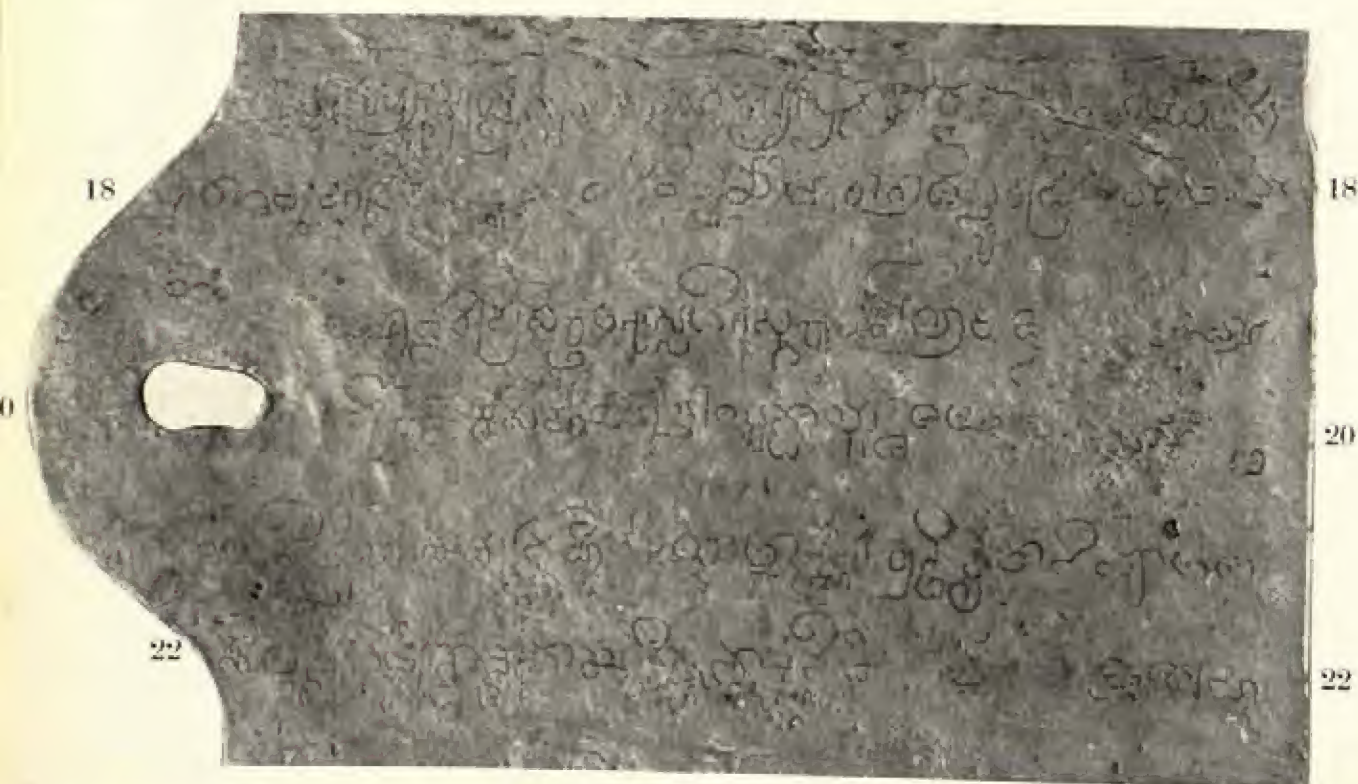
⁴ Sewall: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 303.



iib.



iia.



time of Harihara I and Bukka I the seat of a Viceroyalty¹ and became the capital of the Vijayanagara kingdom after the destruction of Hampi following the Tālikōṭa disaster. The sub-division **Paṇḍemēru-māgaṇi** was apparently named after the stream Paṇḍamēru which feeds the big tank of Bukkarāyasamudram at Anantapur.

TEXT of A.²

²Second Plate ; First Side.

- 1Tat-putrō **Jayasimha-vallabhas**=trayastrimśad⁴ -va[rshāṇi] | tad-anu-
- 2 [j-Ēndra-rā*]⁵jasya priya-tana[yō] **Vishṇuvarddhanō** nava [vatsa]rān | tat-sutō **Maṁgi-yu-**
- 3 [varājaḥ pa*]nchavimśati[m*] | tat-putrō **Jayasimhas**=trayōdaśa vatsarān [I*] tad-dvaimātur-ānujaḥ
- 4 [Kōkki*]liḥ shaṇ=māsān | tasya [jyēshthō] bhrātā **Vishṇuvarddha[naḥ]** sv-ānujam=ājā[v=u]-
- 5 [chchā*]tya saptatrimśat⁴ | tat-tanujo **Vijayāditya-bhaṭṭārakaḥ** ashtā[daśa]
- 6 [varshāṇi*] tad-aurasō **Vishṇurājaḥ** shaṭtrimśad-abdān⁶ | tat-sutō **Vijayādityaś=**chatvārimśata
- 7⁷[a]shṭōttara-śata-śrīman-Narēndrēśvara-kārakaḥ [I*] tad-ātmajaḥ [Ka]li-**Vishṇu-varddhanas=s-ārddha-**
- 8 [samām | tat-sutō*] **Vijayāditya[h]** chatuschatvārimśad⁴-varshāṇi | tad-bhrātur-yuvarājasya **Vi-**

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 9 [kramādityasya*] tanayaḥ **Chālukya-Bhīmas**=trimśad⁴-varshāṇi |⁹ tat-sutō **Vijayādi-**
- 10 [tyaḥ shaṇ=māsā*]n [¹⁰sapta-saṁvatsarān=ta(rāms=ta)sya sūnur=**Amma-mahīpatiḥ** [I*] Yātē Gaṇḍaragaṇḍa-bhū[bhu]
- 11 — — — prāpt-ābhishēkas=ta[ta]s=sūnur — — — vaśāt=sa — — — **Vijayādityam** punas=**Tālapa[h I*]**
- 12 — — — ru-gatam yidhāya ba — — — [bhūya] bhūmīśva[rō] bhūmim pālayati
- 13 — — — — — tam śrutvā vachō — — — [||I*]¹¹ Āgatyā drutam=āyata-pratimukha
- 14 — — — — — n=uddhatān=hatvā tad-rudhirā — — — bhīma-[ba]la — — — nistrimśa-bhāsvad-bhuja-[h |] tan=dagdhvā
- 15 — — — — — śrīmad-**Vikramāditya**-bhūpālas=**Tālapam**=ēsha paṭṭam=avahach=chū
- 16 — — — — — [||2*]¹¹ Viśāl-āvakāśam=imam.....kshiti-payōrāśi[shu] kūla-śālī

¹ An. Rep. A, S. I., 1907-08, pp. 239 and 241.

² From the original plates.

³ The first plate is lost. As the extant portion of the genealogy starts with Jayasimha I, the second ruler of the Eastern Chālukya line, it is not likely that more than one plate is lost.

⁴ Read °śatam varshāṇi.

⁵ The portions enclosed within square brackets with asterisk have been lost and here supplied with the help of other Eastern Chālukya grants.

⁶ Read °śatam abdāni.

⁷ From here up to kārakaḥ the text appears to be half an *Anuṣṭubh* verse.

⁸ Read °śatam varshāṇi.

⁹ This punctuation mark has been engraved after erasing a superfluous *na*.

¹⁰ From here up to mahīpatiḥ the text seems to contain a half verse in *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 17 Har-ātmatā || (1 8*) Tasya **Mālāmbikā-jānēs-tanayō** vina-
 18 y-ōnnataḥ || (1) Pratāpa-**Dēvarāy-ākhyā**[h*] putra[s*]=Sutrāma-
 19 vikramah || (1 9*) Tasya **Dāmāmbikā-jānēs-ta**[na*]yō [vinay-ō*]na(ōna)taḥ |
 20 vidyā-vinaya-vijñāna-nidhir=**Vijaya-bhūpati**[h || 10*]
 21 Tasya [**Nājrāyanidēvyā**][m*] prādurāsīd=[d*]urāsada[h*] | prau-
 22 dha-pratā[pa*]-vibhavō **Dēvarāya-mahīpatiḥ** || (1 11*) Tasya śrī-
 23 **Lakumādēvi** bhāry=ābhūd=bhūpā(pa)tēḥ priyā [(1*) Lakshmi=iva Murā-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 24 rātē[h*] Pārvat-iva Pināki[naḥ] || (1 12*) Tayō[h*] prāchīna-puṇyānūḥ
 25 paripāka-viśēṣataḥ | tasyā[m*] **Triyambaka**[s*]=sākshāt-kumārāḥ sa-
 26 majāyata || (1 13*) Bhuvanā hitvā divan yātē tātē tasya mahātmanai |
 27 **Im(I)mmaḍi-Prauḍha-Dēvēndrō** rāj=ābhūj=jagatīpatiḥ || (1 14*) Rājādhi-
 28 rājas=tējasvī yō rājaparamēśvaraḥ [(1*) bhāṣh-ōllarāghi-mahīpāla-
 29 bhujamgama-vihamgacāḥ || (1 15*) Vairi-bhūpati-vētaśūḍa-chariḍa-
 30 khamḍana-kēsari | gaj-augha-gamḍabhērūḍō gajēdra(ndra)-mri-
 31 gayā-rata[h*] || (1 16*) Tri-rāja-bhujag-ōnnaddha-para-rāja-bhayaṁ-
 32 karaḥ | Hī[m*]du-rāya-suratrāṇa ity-ādi-bhi(bi)rud-ōnnataḥ || (1 17*)
 33 Jyāyā[m*]sam bhrātaraṁ rājā Triyambaka-mahīpati[m*](tim) | prada-
 34 rsa(rā)ya[m*]=cha saubhātrāṁ yauvarājyē=bhīṣēśa(ahēśa)yan || (1 18*) Śrīma
 35 ch=**Chikkoḍey**-ākhyam cha **Ghanādrau** sthāpan-ātaram(āntaram) | āvaḥ
 36 bhrātrā pradattē tu rājyē Chikkoḍahō(Chikkoḍeyō) bali || (1 19*) āva-rājya[m*]
 37 pālayann=atram(atra) dīvyati śrī-Triyambakaḥ ||-|| (1) Śālī-
 38 vāhana-nirṇīta-Śa[ka*]-varaha-kram-āgatē || (1 20*) **Dhātva-adi(adri)-guṇa-**
 39 **bhū-yuktē Śak-Ābdō Yuva-vatsarē | Kārttikyām** su(śu)kla-pa-
 40 **kshē** cha **pūrṇamāyā**(pimā)yā[m*] mahā-tīthan || (1 21*) **Sōma-vārē**¹ puṇya-
 41 kāl-ōdayē tathā | pavitrē **Bhāskarakshētrē** śrī-Tri-
 42 yambaka-sannidhau || (1 22*) **Penugomḍ-ākhyā**-valitē **Gutti-rā-**
 43 **jyē** samanvagē(nvitē) || (1) **Paṇḍemērū**-māgaṇau cha sthitām(tam) bādha-
 44 vivarjitam(tam) || (1 23*) **Bommēhālu**-nāmānam grāmaṁ hi sarva-
 45 sasyakarā | Gurūrāyasya bōba[yā] vāṁcha chāru svākṛitam² || (24*) Nidhi-ni-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 46 ksbēpa-vāry-as(ē)ma-siddha-sā[dhy-ā]kshīṇ-iti cha | āgām=itya-
 47 chā-bhōg-ādhyam tēja-svāmya-samanvitam(tam) || (1 25*) **Kuly-ārām-ādi-**
 48 **samhyuktam** samasta-baḥi(li)-samhyutam(tam) | agrahāram=imanā sarvaḥ
 49 mānyam=ā-chamḍra-tārakam(kam) || (1 26*) **Sa-hiraṇy-ōdaka**[m*]dā-
 50 na[m*]dhārā-pūrvam yathā-vidhi | nityam Lakshmīpuram
 51 ch=ēti mātur-nāmnā vidhāya cha | [(1 27*)] - -
 52 **Śukla-yajuḥ-ākhā-pāraṁ-gatas-tathā**¹ | Vallabhōkt-ā-
 53 tmaḥ vidvān Māchivōktō dvij-ōttamaḥ || (1 28*) **Vēda-śā-**
 54 **stra-praviṇaś**=cha nīti-śāstra-parāyaṇaḥ | par-ō-
 55 pakāra-kuśalaḥ Śiva-pūjā-paras=tathā || (1 29*) **Natvā** ta-

¹ Four syllables are missing in the first quarter of this *Anukṛta* verse.² The second half of this verse is corrupt and I cannot suggest any emendation.

- 56 smai dvij-ēdrā(ndrā)ya bhōktuṁ dātuṁ yath=ēpsayā | sa prādādd-yu-
 57 varāj-ākhyas=Triyaṁbakā(ka)-mahīpatiḥ || [30*] Brāhmaṇaḥ sa cha saṁ-
 58 hṛiṣṭaḥ putra-pautra-samanvitaḥ | rājānam=āśisham cha-
 59 krē śchi(chi)raṁjivī bhavatu=iti ||| [31*]

Third Plate.

- 60 Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasum̐dharāṁ(rām) | śhaṁshṭir¹=varsha-sa-
 61 hasrāṇi viśṭhāyāṁ jāyatē krimiḥ || [32*] Sva-datvā(dattād=)dviguṇaṁ puṇyaṁ paṁ
 (pa)-
 62 ra-datt-ānupālanam̐(nē) | para-datt-āpahārēṇa sva-dattāṁ nishphalaṁ bha-
 63 vēt || [33*] Ēk=aiva bhagini lōkē sarvēśā(shā)m=ēva bhūbhujāṁ(jām)[1*] na bhōjyā na ka-
 64 ra-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasum̐dharā || [34*] Dāna-pālanayōr=madhyē dānāch=chhrē-
 65 yō=nupālanam̐(nam) | dānāt=svargam=avāpnōti pālanād=achyutaṁ padaṁ(dam) || [35*]
 66 Sāmānyō=yam̐ dharma-sētu[r*]=nṛipānām̐ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ [1*]
 67 sarvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pāṛthiv-ēmdrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachaṁ[draḥ] || [36*]
 68 śrī-L-Triyaṁbaka

No. 20.—SANTA-BOMMALI PLATES OF INDRAVARMAN : [GANGA] YEAR 87.

By R. K. GHOSHAL, M.A., CALCUTTA.

The copper-plates, which bear the subjoined inscription, were secured in 1925 from a farmer of the village of **Sānta-Bōmmāli** in the Ganjām District by Mr. Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadev, M.R.A.S., Rājā Bāhādur of Tēkkali, in whose ownership they now lie. The inscription seems to have been first published in the *Utkala Sāhitya Parishad Patrikā* of Cuttack, Vol. XXXI, which is not accessible to me. It was next dealt with by its present owner in the *Journ. of the Andhra Hist. Res. Society* (Vol. IV, pp. 21 ff. and plate). His introduction to and reading of the text of the inscription, however, having contained a number of inaccuracies, I take this opportunity to publish a revised edition. The present treatment is based on a reproduction of the plates accompanying the Rājā Bāhādur's paper referred to above.

The plates are **three** in number and measure² 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ " by 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The first and the third plates bear writing on their inner faces only, while the second one is inscribed on both sides. The plates are in a perfect state of preservation. Towards the proper right end of each plate there is a hole for a ring of 2 $\frac{1}{16}$ " in diameter to connect them. The **seal**,³ on which the ends of the ring are secured, measures about 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ " and on it is said to be engraved the figure of a (couchant ?) bull. The weight of the plates together with the ring is 52 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets and are almost of the same type as is found in the Achyutapuram plates⁴ (Year 87) and the Parlā-Kimēdi (Year 91)

¹ Read *śhaṁshṭir varsha*.

² *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 21. I have not had any opportunity to verify this and the following information in this paragraph from the original plates. This record has also been noticed in *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1925-26, p. 10, Appendix A, No. 2.

³ No shape of the seal is given; perhaps it is of the usual small oval shape.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, pp. 127 ff.

plates¹ of Indravarman. They have also a general resemblance to the script of the stray Tirlingi plate² (Year 28 ?) as well as to that of the Narasingapalli³ (Year 79) and Urlam⁴ (Year 80) plates of Hastivarman.

The numerical symbols 80, 7 and 30 occur in line 23.

As in the Parlā-Kimēḍi plates, the heads of the letters have in many places an imperfect and disjointed appearance, as if they had been partially worn away by rust. But as observed by Dr. Fleet,¹ this is due, wherever it occurs, to faulty execution on the part of the engraver, in omitting sometimes to complete the *mātrās* and sometimes even to commence them at all. Otherwise, the engraving is fairly clearly done. There are six lines inscribed on each plate, the whole inscription containing twenty-four lines in all.

The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of three customary verses (ll. 19-23) and one concluding verse (l. 24), the inscription is written in prose throughout.

In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal (*ṅ*) before *h* in °*śiṅha*, line 24, (2) the substitution of *anuvāra* by the class nasal of the following consonant in *āyan=dāna*, l. 18, (3) the doubling of *dh* in conjunction with a following *y* in *-ānuddhyātaḥ*, l. 7, (4) the frequent doubling of consonants after *r*, (5) the occasional doubling of consonants before *r* and (6) the use of *anuvāra* in place of the final form of *m* in *phalaṁ* (l. 20) and *-nupālanaṁ* (l. 21). The letters *b* and *v* are indicated by separate signs, the solitary exception being in *parivādhā* (l. 14). The rules of *sandhi* are observed throughout except in lines 5 and 17.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the gift of three *halas* of land towards meeting the expenses of offering regular worship and repairing the temple of god Rāmēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka in Dantayavāgū. Of these two *halas* lay in the village of Haribhaṭa in the district of Krōṣṭukavarattanī and the third at Dantayavāgū itself. The gift was made into a permanent free-hold *dēvāgrahāra* by Indravarman, *alias* Rājasimha, who is described as belonging to the spotless family of the Gāṅgas.

The **date** of the inscription is given, in figures only, as the years of the prosperous victorious reign (*pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarāḥ*) 80 7; (*the month*) Jyēṣṭha; the day 30 (l. 23).

The charter was written by Vinayachandra, the son of Bhānuchandra (l. 24).

We have had as yet three published records of the reign of Indravarman, *alias* Rājasimha : they are (1) the Achyutapuram plates of the Year 87, (2) the Parlā-Kimēḍi plates of the Year 91, and (3) the record under discussion.

Another single plate from Tirlingi (in the Ganjām District), apparently the last of a set, bears an inscription which is dated, according to Mr. S. N. Rajaguru⁵, in the year 28 of the Gāṅga era. The writer (and engraver) of this stray plate describes himself as

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 131 ff. For a lithograph of the plates Dr. Fleet refers us to his *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 18. The plates are preserved in the Madras Museum. This work of Dr. Fleet does not seem to have been eventually published.

² *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 54 ff.

³ *Above*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 62 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.

⁵ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 54.

Vinayachandra, the son of Bhānuachandra, who has been taken by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar¹ to be the namesake of the writer of the three records of Indravarman-Rājasimha mentioned above. Proceeding from this conjecture, Dr. Bhandarkar suggests² that the word read by Mr. Rajaguru as denoting twenty-eight may actually be read as eighty-eight, thus satisfactorily adjusting the date of the plate within the reign of Indravarman of the present record. The reading of the date on this plate has also been doubted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.³ The reproduction of the plate in question accompanying Mr. Rajaguru's paper⁴ is unfortunately too obscure to admit of verification on this point. What little however remains does not seem to support the reading *ashthāṣṭas*. = *asṭa* as suggested by Dr. Bhandarkar.⁵

Of the localities mentioned, **Kalinganagara** has been variously identified with modern Kalingapatam⁶ at the mouth of the Vamśadhara river or with Mukhalingam near Chicacole. The **Krōśhṭukavarṭtanī** (*vishaya*) is mentioned in a number of early and later Gāṅga records.⁷ It has been identified by Dr. E. Hultzsch⁸ with modern Chicacole. A district (*bhāga*) called Dantayavāgu (really *vāgū*) is mentioned in the Bṛihatprōshthā grant of Umavarman (above, Vol. XII, p. 5, l. 5). But I am unable to identify both this village and that of Haribhata.

Vinayachandra, the writer of the present record, was also responsible for preparing the draft of the two inscriptions of Hastivarman and two of Indravarman⁹ mentioned above.

The *biruda* Rājasimha applied to Indravarman in the present record, also occurs in the Narsingapalli and Utlam plates of Hastivarman and also in the Achyutapuram and Parlā-Kimēḍi plates of Indravarman.

The date of our inscription can be ascertained only very approximately. If, as is held by Prof. R. Subba Rao,¹⁰ the epoch of the Gāṅga era began from 494 A.D., the date of our record would fall at 494+87=581 A.D. Without caring however to arrive at any one particular year, we would not be far wrong if we placed our record in the period 570-625 A.D.

¹ *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 285, f. n. 1.

² *Ibid.*, no. 2047.

³ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 63, f. n. 1.

⁴ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 53.

⁵ In any case, it begins with *ashṭa*. Of the two letters following, the second appears to be a ligature most probably with a guttural nasal (*ṣ*); while the preceding one has a clear medial *i* sign. The arguments advanced by Mr. G. Ramdas (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 82-83) for doubting the genuineness of this stray plate do not appear to be conclusive. His reading of the date *siya=ashṭa(ṣic)viti* also is not borne out by the plate; for, the conjunct (read by Mr. Rajaguru as *ya* being a possessive case-ending) coming immediately after *samantara* cannot possibly be broken up into *si* and *tya*.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 132.

⁷ E.g., Utlam pla. (Yr. 80) of Hastivarman, Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.; Chicacole pla. (Yr. 183) of Devāndravarman, Above, Vol. III, pp. 131 ff.; Parlā-Kimēḍi pla. (Yr. 204) of Anantavarman, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 144 ff., etc.

⁸ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.

⁹ He was also probably the same as the writer and engraver of the stray Tilingi grant (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 54 ff.) the donor of which must remain, pending the discovery of the remaining plates of the set, a mysterious personality. Prof. R. Subba Rao however suggests (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 71) that the donor may be identified with Mitravarman, father of Indrādhirāja, mentioned in the Gōḍāvari plates of Prithivīmāla (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 116 ff. and pls.). This Indrādhirāja has further been held by Dr. Bhandarkar (*List*, p. 266, No. 1904 and f. n. 1) to be identical with Indravarman of the Jirjingi pla. of the Gāṅga Year 39 (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 51 ff.).

¹⁰ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 267-76.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 Ōh² Svasti [*] Sarvv-artu-sukha-rāmapīyād=viṣaya-Kaliṅganagarāt-sakala-bhuvana-
nirmā-
- 2 ṅ-aika-sūtradhāraṣya bhagavatō Gōkarṇṇasvāminas=charaṇa-kamala-yugala-praṇā-
- 3 mād-apagata-kali-kalanikō vinaya-naya-sampadām-ādihārāḥ sv-āsi-dhārā-
- 4 parispaṇḍ-ādhiḡata-sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhirājyaś=chatur-udadhi-taraṅga-mōkhal-ā-
- 5 vani-tala-pravītat-āmala-yasāḥ anēka-samara-saṅkshōbha-janīta-jaya-śa
- 6 bōḥ Gāṅg-āmala-kula-pratishṭhaḥ pratāp-ātīṣay-ānāmīta-samasta-sāmanta-chūdā-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 7 maṇi-prabhā-maṇjari-puṇja-raṇjita-charaṇō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātāḥ paramamā-
- 8 bēśvaraḥ śrī-Mahārāj-Ēndravarmma³ [* Krōṣṭukavarttanyām Haribhaṭa-grāmē
sarvva-sa-
- 9 mavētān=kuṭumbinas=samājñāpayati [*] Vīditam=astu vō yath=āmābhīr-asmi-
- 10 n-grāmē hala-dvayasya bhūś=chhitvā Dantayavāgvārī bhagavatō Rāmēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka-
- 11 sya bali-charu-sattra-pravarttanāya khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-saṅkārā-karaṇāya cha Dantaya-
- 12 vāgvīyā cha halasya bhūr-asy-aiva sarvva-karmīḥ parihṛity-ā-chandr-ārka-pratishṭhan

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 13 dēvāgrahāraṇ=krītvā mātā-pitṛrōr-ātmanas=cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē Talavaradēva-
- 14 bhōḡikēna pratibōdhitais=sampradattā [*] tad=viditvā na kēnachit=parivā(bā)dhā kāryy=
ēti [*]
- 15 Haribhaṭa-kshōttrasya cha sīmā-līṅgāni uttarēṇa Kahatriya-taṭāka⁴-parivāhaḥ
- 16 pūrvvēṇ=ārjuna-vṛikshaś=tatō valmika-paṅktis=tatāḥ kṛitṛi(tri)mā pāśhāṇa-puṇja-paṅkti-
[ḥ*]
- 17 tatō nīmba-vṛikshaḥ dakṣhiṇēn=āpi tat-taṭāka-parivāha ēva pāśchimēna kūpas=tata[ḥ*]
- 18 Yamalak-ārjuna-vṛikshō tatō rāja-mārggaś=ch=ēti | Bhavishyad-rājabhiś=ch=āyan-dāna-

Third Plate.

- 19 dharmmā(rmmō)=nupālyas=tathā cha Vyāsa-gītām⁵ ślōkān=udāharanti [*] Bahubhīr=
vvasudhā dattā
- 20 bahubhiś=ch=ānupālītā [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmīs=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [||1*]
Sva-dattām
- 21 para-dattām vā yatnād=rakṣa Yudhisṭhīra [*] mahi[ḥ*] mahimatām śrēṣṭha dānāch=
chhṛēyō=nupālanaṁ(nam) [||2*]

¹ From plate opp. p. 23, J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IV.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁴ Cf. *Rājatalpāka*; above, Vol. III, p. 127.

⁵ Is this *arjuna* a cluster of two trees of the same species? Or, is *yamalaka* to be restored as *āmālaka*? In that case we have to read *vṛiksha* in place of *vṛikshō*.

⁶ Read -*glān*.

⁷ Metre: *Ślōka* (*Anuṣṭubh*); and in the following two verses.

- 22 Shashṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi mōdatē divi bhūmidah [*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva
 23 narakē vasēd=iti¹ | pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarāḥ 80 7 Jyēshṭha-divasa
 30² [*]
 24 ³Idam Vinayachandrēṇa Bhānuchandrasya sūnunā [*] śāsanaṁ Rājasinḥasya⁴ likhi-
 taṁ sva-mukh=ājñayā [4*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-14) Ōm Hail! From the victorious (city of) **Kaliṅganagara**, which is pleasant in all seasons, the glorious **Mahārāja Indravarman**⁵ addresses (the following) order to all the householders *en masse* at the village of **Haribhaṭa** in (the district of) **Krōshṭukavarttanī** :

"Be it known to you that We have granted, after portioning it off, and on being informed by Talavaradēva,⁶ the *Bhōgika*,⁷ and for increasing the religious merit of (Our) parents and of Ourselves, two *halas*⁸ of land in this village for the sake of performing (rites known as) *bali*, *charu* and *sattra*, and for the repairs of dilapidations (of the temple) of god Rāmēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka (situated) in (the village called) **Dantayavāgū** and (in addition to that) another *hala* of land in (the same) **Dantayavāgū**, having constituted it as an *agrahāra* for god (Rāmēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka) which is to last as long as the moon and the sun, and having exempted it from all impositions.

Having known this, nobody should cause any hindrance".

(Ll. 15-18) The boundary marks of the land (granted) in (the village of) **Haribhaṭa** are as follows :—On the north, the storm-water channel of the tank (called) *Kshatriya-taṭāka*; on the east, an *arjuna* tree, after that a row of ant-hills, then up to the artificial line of heaped-up stones, then a *nimba* tree; on the south, the same channel of that tank (*Kshatriya-taṭāka*); on the west, a well, then the twin *arjuna* trees, then the royal road.

(Ll. 18-23) The future kings should maintain this religious gift. And likewise the verses sung by Vyāsa are quoted :—

(Here come three of the customary verses.)

(Ll. 23-24) The year 87 of the prosperous victorious reign; (the month) **Jyēshṭha**, the day 30.

This edict (śāsana) of **Rājasinḥa** has been written at the command of his (the king's) own mouth, by **Vinayachandra**, the son of **Bhānuchandra**.⁹

¹ Read *vasēt* [3*] *iti*.

² Mr. Jagadev reads the symbol as 10.

³ Metre: *Slōka* (*Anuṣṭubh*).

⁴ Read *sinḥasya*.

⁵ For a translation of the long string of epithets that follows see above, Vol. III, p. 129.

⁶ *Talavara* as an official title (*Mahāpratīhāra-Talavara-Vinayaśūrasya*) occurs on a Basarh seal (*An. Rep.*, A. S. I., 1903-4, p. 100, No. 16). *Mahātala* (along with its feminine *Mahātalarī*) in the sense of a high dignitary with indefinite function is frequently mentioned in inscriptions of Ikshvāku kings from Nāgarjunikonda (above, Vol. XX, pp. 6-7 and f. n. 1).

In the present instance also *Talavaradēva-Bhōgika* (or *Talavara-dēvabhōgika*?) seems to have been used as the title of an officer who did the dual function of a *talavara* and a *bhōgika*.

⁷ For the explanation of the term *Bhōgika*, see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 59 and 64. Also *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 100, n. 1.

⁸ In explaining the technical word *kula*, in *Manu*, VII, 119, Kulluka observes thus: *śadgavaṁ madhyamaṁ kalam=iti tathāvidha-haladevayēna yāvati bhūmīr=vāhyatē tat=kulam=iti vadati*. Here the connotation of *hala* is not clear. In any case, *hala* appears to be a recognised kind of land-measure.

⁹ I am grateful to my revered teacher Dr. R. G. Basak, M.A., Ph.D., Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Calcutta, for kindly suggesting a number of corrections in my interpretation of the text of the inscription.

No. 21.—PURSHOTTAMPURI PLATES OF RAMACHANDRA : SAKA 1232.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

These plates were brought to my notice by Mr. R. M. Bhusari, M.A., Professor of Marāṭhī, in the Osmania College, Hyderābād (Deccan). At my request Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist, supplied me with excellent ink-impressions of them. The original plates were kindly procured by Mr. G. Yazdani, M.A., O.B.E., Director of Archaeology, Hyderābād State, and their ink-impressions taken by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. I am indebted to Mr. Yazdani for permission to edit the plates in this Journal.

The **copper-plates**, which are **three** in number, were discovered in the possession of a Gōsāvi at Purshōttampuri on the southern bank of the Gōdāvarī, about 40 miles due west of Parbhani, in the Bhīr District of H. E. H. the Nizām's Dominions. They are very massive, each measuring 1' 2½" broad, 1' 8" high and ¾" thick. Their total weight is 47·25 lbs.¹ The ends of the plates are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only and the second on both the sides. The plates have in the centre at the top a round hole 1½" in diameter for the ring which must have originally held them together; but neither the ring nor the seal, which must have been connected with it², is now forthcoming. The writing is in a state of excellent preservation. There are 141 lines in all, of which thirty-four are written on each of the first two inscribed sides, thirty-eight on the second side of the second plate, while the last plate has thirty-five lines. The technical execution is very good, there being few mistakes of writing or engraving. In line 51 two redundant *aksharas* have been cancelled by incising two vertical strokes on the top.

The **characters** are Nāgarī. Except in a few cases they closely resemble the ordinary Nāgarī characters of the present time. The only peculiarities that call for notice are that the curve for the medial *u* is in some cases added to the side and not to the bottom of the vertical stroke, see *Vishṇu*-, l. 81 and =*achyutam*-, l. 137; the medial diphthongs are in many cases denoted by *prish-ṭhamātrās*; the subscript member of the ligature *gg* like that of *ṇṇ* is denoted only by a horizontal stroke, see *svarggam*-, l. 136; *ṇ* appears with a dot in one case and without it in another, see *Śārṅga*- in ll. 2-3 and 30; the form of the rare *jḥ* in *Vinṇhadēva*, l. 105, is noteworthy; the letters *ṇ* and *jñ* approximate to their modern forms, see *ramaṇa*-, l. 2 and *yajñair*-, l. 124; the letters *t* and *n*, *th* and *dh* as well as *v* and *ch* are in some places written alike; the left member of *dh* is fully developed except in ligatures like *ddh*; there was thus no possibility of confusion between *dhā* and *vā*, still the horizontal line joining the vertical strokes of the former *akshara* is not discarded, see *nīdhānam*-, l. 2; finally, *v* and *b* are denoted by their proper signs except in *vrahma-sv*-, l. 133.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is written partly in prose and partly in verse. There are 59 verses in all. Of the initial 18 verses which eulogize the reigning king Rāmachandra and his ancestors, one completely and another partly³ occur in the earlier Paiṭhan plates of the same king. It is again noteworthy that in the concluding portion, which contains benedictive and imprecatory verses, there is one verse which is only a hemistich, and another, which is an *Anush-*

¹ In their size and weight the present plates resemble the Paiṭhan plates of the same king Rāmachandra edited by Dr. Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 314 ff. Of the three plates here the first weighs 18 lbs., the second 14·25 lbs. and the third 15 lbs.

² The aforementioned Paiṭhan plates have a Garuḍa seal.

³ These are verses 4 and 13. The second half of the latter verse occurs as the first half of the corresponding verse in line 46 of the Paiṭhan plates.

tabh verse of six *pādas*. The inscription is composed in a good style and contains an interesting use of *double entendre* in several verses of the eulogistic portion. Of *lexicographical interest* are the old Marāṭhī words, *phulabodh*¹ and *jōisī* (modern *Jośī*). The former which is the title of a royal functionary² occurs also in an old Marāṭhī work of the same age, viz., the *Śiśupālavadha* (v. 51) of Bhāskaraśhaṭṭa. The nasalisation of the final syllable in the Marāṭhī names of villages is also noteworthy. As regards *orthography* we may note that *kā* is used for *sh* as in *paritōkhēga*, l. 41 and *vice versa* as in *ratna-shanyah*, l. 48. The dental and palatal sibilants are used each in its proper place except in a few cases such as *apriyatē*, l. 25. The letters *v* and *b* are almost everywhere clearly distinguished. In one case (namely, in *Mahādēvapuri*, l. 116), *ea* is changed to *ō* as in old Marāṭhī works. The rules of *sandhi* are violated in several places, the most common instance being the addition of an *anuscāra* before final *n* as in *ullāsayan=*, l. 12, *uddharan=*, l. 18, etc.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Rāmachandra of the Later Yādava dynasty. The object of it is to record the grant, by Rāmachandra, of some villages to his minister Purushōttama alias Purushai Nāyaka, for the formation of an *agrahāra* and the donation, by Purushōttama, of the *agrahāra* which he named Purushōttamapuri after himself, to certain Brāhmanas. The *agrahāra* consisted of the four villages, Pōkharī, Aḍagau³, Vāghaurē and Kurupapāragau, which were situated in the Kānhairī-*khampanaka* (subdivision) of the Kānhairī-dēśa. The first three of these villages had three hamlets (*khetakas*) attached to each of them, viz., Sāgāhvāṇa, Pimpalagāhvāṇa, Pālipōkharī, Pimpalavāḍī, Kājalakōvī, Sōijagē, Sīmpivihirē, Gōlēgāhvāṇa and Dhāravāghaurē. The *agrahāra* was bounded on the east by Dāṇḍigau, and Sādulē, on the south by Kōṣavapuri, Sāvārigavā and Harikūibagau, on the west by Rājagau, Hivārē, Chīnchavālī and Mahādēvapuri joined to Drugalēgāhvāṇa and on the north by the Gaṅgā. The land of these villages was divided into 86 parts (*vyitis*⁴) of which two were assigned to two gods, whose names have not been specified, one was set apart to provide for the annual performance of the *agnishikā* rite⁵ and the maintenance of a charitable water-shed (*propā*)⁶, while the remaining 83 parts were donated to 83 Brāhmanas, one being assigned to each. The names of the donees and their fathers together with such details as their *sākhās* and *gōtras* are given in lines 80-114. Of the eighty-three Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries, fifty-seven belonged to the Rīgvēda, twenty-one to the Taittirīya-*sākhā* of the Black Yajurveda, one to the Kāyva and one to the Mādhyandina-*sākhā* of the White Yajurveda and the remaining three to the Sāmavēda. Among the *gōtras* the following are represented :—Kāśyapa, Bhāradvāja, Jāmadagnya-Vatsa, Vasishṭha, Vāishnaviddha, Kausika,

¹ *Phulabodh* means the Superintendent of the arrangement of flowers. See v. 25.

² I have not nasalized the final vowel of this and other place-names.

³ That *vyiti* meant an actual plot of land, not a share of the produce, is clear from the Chanjē inscription of Sōmēśvaradēva (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 281) where in line 11 some *vyitis* are mentioned as defining the boundaries of the donated land.

⁴ The *agnishikā* rite is performed in the cold seasons of Hēmanṭa and Śūdra. It consists in the kindling of fire with the recitation of appropriate *mantras* and the feeding of Brāhmanas and supplicants every morning and evening, commencing from an auspicious day in the month of Mārgaśrēṣṭha. It is believed to yield great religious reward in the next world as the fire is enjoyed by the people who sit round it in the cold seasons and talk on all sorts of matters, political, religious and social. For a description of the rite, see Hēmadri's *Dānakhaṇḍa*, *prakarana* xiii (*Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, ed. by Pandit Sadāśiv Achārya Dikshīt, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 859 ff.) The *Līlā-charitra*, a Mahānubhāva work of the Yādava period, mentions the *agnishikā* fire at Pimpalagaon not far from Dēvagiri, which was visited by Chakradhara, the founder of the Mahānubhāva sect.

⁵ The *propā* is a charitable water-shed maintained usually in summer, where thirsty travellers and cattle get free drinking water.

Agastya, Viśvāmitra, Kauṇḍīnya, Harita, First Ātrēya,¹ Viṣṇuvṛiddha-Āṅgīrṣa, Vādhryaśva, Gautama, Naidhruva, Dēvarāta, Ātrēya, Vatsa, Kapi, Gārgya, Pūtimāsha, Śrīvatsa and Lōhita. Unlike some other Yādava inscriptions such as the Chikka-Bāgiwāḍi plates of the time of Kṛishṇa² and the Paithan plates of Rāmachandra, the present record does not, except in four cases, mention the family names of the Brāhmaṇa donees and it is noteworthy that at least three of these four family names, viz., Mīśra, Dubē and Trivēḍi, are of North-Indian Brāhmaṇas.

The inscription contains **two dates**, one in lines 33-34 and the other in lines 72-73. Both of them refer themselves to the Śaka era and are expressed in years which are said to have elapsed since the time of a Śaka king.³ It is noteworthy that there is no reference in them to the king Śālivāhana as the founder of the era. This manner of mentioning the era confirms Dr. Fleet's suspicion that the date of the Thāpā plates of Rāmachandra also, of which the original plates are lost, did not probably contain any reference to this legendary king⁴. The earliest inscriptions which mention this king's name in connection with the dates of the Śaka era are those of the king Bukkarāya I of Vijayanagara, as has already been pointed out by Dr. Fleet.

The **earlier of the two dates** mentioned in the present inscription, which records the grant of the aforementioned four villages by Rāmachandra is **Saturday, the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada of Śaka 1232**, the cyclic year being Sādhārṇa. This date regularly corresponds, for the expired Śaka year 1232, to the 5th September A. D. 1310, on which day the aforementioned tithi ended at 11 h. after mean sunrise. The cyclic year was Sādhārṇa according to the southern luni-solar system. The **second date** which registers the donation of the *agrahāra* of the same four villages by the minister Purushōttama is mentioned as *Kapilashashthi* in the month of **Bhādrapada in Śaka 1232** and the cyclic year Sādhārṇa. The fortnight and the week-day are not expressly stated in this case. They are, however, implied by the mention of the *Kapilashashthi*; for it is well known that the latter name is given to the sixth tithi of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Bhādrapada when it falls on a Tuesday and is joined with the *nakṣatra* Rōhiṇi and the *yōga* Vyatipāta. It is regarded as particularly auspicious if the sun is besides in the *nakṣatra* Hasta⁵. This date also is quite regular. It corresponds, for the same expired Śaka year 1232, to Tuesday, the 15th September A.D. 1310, when the sixth tithi of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Bhādrapada ended at 12 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise. This tithi was *Kapilashashthi*; for on that day the moon was in the constellation Rōhiṇi till 3 h. 20 m. and the *yōga* Vyatipāta ended at 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise⁶. The sun also was then in Hasta; for it had entered that *nakṣatra* only a week before, viz., at 18 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise on the 8th September A.D. 1310. The inscription states that Rāmachandra had asked Purushōttama several times before to make an *agrahāra* worthy of himself. The latter was evidently awaiting the tithi *Kapilashashthi*, a grant made on which is regarded as specially meritorious. He finally made the grant on the aforementioned day when the rare combination of the particular tithi, week-day, *nakṣatras* and *yōga* necessary for a *Kapilashashthi* occurred in the early hours of the morning.

¹ There are four *ganas* in the Atri *gōtra* which differ from one another only in respect of the third *pratara*. The *pratara*s of the first Ātrēya *gōtra* are Ātrēya, Archanīmas and Syāvāśva.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 303 ff.

³ The same manner of mentioning the date is met with in the earlier Rāshtrakūṭa grants, see above, Vol. XXIII, p. 16.

⁴ Above, Vol. XIII, p. 199.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 183.

⁶ For calculations of the *yōga* I have used the tables for the *Sūrya Siddhānta* in Diwan Bahadur S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, pt. i.

Having thus disposed of the formal portion of the grant, we shall now turn to the historical information furnished by it.

The genealogy of the reigning king Rāmachandra is here traced from **Simha** (Sinhapa). Verse 4 states that Sinhapa defeated **Ballāla** and the lord of **Bhambhāgiri**, imprisoned the king **Bhōja** on the crest of a fortress and vanquished **Arjuna**. These exploits of Sinhapa are enumerated in other records also. In fact the aforementioned verse was already known from the *Paṭhan* plates of Rāmachandra. Most of the kings mentioned in it have already been identified by Dr. H. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. Fleet in their respective works.¹ Still there are a few more details about them which can now be gathered from records which have recently come to light.

Ballāla defeated by Sinhapa was evidently the Hoysala king Vira-Ballāla II, who flourished from circa A.D. 1173 to A.D. 1220². The war in which he suffered a defeat seems, therefore, to have been fought in the beginning of Sinhapa's reign (circa A.D. 1210 to 1247). Hēnādri's *Vṛatakhanda* gives credit to Sinhapa for the annexation of the entire kingdom of Ballāla. This is no doubt an exaggeration; but as Fleet has shown, Sinhapa seems to have annexed some territory to the south of the Malaprabhā and the Kṛishnā which formed the southern boundary of the Yādava kingdom during the reigns of his predecessors Bhīlāma and Jaitugi. The **Andhra** king defeated by Sinhapa was probably Gaṇapati of the Kākatya dynasty who had been released from imprisonment and placed on the throne by Sinhapa's father Jaitugi³. The battle does not appear to have been decisive; for Gaṇapati also claimed success over his Yādava antagonist⁴. No definite information about the third king **Kakkalla** overthrown by Sinhapa was available until recently. Dr. Bhandarkar suggested that he belonged to the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri; for some kings of that dynasty were known to have assumed the analogous name Kōkkalla.⁵ From a stone inscription recently found at the village Uddari in the Sorab talukā of the Shimoga District in the Mysore State,⁶ it seems however that this Kakkalla (who is called Kākala in that record) was a mighty ruler of Varāṇsa. Varāṇsa is mentioned in several southern inscriptions.⁷ The Hoysala king Vishṇuvardhana is said to have dispersed like a gale the clouds which were the Varāṇsa kings.⁸ The exact location of the country is not known, but it seems that it was situated somewhere in South India, probably to the north of the Mysore State.

¹ See *Early History of the Deccan* (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii), pp. 239 ff. and *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (*ibid.*), pp. 522 ff.

² See Sewell's *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 135.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 316. Some inscriptions describe Sinhapa as the uprooter of the water-lily that was the head of the Tēlānga king (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 524 and *Mysore Arch. Sur. Rep.* for 1929, p. 142). But a similar exploit is mentioned in connection with Mahādēva also. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 194. So it is doubtful if Sinhapa really killed a Kākatya king. Perhaps he fought in the war in which his father Jaitugi is said to have cut off the head of Gaṇapati's uncle Rudra (see Hēnādri's *Vṛatakhanda*, Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 272). Or he may have killed Gaṇapati's father Mahādēva, who also is known to have met with death on a battlefield; see above, Vol. III, p. 97.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 200.

⁵ *Early History of the Deccan* (Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii), p. 24.

⁶ *Mysore Arch. Sur. Rep.* for 1929, pp. 142 ff. and plate XVII. This inscription is fragmentary. It opens with the date, Śaka 1198, which would assign it to the reign of Rāmachandra, but the extant portion contains epithets which are usually applied to Sinhapa. The same draft seems to have been used in the Tījavalli inscription (*J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. IX, p. 32), but owing to imperfect readings the reference to Kākala, the king of Varāṇsa, seems to have escaped the notice of earlier writers.

⁷ *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 14, 20, and 70.

⁸ Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 496.

The next king mentioned in the present record as overthrown by Śimhaṇa was the lord of **Bhambhāgiri**.¹ Hēmadri mentions his name as Lakṣmīdhara. The Āmbē inscription No. 2 names him as Lakṣmīdēva and furnishes the additional information that he belonged to the Ābhira dynasty.² Bhambhāgiri has not yet been satisfactorily identified. Mr. G. H. Khare has suggested that it might be either Bhāmbhōri in the Ahmednagar District or Rājāchi Bhām near Yeotmal in Berār.³ But neither of these identifications can be upheld in the absence of a fort near by; for the name Bhambhāgiri suggests that it was a fortified place. As Lakṣmīdēva, the lord of Bhambhāgiri, belonged to the Ābhira dynasty, he was probably ruling somewhere in Khāndesh, which still has a large population of Ābhīras or Ahīrs. There is even now a ruined old town called Bhāmēr, four miles south of Nizāmpur in the Pimpalnēr *tāluka* of the West Khāndesh District. It lies at the foot of a great fortified hill which has many ruined gateways, gates, towers, and also some old caves locally known as Rājā's houses.⁴ The hill near Bhāmēr is, therefore, probably Bhambhāgiri. The aforementioned Āmbē inscription describes Khōlēśvara, a general of Śimhaṇa, as a very wild fire which burned the forest of the family of Lakṣmīdēva, the Ābhira king of Bhambhāgiri and a similar statement occurs about Śimhaṇa in the Uddari stone inscription. This shows that Śimhaṇa probably exterminated the whole family of the Ābhira prince.

The king **Bhōja**, who was confined on a hill, has already been identified with Bhōja II of the Śilāhāra dynasty of Kolhāpur. Some southern inscriptions⁵ describe Śimhaṇa as a very lord of birds (Garuḍa) in routing the serpent, viz., the king Bhōja who resided on Prapāla. Prapāla is plainly Panhālā, a strong fort 12 miles to the north-west of Kolhāpur. After this defeat of Bhōja, the Śilāhāra kingdom was annexed by Śimhaṇa; for the inscriptions of his governors are thenceforth found at Kolhāpur and the adjoining territory. The earliest of these is dated A.D. 1218 which shows that the defeat of Bhōja must have occurred some time before that date. The Āmbē inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 also mention a king named Bhōja who was defeated by Śimhaṇa's general Khōlēśvara.⁶ But as he is said there to have belonged to the Paramāra dynasty and to have been the lord of Chāhanda, he must be different from the homonymous Śilāhāra king. Chāhanda where he ruled may be Chāndā, the chief town of the Chāndā District of the Central Provinces. And it may be noted in this connection that a stone inscription of a Paramāra chief, dated Śaka 1308, has been found at Bhāndak,⁷ which lies only 16 miles north-west of Chāndā.

Arjuna, the lastnamed antagonist of Śimhaṇa, was identified by Dr. Fleet with Arjunavarmadēva, king of Aṇhilwād of the Vāghelā branch of the Chālukya family. Though he did not come to the throne till A.D. 1261-62, Fleet thought that he might have held a command under his father Viśaladēva (A.D. 1243-44 to 1261-62) and thus might have been a contemporary of Śimhaṇa.⁸ Dr. Bhandarkar, on the other hand, proposed to identify him with Arjunavarmadēva, king of Mālwa.⁹ In several other inscriptions Śimhaṇa's victories over both the Gurjara and Mālava

¹ Man. of Hēmadri's *Pratakhaṇḍa* give the place-name as *Rambhāgiri* (v. I. *Bhambhāgiri*), but the name *Bhambhāgiri* occurs also in the Paithan plates (ll. 26-27) and the Āmbē inscription No. 2 (l. 30). The reading *Rambhāgiri* which occurs in line 24 of the latter record is probably a mistake for *Bhambhāgiri*.

² G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (in Marāṭhī), Vol. I, p. 64.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁴ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XII, pp. 434 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 524, n. 1; *Mysore Arch. Sur. Rep.* for 1920, p. 142.

⁶ G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, pp. 64 and 74.

⁷ Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (second ed.), pp. 15-16.

⁸ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 525, n. 4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 239.

kings are spoken of, but the name of Arjuna is rarely coupled with either of them. In the stone inscription from Uddari, to which attention has been called above, *Siṃhaṇa* is described as a lion who curbed the pride of the rutting elephant, namely, Arjuna, the king of the *Mālava* country.¹ This corroborates Dr. Bhandarkar's view that the king Arjuna belonged to the *Paramāra* dynasty.

Our inscription next mentions *Jaitrapāla*, the son of *Siṃhaṇa*. But the praise lavished on him is wholly conventional and affords no proof that he even came to the throne. In fact, epigraphical records make it clear that *Siṃhaṇa* was succeeded by his grandson *Kṛishṇa*, the son of *Jaitrapāla*.²

Of the two verses (7 and 8) which describe the achievements of *Kṛishṇa*, the first refers to his victory over *Kāmapāla*. This king, so far as I know, is not named elsewhere and there is no express mention of the dynasty to which he belonged or the country over which he ruled. The *Āmbē* inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 mention one *Rāmapāla*, the king of Benares, who was routed by *Khōlēśvara*.³ The similarity of the names *Rāmapāla* and *Kāmapāla* may be taken to indicate that both of them belonged to the same royal family; but the description in verse 7 that the overthrow of *Kāmapāla* delighted cowherds suggests that he belonged to the *Ābhira* dynasty and he may therefore have been ruling somewhere in *Khāndesh*. This conjecture receives some support from the recently discovered *Tāsgaon* plates which intimate a victory over a chief of cowherds (*gōpaka-pālaka*) obtained by *Kēśava*, a feudatory chief of the *Yādava* Emperor *Kṛishṇa*.⁴

Verse 8 intimates *Kṛishṇa*'s victories over the kings of *Gurjara*, *Mālava*, *Chōla* and *Kōśala*. Some other inscriptions also claim for *Kṛishṇa* successes over most of these princes, but they do not specifically name any of them. *Hēmādri*, however, mentions *Kṛishṇa*'s defeat of the extensive forces of *Viśaladēva*, the king of *Gujarāt*⁵ and the *Bēhaṭṭi* plates describe the fierce fight in a graphic manner.⁶ The *Muṇḍoli* stone inscription⁷ dated A. D. 1252-53 eulogizes *Kṛishṇa* as 'a very *Trinētra* to *Madana* in the form of the king of *Mālava*'. The contemporary king of *Mālwā* was probably *Jaitugīdēva* for whom we have the dates V. S. 1292 and 1300.⁸ The same inscription speaks of *Kṛishṇa* as the sovereign of the king of *Chōla*.⁹ There is, however, no actual proof of *Kṛishṇa*'s encounter with the contemporary *Chōla* king who was *Rājendra III* (1246-79).¹⁰ The king of *Kōśala* was evidently the contemporary *Kalachuri* ruler of *Ratanpur*. He was probably the successor of *Jājalladēva* who was defeated by *Siṃhaṇa*¹¹; but we have now no means of ascertaining his name, for the last inscriptional record of the

¹ See *Ha(A)rjuna-Mālāv-kshitipati-matta-mūlaha-mada-dalana-pamchānana*, *Mysore Arch. Sur. Rep.* for 1929, p. 143.

² *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 244.

³ G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediæval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, pp. 64 and 74.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 14. See v. 18 :—

Tvaṃ rē Kōṇkaṇa-bhūpatir=bhava tad=āhaṃ Chandra-dēvaḥ kṣhaṇaṃ
tvaṃ chēd=gōpaka-pālako=si tad=arē jātō=smy=ahaṃ Kēśavaḥ
raksha tvaṃ vishayaṃ nijaṃ [cha*] tad=ararē(arē) dhātyā grahishyē kṣhaṇād=
ittham(ttham) yaṃ(n)-nripa-maṇdirē kalakal-ākshēpāḥ śiśu-kriḍanē

This verse which the editor found difficult to interpret refers to the personation of the ruler of *Kōṇkaṇa* and the chief of cowherds by some boys and of *Chandra-dēva* and *Kēśava* (the two brothers who were feudatories of *Kṛishṇa*) by others, while they were playing in the palace of *Chandra-dēva*. The description is evidently intended to suggest the victories of the two brothers over the king of *Kōṇkaṇa* and the chief of cowherds (*Ābhīras*?).

⁵ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 272.

⁶ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 42.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-9.

⁸ R. G. Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, pp. 105 and 392.

⁹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 39.

¹⁰ K. Nilakanta Sastri—*The Cōlas*, Vol. II, pt. i, pp. 186 ff.

¹¹ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 240.

Kalacburis of Ratanpur which can be referred to that age, viz., the Pēṇḍrābandh plates of Pratāpamalla¹, is dated K. 965 (A. D. 1214), i.e., more than thirty years before the accession of Kṛishṇa.

The present inscription mentions only one exploit of Mahādēva, the younger brother and successor of Kṛishṇa, viz., his destruction of Sōma. The latter is evidently Sōmēśvara of the Śilāhāra dynasty, the ruler of North Kōṅkaṇa, two records of whose reign have recently been edited in this journal.² Mahādēva seems to have continued the hostilities which were begun by his predecessor Kṛishṇa; for the aforementioned Tāgaon plates intimate a victory over a king of Kōṅkaṇa won by Chandradēva, a feudatory of Kṛishṇa.³ The description in verse 10 of the present record suggests that Sōmēśvara was killed in a naval engagement with the fleet of Mahādēva.

Mahādēva's son and successor was Āmaṇa⁴ to whose glorification the present inscription devotes two verses. They are, however, altogether devoid of historical interest. Verse 13, of which the latter part was already known from the Paithan plates, states that Rāma (i.e., Rāmachandra), the son of Kṛishṇa, having occupied the fort of Dēvagiri, forcibly wrested the kingdom from Āmaṇa. The next verse gives an interesting description of the ruse which Rāmachandra adopted to obtain possession of the impregnable fort. He entered it with a party of dancers who were his soldiers in disguise. When admitted inside, he rallied his foot-soldiers and attacked his antagonists apparently while they were engaged in seeing the dance. The dancers also, throwing off their ornaments (i.e., disguise), joined in the fight. Rāmachandra seems to have won an easy victory as his enemy was taken unawares. The *Līlācharitra*, a work of the Mahānubhāva sect from which some extracts of historical importance have recently been published,⁵ gives a graphic account of the confusion caused by this sudden attack. Chakradhara, the founder of the sect, was then sojourning at the village Savitā⁶ (v. l. Sēvatā) near Dēvagiri. Seeing that the people were panic-stricken and some carts carrying wounded persons were passing through the village, Chakradhara sent his disciple Indrabhaṭṭa to inquire what had happened. He confirmed what Chakradhara had already come to know by intuition that a revolution had taken place at Dēvagiri, that Rāmadēva had deposed Āmaṇadēva and himself occupied his throne, that Narasimhadēva (who seems to be Āmaṇadēva's general or minister) had fled away and that Rāmadēva had put out the eyes of Āmaṇadēva. As this account occurs in the *Līlācharitra*, which is a biography of Chakradhara, written by his disciple Mahīndrabhaṭṭa, we may take it as trustworthy. The *Ratnamālāstōtra* of Kēśava Vyāsa, another disciple of Chakradhara, furnishes the further detail that the aforementioned incident took place in the evening.⁷ The *Smṛitīsthala* of Paraśaratāma Vyāsa, who

¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 278 ff.

³ See above, p. 204, n. 4.

⁴ He is called Āmaṇa in the present plates and Āmaṇa in the Paithan plates.

⁵ These extracts were first published by Mr. Y. K. Deshpande in his *Mahānubhāva Marāṭhī Vāṅmaya* (1925), pp. 16 ff. and their historical importance was brought to the notice of scholars by Mr. Y. R. Gupta in his article in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. V, pp. 198 ff.

⁶ The place-name is given as *Sabbhichchha* in a Sanskrit verse cited below. It is possible to fix the exact location of this place. According to the *Līlācharitra*, Chakradhara's itinerary was as follows:—Pimpalvādī (about 30 miles south by east of Dēvagiri and 5 miles north of Paithan), Bhōganārāyaṇa, Bābhulgaon (12 miles south of Dēvagiri), Savitā, and Jōgēsvārī (6 miles south of Dēvagiri). So Savitā was situated between Bābhulgaon and Jōgēsvārī. It seems to have occupied the same position as modern Wajaj, about 8 miles south of Dēvagiri. It lies on the Dēvagiri-Paithan road. It seems therefore that the wounded persons were being taken to Paithan.

⁷ See *Tatva Sabbhichchhaṇa samuṇḍhya āyam vipram prayuktān parigrihya tallan | samāgatam grāma-jana-āritān tām paprichchha rājya-antara-jāta-vāritām* : cited in the Appendix to the *Līlācharitra*, Part IV, edited by Mr. H. N. Nene.

flourished in the same period, charges Rāmadēva with the murder of his brother, persecution of saints and inefficient administration of his kingdom which culminated in his capture by Muhammadan invaders.¹

Verses 16-18 describe the achievements of Rāmachandra. Though several inscriptions of the reign of this king have been discovered till now, few of them refer to any historical events. We have, therefore, here for the first time a contemporary account of some important events in Rāmachandra's reign. Verse 16 states that Rāmachandra defeated with ease the mighty lord of the extensive **Ḍāhala** country, subjugated the ruler of **Bhāṇḍāgāra**, dethroned the king of **Vajrākara** and defeated in battle the prince of cowherds. The lord of the **Ḍāhala** country is evidently the Kalachuri king who was ruling at Tripurī, now a small village, 6 miles from Jubbulpore. The Yādavas were often at war with the Kalachuris. In the Puḷunja inscription Simhaṇa is called *Ḍāhala-hṛit-kutūhala*, i.e., 'a very curiosity of the heart of (the people of) the **Ḍāhala** country'.² It is not known who was ruling at Tripurī in the time of Rāmachandra; for the last Kalachuri prince known from inscriptional records is the Mahākumāra Ajayasimha mentioned in the Kumbhi plates³ (A.D. 1180-81) and the undated Bherā-Ghāṭ stone inscription⁴ of his father Vijayasimha.

It is again not known who is meant by the ruler of **Bhāṇḍāgāra** but it seems fairly certain that Bhāṇḍāgāra is identical with Bhaṇḍārā, 38 miles from Nāgpur, which is now the headquarters of a district of the same name in the Central Provinces. We know that Berār was annexed to the Yādava kingdom as early as the reign of Simhaṇa; for a stone inscription of his reign has been discovered at Amrāpur in the Khāmgaon District⁵ and several villages in Berār were donated as *agrahāras* to Brāhmaṇas by his general Khōlēśvara.⁶ But the eastern districts of Nāgpur and Bhaṇḍārā were probably occupied for the first time during the reign of Rāmachandra. It is noteworthy that an inscription of his reign has been discovered at Rāmtek near Nagpur⁷ and another at Lānji⁸ in the Bālāghāṭ District, about a hundred miles north-east of Nāgpur.

Vajrākara, the ruler of which was deposed by Rāmachandra, is probably identical with Vairāgarh, 80 miles north-east of Chāndā in the Garh-Chirōli *tahsil* of the Chāndā District. Near the village there is still a large stone fortress in a fair state of preservation surrounded by a moat. Vairāgarh is named in ancient records as Vajra or Vajragadha on account of its diamond mines which are referred to even in Muhammadan chronicles.⁹ It was evidently a place of considerable importance, for it is referred to in several records. Kulōttuṅga Chōla I, for instance, is said to have captured many elephants at Vayirāgaram.¹⁰ The chief of cowherds defeated by Rāmachandra may, like Lakshmīdēva and Kāmapāla, have been ruling somewhere in Khāndesh.

¹ *Smṛitisthaḷa* (Marāṭhī), ed. by Mr. V. N. Deshpande, p. 26. The editor refers this work to the 14th century A. D.

² Fleet says that Krishṇa destroyed Tripura which seems to be the modern Tēwar near Jubbulpore. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 527). But the expression *Ya(a)ri-baḷia-Tripura-trinētram* in the Muṇōli inscription (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 35), on which he relies, means only that he was Trinētra (Śiva) to Tripura in the form of the enemy's soldiers. There is no reference to Tripurī there.

³ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 116.

⁴ Banerji, *The Haihayas of Tripurī and Their Monuments* (Mem. A. S. I. No. 23), p. 142.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 127-28.

⁶ See his Āmbē inscription No. 2, lines 20 ff.

⁷ Above, pp. 7 ff.

⁸ Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P.*, etc., p. 20.

⁹ See *Burhān-i-Ma'asir* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 286) and *Āfn-i-Akbari* (ed. by Jarrett), pp. 229-30. In the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela this place is mentioned as Vajiraghara. See above, Vol. XX, p. 78.

¹⁰ *S. I. J.*, Vol. III, p. 128. See also the Ratnapur Stone inscription of Jājalladēva, above, Vol. I, p. 36.

Verse 17 mentions some more victories of Rāmachandra. He subjugated in battle the king of Palli, made the king of Kānyakubja bend low, overran the mountain Kailāsa, routed the ruler of Māhima, captured forcibly the lord of Saṅgama and destroyed the ruler of Khēṭa. The Pallirāja¹ may have been the chief of some hill tribe like the Bhills or Gonds in the Vindhya mountain. There is no corroboration of Rāmachandra's raids on Kanauj and Kailāsa, but his other victories do not seem to be improbable. Māhima is probably identical with the place of the same name near Bombay. According to a tradition preserved in some Marāṭhī records, Kōṅkaṇ was conquered by Bhīma Rāja, the son of Rāmadēva Rāja of Dēvagiri. He is said to have made Māhim his capital and divided the kingdom of Kōṅkaṇ into fifteen *mahāls* or groups containing 444 villages.² The lord of Saṅgama, captured by Rāmachandra, was probably ruling at Saṅgamēśvara, about 20 miles north-east of Ratnāgiri. Khēṭa may be Khēḍ, the chief town of the Khēḍ *tālūkā* in the Ratnāgiri District. The place dates from early times; for the Khēṭāhāra, which was evidently named after it, is mentioned in the Goa grant of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja, dated Śaka 532³. These three victories of Rāmachandra were probably attained in the same expedition which was mainly directed against the petty chiefs ruling in Southern Kōṅkaṇ.

Verse 18 states that Rāmachandra drove out the Muhammadans from Vārāṇasī or Benares and built a golden temple there which he dedicated to Śārṅgapāṇi. This plainly implies that he held that holy city for some time. There is nothing improbable in this claim. It was always the cherished ambition of powerful Hindu rulers to save the holy places of North India from devastation and plunder by Muslim invaders, though express statements to that effect are rarely found in their inscriptions.⁴ There is, of course, no reference to this occupation of Benares by Rāmachandra in Muslim chronicles as there is no allusion to Muslim invasions of the Yādava kingdom in this or any other record of Rāmachandra. The present inscription does not state when this invasion of Benares took place; but it must evidently have occurred before 'Ala-ud-dīn's invasion crippled the power of Rāmachandra in A. D. 1294. It was probably carried out some time during the period from A. D. 1285 to 1290 when there was confusion and disorder in the North after the death of Balban and before the establishment of the power of Jalāl-ud-dīn.

The present inscription is the last record of Rāmachandra. It is not known how long he continued to reign after its issue. According to Muslim chronicles a large army from the North under the command of Malik Kāfūr and Khvāja Hājī passed through Dēvagiri in the course of an expedition against Dvārasamudra and Ma'bar towards the end of A. H. 710 (A.D. 1310-11); but Muhammadan historians are not unanimous as to who was then ruling at Dēvagiri. Baranī⁵ and following him, Firishta⁶ state that when Malik Kāfūr and Hājī reached Dēvagiri they found that Rāmadēva was dead. Firishta tells us further that the young prince Śaṅkaradēva was not well-affected to the Muhammadans. On this evidence Rāmadēva is believed to have died in A.D. 1309.⁷ The present record shows, however, that he was ruling till the end of September A.D. 1310 at least and it is doubtful if he was succeeded by Śaṅkaragaṇa before the end of that year; for Khusrū

¹ [There is a Pallidēśa mentioned in the Dohad Stone inscription of Mahamuda (Begarha), above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 212 ff. It is also the ancient name of Palnāḍ in Guntur District.—Ed.]

² *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 27.

³ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 348.

⁴ In the inscriptions of the Gāhaḍvālas, for instance, Chandradēva is described as the protector of the holy places Kāśī, Kuśīka, Uttarakōśala and Indrasthāna. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 7 and Vol. XVIII, p. 16.

⁵ See *Ta'rikh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 203).

⁶ See Firishta's *History* tr. by Briggs, Vol. I, p. 373.

⁷ Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 251

states in his *Tārīkh-i Alāī* that the Muhammadan generals reached Dēvagiri on the 13th of Ramzān, in A. H. 710 (the 3rd February A. D. 1311) where 'the Rāi Rāyān' Rām Deo forwarded with all his heart the preparations necessary for the equipment of the army'.² As Khusrū was a contemporary chronicler³ and gives definite dates to substantiate his narrative, his account may be taken to be correct. Rāmachandra seems to have died soon thereafter; for at the end of A. H. 711 (A. D. 1312) 'Ala-ud-dīn received the news that the Rājā of Dēvagiri was withholding the stipulated tribute'.⁴ This Rājā was Śaṅkaradēva who had in the meanwhile succeeded Rāmachandra.

The present inscription gives in verses 19-28 the pedigree of **Purushōttama**, the minister of Rāmachandra, who made the grant recorded in it. In the lineage of the sage Vasishṭha, there was born a pious man named Bhānusūri who constructed several temples and excavated tanks. His son was Alhadēva⁵ who was renowned for his learning. Alhadēva's son was Vināyaka, the father of Sāmvaladēva. Rāmachandra received Sāmvaladēva into his favour and made him the superintendent of the arrangement of flowers. Sāmvaladēva into his favour and made him the superintendent of the arrangement of flowers. Sāmvaladēva was the son of Sāraṅgasūri, the son of Mādhasūri of the Jāmadagnya-Vatsa *gōtra*. Purushōttama was the son of Sāmvaladēva and Akvāmbikā. Being attracted by his intelligence, learning and courage, Rāmachandra made him his minister. Purushōttama carried on the affairs of the state very ably. He ruthlessly put down all traitors and made all people conform to the rules of conduct laid down for the *varṇas* (castes) and *āśramas* (orders of life)⁶. Rāmachandra was greatly pleased with him for the execution of all his commands and conferred on him the aforementioned villages to enable him to make an *agrahāra* worthy of himself.

Many of the **localities** mentioned in this grant can be easily identified. **Purushōttama-purī**, the chief place of the newly formed *agrahāra*, still retains its old name. As already stated, it lies on the southern bank of the Gōdāvarī in the Bhīr District. **Kānhairī**, the headquarters of the subdivision in which it was situated may be Kanhera, 8 miles south-west of Chālisgaon, in Khāndesh, which has a fort with a strong natural position.⁷ Most of the boundary villages of the *agrahāra* can still be traced in the vicinity of Purushōttampurī in their respective directions. Thus **Sādulē** is plainly Sādōlā about 3 miles south by east; **Kēsavapurī**, **Sāvarigavā**⁸ and **Harikinibagau** are respectively identical with the modern Kēsapuri, Sāvargaon and Harki Nimgaon which lie about 7 or 8 miles to the south; and **Hivarē** and **Rājagau** still exist as Rājēgaon and Hivrā buzurg 5 and 6 miles respectively to the west. The river **Gaṅgā** which formed the northern boundary of the *agrahāra* is of course the Gōdāvarī.⁹ Of the four villages, which constituted the *agrahāra*, two, viz., **Vāghaure** and **Aḍagau**, can now be identified; the former is Wāghur 4 miles south by west and the latter Tiki Aḍgaon about the same distance to the south of Purushōttampurī. Only two of the nine hamlets attached to these villages can now be traced, viz.,

¹ This is evidently a corrupt form of the title *Rāya-Nārāyaṇa* assumed by Yādava Kings. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 317.

² See Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 87.

³ Khusrū closes his narrative with the conquest of Ma'bar at the end of A. H. 710 (A. D. 1311). He died in A. D. 1325. Barani, on the other hand, is, as remarked by Dowson, very sparing and inaccurate in his dates.

⁴ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 204; Firsihta's *History*, tr. by Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 378-79.

⁵ [See p. 212, n. 7.—Ed.]

⁶ From the *Smṛitishāla* (ed. by V. N. Deshpande), p. 86, it appears that the Mahānubhāvas were subjected to oppression during the rule of Rāmachandra, probably because of their non-observance of such rules of conduct.

⁷ *Khāndesh District Gazetteer*, p. 453.

⁸ The endings *gau* and *gavā*, like *gāmvu* used in ll. 94-95 of the Paithān plates, are derived from the Sanskrit word *grāma* meaning a village.

⁹ This river is called Gaṅgā in the Paithān plates also. See ll. 59 and 94, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 317-18.

Pimpalavāḍī which now appears in the form Phūlpimpalgaon about 2 miles south of Tiki Adgaon, and *Gōlē āhvāṇa* which is probably Gōhan Thāḍī, 3 miles north by west of Wāghur. The other villages and hamlets cannot be traced on the maps available to me.

TEXT¹.

[Metres : Verses 1 and 32 *Mālinī* ; vv. 2, 10, 11, 35 and 37-57 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 3, 5, 15, 17, 19, 21 and 33 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 4, 8, 9, 12, 14, 16, 23, 24, 28, 31 and 34 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 6, 7, 13, 18 and 26 *Upajāti* ; v. 20 *Śikharinī* ; vv. 22, 27 and 59 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 25 *Hariṇī* ; v. 29 *Praharṣinī* ; v. 30 *Vaiśaṣṭha* ; v. 36 *Indravajrā* ; v. 58 *Śālinī*.]

First Plate.

- 1 ॥ श्री श्री आदिवराहाय नमः ॥ निरतिशयनिरतानंदचि[त्सु]स्वरूपः² प्रबलविमलसत्व-
(त्व)स्वो-
- 2 कृतव्यक्तशक्तिः । परमरमणमंगं मंगलानां निधान दधदधरितसेव्यः सेव्यतां शा-
- 3 ङ्गपाणिः ।[1१]* लक्ष्मीनारायणक्रीडासरः³चीरसमुद्रजं(जम्) । लीलांबुजं विजयते
विधुस्त्रिभु-
- 4 वनश्रियाः ।[1२]* निःसीमः सीमवंशः स जयति जगति प्रोक्तसत्कीर्त्तिवर्त्तिमुक्तारत्ना-
नि तत्रा-
- 5 प्युरुचिररुचौ वृणयः स्वच्छवृत्ताः । तेष्वप्येकावली सद्गुणघटिततनुः कंठकांतिः
कवीनां
- 6 तस्यामप्येष चिंतामणिरुचितरुचिर्नायकः सिंहभूपः ।[1३]* बल्लाली विजितः परा-
भवभुवं सं-
- 7 भाविर्तीव्राधिपः ककली दलितः क्षणेन गिलितो भंभागिरिरीश्वरः । दुर्गाग्रे विनि-
बध्य ॥⁴
- 8 भोजनृपतिर्न्यस्तीर्जुनो निर्जितः सिंहेनेति निशम्य के भुवि भयं भेजुर्न भूमीभुजः
।[1४] तत्पुत्रो जै-
- 9 त्रपालः कुलकुमुदविधुर्वीरिलक्ष्मीप्रसादप्रासादो रु(रु)पसंपत्सुशमितसुषमाकंदकंदर्पदर्यः ।
यः क-
- 10 र्णः किं दधीचिः किमु किमुत शिविः किं नु जीमूतवाहः सत्वी(त्वी)द्रेकैकसीमा
पुनरभवदिति व्यक्ततर्कैर्व्यत-⁵

¹ From ink impressions.

² [The intended reading possibly is *chit-sat-svarūpaḥ*, the expression answering to the well-known compound *sach-chid-ānanda-svarūpa*.—B. C. C.]

³ This *visarga* was added subsequently.

⁴ These *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

⁵ This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

- 11 किं ।[14]*] श्रीकृष्णभूषः प्रभविष्णुरस्माद्भूष भूयःपरिभूतवीरः ।[*] पलायमानान-
वलीक्य वीरान्यत्कीर्तिर्दंभेन दि-
- 12 शो हसंतिः ।[15]*] यः कामपालप्रसरच्चरिचः स्वयंवरायातविशाललक्ष्मोः । उल्लास-
यंगीकुलमादरण कृष्ण-¹
- 13 त्वमुच्चैः प्रकटीचकार ।[16]*] रे रे गूर्जर जर्जर व्रजरजीराजी भराजीवन रे रे
मालव मालवं त्यज भज त्वं चील ची-
- 14 लांचलं(लम्) । रे रे कीशल कोशलघनपरी भूयास्त्वमित्थं जगुर्भूपा यद्विजयप्रयाण-
समये वंदीजनव्यंजनाः ।[17]*]
- 15 कृष्णे राजनि लीलया स्वनगरीं वैकुण्ठमालीकितुं यातेगासदिमां महीमय महादेवः
स तस्यानुजः । यद्दोः-
- 16 स्तंभविजृम्भमाणवसुधाकस्तूरिकाचिचक्रभ्रांतिं विभ्रव(द)जायत क्षितिभुजां चोभाय कौले-
यकः ।[18]*] निमज्जयं(य)न्क-
- 17 लाशेषमपि भीमं पयिनिधौ । स्थानाच्चिचं महादेव एव यः कथ्यते जनैः ।[19]*]
जज्ञे शक्तिधरस्तस्य सनुरंमणभूष-
- 18 तिः । भूदेवानुदरंनुच्चैः करतारकपीडितान् ।[20]*] यच्च क्षपितामहे वितरति
प्रत्यर्धिपृथ्वीस्वराः सर्वे दानमवा-
- 19 [सु]मुक्तमनसो नूनं बभूवुर्भुवि । चंडाशीः किरि(र)णावनोमविरतं संसेव्य लीलावती-
वाक्यथाकुलमानसैः
- 20 कथमपि व्यालीकि यत्तैः पदं(दम्) ।[21]*] आरुह्य वैरिचितिपालमौलिनिश्रेणिभि-
र्देवगिरिं गरिष्ठ(ष्ठम्) । प्रसज्य तस्मा-
- 21 दपङ्कत्य भुंक्ते कृष्णात्मजः स्वामवनिं स रामः ।[22]*] आदौ देवगिरिप्रवेशनमग्री
नृत्तप्रकारिचरणं पद्माक्षवै(त्सै)-
- 22 रपदातिमेलनमथालंकारविशेषणं(णम्) ।[*] अन्विष्टार्थविरोधिदूरकरणं तस्माद्रसामादनं
श्रीरामेण कृतं

* This *visarga* is superfluous.

* Read *ullāsayan-gōkulan-*.

* This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

* The sense requires a reading like *-rajim*.

* What appears like an *anusvara* on *is* may be due to a fault in the copper.

* Read *andharan-muchchaib*.

* The engraver at first incised *dāmama* which he subsequently altered to *dāsam-*.

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[illegible]

- 23 ततस्तत इतः श्लोकीस्य लोकीत्तरः ।[११४॥*] श्रीरामः शर्ववर्मा पदघटनलघूपाय-
दृग्दुर्गवृत्तिव्याख्याताशेष-
- 24 सूत्रो विकरणविलसद्वातुनिष्पादितार्थः ।[*] वर्णानां व्युत्क्रमेण व्यवहरणमपाकृत्य
संदर्शितार्था(र्थो) जेता
- 25 दिव्याकृतीनां शिशुरपि तदिह स्पृश्य(श्र्य)ते नापशब्दैः ।[११५॥*] येनीत्तालविशालडा-
हलमहीपालः चणान्नि-¹
- 26 जितो भांडागारधराधवः परिभवं येनोच्चकैर्लभितः । येनीन्मूलितराज्य एव² रचितो
वच्चाकर³म्मापतिर्ये-
- 27 नाजौ विजितः स गोपनृपतिर्वर्ण्यः स रामः कथं(थम्) ।[११६॥*] भल्लीभिः पत्नि-
राजः समरभुवि जितः कुञ्जितः कन्यकुब्जः
- 28 चित्तः कैलासशैलः पृथुतरमहिमा माहिर्मेद्रः परास्तः । उत्तुंगः संगमेशः प्रसभम-
धिगती मोटितः ।⁴
- 29 खेटनाथो येन खेनैव धाम्ना स कथमवितथं वर्ण्यते रामचंद्रः ।[११७॥*] यः
शुक्ल(ल्क)संकेतलिपिं व्यलीपयत्स-
- 30 वार्गहारेषु करान्य(त्र्य)वारयत् । वाराणसीं स्नेच्छगणाद्वयमीचयत् हिरण्मयं शार्ङ्गधरालयं
व्यधा-
- 31 त् ॥[१८॥*] स खल्वेवंविधगुणगणालंकृतश्रीमन्मो(व्यौ)ढप्रतापचक्रवर्ती यादवकुलकमल-
- 32 कलिकाविकासभास्करो देवगिरिपुरपुरंदरी महाराजाधिराजः श्रीरामचंद्रदे-
- 33 वः शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरेषु द्वात्रिंशदधिकद्वादशशतसंख्याकेषु ।⁵ साधारण-
- 34 संवत्सरांतर्गतभाद्रपदशुक्लैकादश्यां स(श)नौ कान्हेरिदेशसंबद्धान् कान्हेरिखंपणकांत-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 35 गतान् पोष(ख)री । तत्प्रविष्टखेटकानि साएगाह्वाणं । पिंपलगाह्वाणं । पालि⁶पो-
खरी ॥ अडगौ ।
- 36 एतत्प्रविष्टानि खेटकानि । पिंपलवाडी । काजलकीवि । सीडजणं ॥ वाघीरे । प-

¹ Read *kshayān=nirjitō*.

² What appears like a somewhat displaced *anuvāra* on *va* is probably due to a fault in the copper.

³ Originally *Vajrādharah*, subsequently altered to *Vajrākara*.

⁴ This *danḍa* is superfluous.

⁵ The *rēpha* on *ga* has been cancelled.

⁶ The superscript curve of *i* in *li* is very faint. The name occurs again in l. 74 as *Pālipōkhari*.

- 37 तत्रविष्टानि खेटकानि । सीपिविहरे¹ ॥ गोलिगाहान । धारवाधौरे ॥ कुरु-
- 38 णपारगौ ॥ एवमेतांश्चतुरो ग्रामान् स्वप्रविष्टनवखेटकसहितान् तच्चत्विनि²
- 39 धिनिचेपवृच्चचि(ल)णजलपाषाणदंडशुक्र(त्क)कारुकादिसमस्तादाययुक्तान् वामिष्ट(ठ)गीचाय
- 40 ऋग्वेदशाखाध्यायिने फुलवडुणसांवलनायकसुताय महामंडलौक³पुरुषेनायका⁴
- 41 य समस्तनिजाज्ञासंपादनजनितपरितोखे(पे)ण अग्रहारकरणाय हस्तोदकपूर्वकं प्रादात् ।
- 42 अस्थैते प्रशस्तिश्लोकाः । विश्वस्थैकः पुरीधाः सुत इति विदितः⁵ सट्टरात्मा
- द्वितीयः समर्थः
- 43 गां वरिष्ठः स जयति तपसां वासभूमिर्वसिष्ठः । पातिव्रत्वीपदेशप्रथमगुरुगुणारूढतो
- यस्य पत्नी
- 44 ब्रह्मा यद्दीर्घकीर्णं त्रिजगदवतमःकौमुदौ कामधेनुः ॥[१८॥*] ततोन्मस्तादृचः सम-
- जनि ततोन्मो मु⁶
- 45 निरिति क्रमात्पाशुवंशः त्रिभुवनवतंसः प्रववृते । तस्मिमीहग्राहग्रहकलुषितानां तनुभृतां
- प्रवा⁷
- 46 धं तन्वानस्तरणिकिरणानुक्रम इव ॥[२०॥*] तच्चासीद्भानुसूरिर्निजसबहविधे निर्गतानां
- सुराणां धर्म-
- 47 प्रासादभंग्या दिशि दिशि विहिता येन सोपानमार्गाः । किं चोद्धतं किलाधो-
- गतिमपि गमिता-
- 48 कर्मयोगिन जन्तून्मृता⁸प्यातालमूलावधि विशदयशोरत्नप(ख)न्यस्ताडागाः ॥[२१॥*]
- तस्माद्भुव तपसां
- 49 निधिरल्हदेवस्संकेतधाम सकलार्यज्जतां गुणानां(नाम्) । कुचौ हरेरिव जगंति चतु-
- र्दशापि विद्यास्थ⁹
- 50 लानि सुखमासत यस्य वक्त्रे ॥[२२॥*] विद्वन्मौलिमणिर्विनायक इति ख्यातस्त-
- तोभू[त्सु]तस्तीर्थान्व-

¹ The name of this hamlet occurs in lines 75-76 as *Sīpīdihireṇa*.

² This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

³ The correct form of the title would be *Mahāmandalika*.

⁴ The *vinaya* is imperfectly incised here.

⁵ This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

⁶ Read *khāmāṣ pātāla-*, unless *śā* before *pā* is to be taken as an *upodhātānīya* sign.

⁷ [Reading is *śā-Elahādīras-*—Ed.]

- 51 प्यचम'वणं विदधते यत्कीर्त्तिगंगाभसि । दूरादानगुणं निशम्य रभसादाग[च्छ]ता-
मर्थिनां¹
- 52 मये यस्य गृहं व्यनक्ति निगमव्याख्यानवीथी महान् ॥[२३॥*] धर्मप्रेमसुहृद्व्यशः-
प्रसवभूः² सातुर्यसारी ४-
- 53 तिचांतिचेमपदं कृपाकुलपतिर्धैर्यप्रतिष्ठा[च्छ]वः³ । विद्याकीशगृहं विचारसचिवः संपत्स-
भामंडपः
- 54 सूतः सांवलदेव इत्युदभवत्सूरस्ततः ख्यातिमान् ॥[२४॥*] प्रकृतिसुदुलं मान्यं शुद्धं
मनोहरणचमं कु⁴
- 55 सुमसदृशं निखिल्यैने यियः परमास्पदं(दम्) । निपुणधिषणी रामजीणीपतिर्यदुपुंगवः
कुसुमर[च]-
- 56 नाध्यक्षं दक्षं प्रसादपरीकरोत् ॥[२५॥*] शुचौ हिते धीमति सत्यवाक्ये सेवापरे
सांवलदेवसूरी । दिने दि-
- 57 नेवर्हत राजचित्ते प्रीतिः प्रगल्भा स्वगृहे [च] लक्ष्मीः ॥[२६॥*] सारंगसूरितनयामय
जामदग्न(ग्न्य)वत्सान्वयप्रभ⁵
- 58 वसाधवसुरिपौची(चीम्) [१*] अक्ताविकृति विदिता गुणरत्नभूषा यीशामसावुदवहदिधिना
स्वयोग्यां(ग्याम्) ॥[२७॥*]
- 59 पुत्रीभूदनयोरनयाइटितयोर्मैधाविना वेधसा विभ्राणः पुरुषोत्तमत्वमुचितं नाम्नार्थसं-
स्पर्शिना [१*]
- 60 मख्याद्यंगपरिग्रहे विमृशतो दीपांगमं⁶ निवच्छतः द्वाध्यं जन्म हरय एव वपुषः⁷ स्त्रीकार
एकादशः ॥[२८॥*]
- 61 सद्दीप्या(ष्टरा) द्विगुणमतिं विवेकवत्या दीर्घाभ्यां द्विगुणद्वयं सुतिस्मृतिभ्यां(भ्याम्) ।
धैर्येण द्विगुणबलं तमल-

¹ The two aksharas gha and ma, which were wrongly repeated here, have been cancelled.

² This anusvara is superfluous.

³ This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

⁴ This visarga is redundant.

⁵ The superscript, cā in chāās is imperfectly incised. Read pratishā-āśāśāh.

⁶ This visarga was added subsequently.

- 62 येण स्वे राज्ये यदुत्पत्तिर्व्यधात्प्रधानं(नम्) ।[12८॥*] स विद्युतवोज्ज्वलया निजाज्ञया
प्रदर्श्य वर्णायमयीः पृथक्(क्)-
- 63 मान् । महीपतेः कीशगृहे महीयसीं सुवर्णद्वष्टिं व्यतनोदनीपमाः¹ ।[1३०॥*]
स्वामिद्रीहकतामयीवलय-
- 64 वहक्रं कठोरं मनस्तस्य प्रज्वलता प्रतापशिपि(खि)ना नीतं जवादार्जवं(वम्) ।
क्रूरास्तेषु सकांतकद्रुमनिभाः[.]
- 65 प्रुष्टा निकृष्टास्ततो रामचोणिपतेः सुवर्णसदृशं तेजः कृतं प्रोज्ज्वलं(लम्) ।[1३१॥*]
सुकृतनिधिषु काशी-
- 66 द्वारकाद्येषु तीर्थेष्ववहितहृदि तस्मिं² कल्पितानल्पसत्वे । मुनिवचनविचारान्मुक्तिमात्रप्र-³
- 67 देषु स्फुरति परमिदानीं भुक्तिभु(मु)क्तिप्रदत्वं(त्वम्) ।[1३२॥*] स्वाचारे स्वामिभक्ते
विनयवति परस्त्रीधनाशविदू-
- 68 रे तस्मिन्⁴ प्रौढप्रतापे वहति पुरुषतां पौरुषेण स्फुटार्यां⁵म् । तत्कीर्तिं निर्जिहानां
दिशि दिशि

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 69 बहुशी [हृष्ट]ता सज्जनानामासीत्कंपी रा(ग)रीयांश्छिरसि⁶ मनसि चाहर्निशं दुर्जना-
नां(नाम्) ।[1३३॥*] श्रीमां⁷न् रामनृपः प्रसन्नद-
- 70 यो लोकद्वययेयसे कुर्वात्की[चि]तमग्रहारमिति तं वारान्वहनादिशत् । तस्मै चाय
महाप्रसाद इति तां स्त्री-
- 71 कुर्वते सत्क्रियां धारापूर्वमनल्पसारविषयान्ग्रामानदान्मानदः ।[1३४॥*] सोयमेवंविधगुण-
रत्नाकरश्रीमन्महा-
- 72 राजाधिराजश्रीरामचंद्रदेवीयमहामंडलीक⁸पुरुषैनायकः शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरेषु द्वाविंशद-⁹
- 73 धिकद्वादशशतसंख्याकिषु साधारणसंवत्सरांतर्गते भाद्रपदमासि कपिलपट्यां(ष्ट्यां) कान्हेरि-
देशसंबद्धान् कान्हे-

¹ Read =ghan-ōpamah.

² Read *tasmin*.

³ This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

⁴ The engraver first incised *tasmin* which he subsequently altered to *tasmin*.

⁵ This *anusvāra* is superfluous.

⁶ Read *garīyān=chchhirasi*.

⁷ This *anusvāra* is redundant.

⁸ Read *Mahāmāṇḍalika*.

- 74 रिखंपणकांतर्गतान् ॥ पीष(स्व)री ॥ तत्प्रविष्टानि पे(स्व)टकानि । सायगाज्ञाण ।
पालिपीस्वरी ॥ षडगौ ॥
- 75 तत्प्रविष्टानि खेटकानि । पिंपलवाडी । काजलकीवि । सीडजणे ॥ वाघीरे ॥
एतत्प्रविष्टानि खेटकानि । सीपि-
- 76 दिहिरे¹ । गोलोगाज्ञाण । धारवाघीरे ॥[*] कुरुणपारगौ ॥ एवमेतांश्चतुरी ग्रामान्
स्वप्रविष्टनवखेटकसहि-
- 77 तान् तत्तत्प्रविष्टानिपेष्टणजलपावाणदंडशुक्र(रक)कारुकादिसमस्तादाययुक्तान् षडशीतिसं-
ख्याका वृत्ती[.]
- 78 परिकल्प(रूप्य) देवद्वयार्थं वृत्तिं(त्ति)द्वयं अग्निष्टिकाप्रपार्थं(र्ध)मेका वृत्तिं(त्ति)ब्राह्मणार्थं
त्र्यशीतिसंख्याका वृत्तयः इत्यनया
- 79 भागकल्पनया नानागोत्रेभ्यो नानाशाखाध्यायिभ्यः चतुशीतिसंख्यविधेभ्यो देवद्वयाग्निष्टि-
काप्रपास-
- 80 हितेभ्यः स्वाभिलखि(षि)तफलमिदार्थं हिरण्वाचतोदकपूर्वकं प्रादात् ॥ अथ ब्राह्मण-
नामानि । तत्र वङ्गचाः [1*]
- 81 केशीभट्टसुतमहादेवभट्टः । कीमणसुतविष्णुभट्टः । विष्णुसंचिसुतः पेदिभट्टः ।
गोविंदभट्टसुतो
- 82 लावणभट्टः² । एते काश्यपाः ॥ मल्लिदेवभट्टसुतलक्ष्मीधरभट्टः । पद्मनाभभट्टसुतदामोदर-
भट्टः । आ-
- 83 पदेवभट्टसुतमैरालभट्टः । योगिभट्टसुतवासुदेवभट्टः । राघोभट्टसुतः कमलदेवभट्टः ।
देवणभट्ट-
- 84 सुतो महादेवभट्टः । जोगदेवभट्टसुतः गदोभट्टः । ध्वा(?)मिदेवभट्टसुतः लघुमिदेवभट्टः ।
नागनाथभट्ट-
- 85 सुतः कालिदासभट्टः । गंगाधरमित्रसुतः पद्मनाभभट्टः । एते भारद्वाजाः । सूदन-
भट्टसुतदामोदरभ-

¹ This name occurs above in line 37 as *Simpirahirē*.² Read *Kāśyapa*. Similar corrupt forms of names occur in some places below.³ Read *Lakṣmaṇa-bhaṭṭa*.⁴ Read *Bāṇava*.⁵ Read *Lakṣmidēva*.

- 86 दः । गणपतिभट्टसुतः वीरभट्टभट्टः । योगदेवभट्टसुतो यज्ञेश्वरभट्टः । मारंगनायकसुतो
गीर्विंदना-
- 87 यकः । दामोदरभट्टसुतः महादेवभट्टः । महानायकभट्टसुतकृष्णभट्टः । वामनाचार्य-
सुतो धनेश्वरभट्टः ।
- 88 एते जामदग्न्य(ग्न्य)वत्साः । पद्मनाभभट्टसुतो जानुभट्टः । विनायकभट्टसुतो राघवना-
यकः । नागनायक-
- 89 सुतपुरुषोत्तमदेवः । नरसी(सिंह)भट्टसुतचांगदेवभट्टः । महादेवभट्टसुतः कमलादेवभट्टः ।
परशुराम-
- 90 भट्टसुतः केगवभट्टः । एते वाशिष्ठाः(ठाः) ॥ पुरुषोत्तमभट्टसुतः कृष्णभट्टः । पुरुषो-
त्तमभट्टसुतो गीर्विंदभट्टः [1*]
- 91 महादेवभट्टसुतो वासुदेवभट्टः । एते विष्णुवृद्धाः । नागदेवभट्टसुतः खंडदेवभट्टः ।
सुदर्शनभट्टसुतः
- 92 पुरुषोत्तमभट्टः । विश्वनाथभट्टसुतः कृष्णभट्टः । गीर्विंदभट्टसुतो महादेवभट्टः । एते
कौशिकाः ॥ प-
- 93 ज्ञानाभभट्टसुतो नागदेवभट्टः । देकभट्टसुतः आदित्यभट्टः । एतावागस्त्यौ¹ । गारंगपा-
णिदेवसुतः क-
- 94 ण्णदेवः । रामदेवभट्टसुतो ब्रह्मदेवभट्टः । एतौ विश्वामित्रौ । मांवलदेवसुतो
जागदेवभट्टः दादं-
- 95 भट्टसुतो दामोदरभट्टः । एतौ कौडिन्यौ । अनंतभट्टसुतो वैजनाथभट्टः । पद्मनाभ-
भट्टसुतो दा-
- 96 मोदरभट्टः । एतौ हरितौ । गारंगपाणिभट्टसुतः चक्रपाणिभट्टः । कमलदेवभट्टसुतो
दादंभट्टः [1*]
- 97 एतौ प्रथमाचेयौ । भास्करभट्टसुतः कृष्णभट्टः । वापदेवभट्टसुतः सिंहभट्टः । एतौ
विष्णुवृद्धांगिर-
- 98 सो । मांडदेवभट्टसुतचंडिकाभट्टः । मांडदेवभट्टसुतो रामेश्वरभट्टः । एतौ वाध्यश्वौ ।
पद्मनाभ-

¹ *Agastyab*, which was first incised, was subsequently altered to *Agastya*.

ii. b.

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- 99 भट्सुतो नागदेवभट्टः । गौतमः¹ ॥ महादेवभट्टसुतश्चांगदेवभट्टः । नैध्रुवः ॥ दामी-
दरभट्टसुतपुरु-
- 100 पोत्तमभट्टः । देवरातः । गोपालभट्टसुतो महादेवभट्टः । आत्रेयः । भास्करभट्टसुत
आपदेवभट्टः ।
- 101 वत्सगीचः । गायत्रीभट्टसुतः कृष्णभट्टः । कपिमी(गी)चः ॥ नागदेवजोड्डीसुतः परश-
रामजोड्डी ।
- 102 गार्ग्यः । नागणसुतकेशवदासः । पूतिमाषः । विष्णुभट्टसुतो नरसींहदासभट्टः [1]
- 103 वामिष्ठः । अथ तैत्तिरीयाः । नारायणपेदिसुतो मैरालभट्टः । माधवभट्टसुतत्रिवी(वि)-
- 104 क्रमभट्टः । गंगाधरभट्टसुतः सोमनाथभट्टः । माधवभट्टसुतो मांडदेवभट्टः । एते
- 105 भारद्वाजाः । कृष्णभट्टसुतो विद्मदेवभट्टः । ब्रह्मदेवभट्टसुतो गणपतिभट्टः । महादे-
- 106 वभट्टसुतो विश्व(श्वे)श्वरभट्टः । नागश्वा(स्वा)मिभट्टसुतो रामेश्वरभट्टः । विष्णुभट्टसुत
आपदेवभट्टः [1*]

Third Plate.

- 107 एते कौडिन्याः ॥ विष्णुभट्टसुतसोमनाथभट्टः । सिंहपेदिसुत आदित्यभट्टः । विष्णुभट्ट-
सुतो ना-
- 108 गदेवभट्टः । एते आत्रेयाः ॥ श्रीधरभट्टसुतो धनेश्वरभट्टः । केशवाचार्यसुतपुरुषोत्तम-
- 109 भट्टः । एतौ जामदग्न(ग्न्य)वत्सौ । नागदेवभट्टसुतकीटेश्वरन(नं)[दि]ः । रु(रु)पदेव-
भट्टसुत आपदे-
- 110 वभट्टः । एतौ गौतमौ । विष्णुभट्टसुतो(तः) शार्ङ्गपाणिभट्टः [1*] श्रीवत्सगीचः ।
दामोदरभट्टसुतः सु-
- 111 र्यभट्टः [1*] लोहितगीचः । लक्ष्मीधरभट्टसुतो रामेश्वरभट्टः । हरितः । नरसी(सिं)-
हचिवेदी(दि)सुतक-
- 112 मलदेवभट्टः । प्रथमात्रेयः । एल्लण्डूवेसुतनारायणपेदिः । काश्यपगोत्रा(त्रः) [1*]
सोमनाथह्यतिमुतः पद्म-
- 113 नाभह्यांता । काश्यपो माध्यंदिनः । अनंतभट्टसुतसारंगभट्टः । काश्यपकाण्वः ।
दादंभट्टसुतः काकभट्टः ॥(1)

¹ Read *Gautamab.*² Read *Narasimhadāsa.* The *visarga* which was wrongly incised after *sa* has been cancelled.

- 114 काकंभट्टसुतसांवलभट्टः । प[त्ति] हरितौ । रामपंडितसुतवसंतपंडितः । भारद्वाजः ॥
एतं सामगाः । अथै-
- 115 तदग्रहारभूमेराघाटाः । पूर्वतः दांडिगौ । सादुले । दक्षिणतः केशवापुरी^१ ।
सांवरिगवां । हरिकीनि-
- 116 वगौ । पश्चिमतः राजगौ । हीवरे । चिंचवली । दुर्गलेगाह्वाणसंवध(ड)महादे-
घोपुरी । उत्तरतः गंगा [१*]
- 117 एव(वं) चतुराघाटविशुद्धः पुरुषोत्तमपुरापरनामधेयीग्रहारः कृतः [१*] अथ ब्राह्मण-
नियमाः । अ(आ)-
- 118 चंद्रार्कमिदं भोज्यमेभिरेषां च वंशजैः । नाधेयं न च विक्रेयं सदा सम्मार्गवर्ति-
[भिः] । [१३५]* पक्षांगनानां सद-
- 119 नं न देयं द्यु(द्यु)तप्रचारोपि निवारणीयः । शस्त्रादिकं वापि न धारणीयं सत्क-
र्म्मनिष्ठै(ष्ठै)भं(भं)वितव्यमेभिः [१३६]*
- 120 राजसेवकानां वसतिप्रयाणदंडौ न स्तः । अथ भूमिदानप्रशंसा । सिंहासनं तथा
[च्छ]वं वराग्ना वरवा[र]-
- 121 णाः । भूमिदानस्य पुण्याणि फलं स्वर्गस्तथैव च । [१३७]* नृत्वंति पितरस्तस्य
वर्त्तन्ति च पितामहाः । भूमिदोष-
- 122 त्कुले जातः सोऽस्मांस्तारयिष्यति^२ । [१३८]* आदित्या इव दीप्यन्ते तेजसा दिवि
मानवाः [१*] ये प्रयच्छ(च्छं)ति वसुधां ब्रा-
- 123 ह्मणायाहिताग्नेये । [१३९]* यथा जनिचौ पुण्याति जीरेण स्वसुतं नृपाः[१*] एवं
सर्वगुणैर्भूमिर्दातारमनुपुष्यति । [१४०]* अग्नि-
- 124 टोमादिभिर्यज्ञैरिष्टा विपुलदक्षिणैः । न तत्प(त्फ)लमवाप्नोति यद्वा(त्त्वा) वसुधां नृप
। [१४१]* नृत्वौर्हि^३ किंकरा दंडा
- 125 ह्यग्नितापाः सुदारुणाः । घोराश्च वारुणाः पाशाः नोपसर्पन्ति भूमिदं(दम्) । [१४२]*
संतर्पयति दातारं भूमिः प्रभव-

^१ Read *Keshavapuri*.

^२ Read *śāśana śāntārayiṣyati*.

^३ Read *Mṛtyūr-hi*.

- 126 तां वर । कृणाय कृणभृत्याय वृत्तिक्षीणाय सीदते ।[18३]* भूमिं वृत्तिकरीं
दत्त्वा(त्वा) च्छत्री भवति मानवः ।[18४]* षष्टिं वर्षसहस्रा-
- 127 णि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः आच्छेत्वा(त्ता) चानुमंता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्
।[18५]* वारिदस्तृप्तिमाप्नोति सुखमक्ष-
- 128 यमव्रतः । तिलप्रदः प्रजामिष्टां दीपदश्च कुरुत्तमं^१ । भूमिदः सर्वमाप्नोति दीर्घमा-
युस्तथैव च ॥[४६]* अथ
- 129 ब्राह्मणभूमिहरणे दीपाः ॥ गामिकां रत्निकामिकां भूमेरप्येकमंगुलं(लम्) । हरं(रन्)
नरकमाप्नोति यावदा-
- 130 भूतसंज्ञवं(वम्) ।[18७]* स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुंधरां(राम्) । षष्टिं
वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते कृमिः ।[18८]* स्वद-
- 131 तां परदत्तां वा हरेत् सुरविप्रयोः । वृत्तिं स जायते विद्वग्दर्शणामयुतायुतं(तम्)
।[18९]* विंध्याटवीश्वतीयासु
- 132 शुष्ककीटरशायिनः ।[*] कृष्णसर्पाः प्रजायन्ते ब्रह्मभूम्यपहारकाः ।[1५०]* हिनस्ति
विषमत्तार वज्ररश्मिः प्र-
- 133 शाम्यति । कुलं समूलं दहति व(ब्र)ह्मस्वारणिपावकः ।[1५१]* ब्रह्मस्वं दुरनुज्ञातं
भुक्तं हन्ति त्रिपूरुषं(षम्) । प्रसह्य ।^२
- 134 तु बलाद्भुक्तं दश पूर्वान् दशापरान् ।[1५२]* गृह्णं(हं)ति यावतः पा(पां)सून्
क्रंदतामश्रुविंदवः । विप्राणां हतवृत्तीनां व-
- 135 दान्यानां कुटुंबिनां(नाम्) ।[1५३]* राजानी राजकुल्याश्च तावतीन्द्रान्निरंकुशाः[*] ।
कुंभीपाकेषु पच्यन्ते ब्रह्मभूम्यप-^३
- 136 हारिणः ॥[५४]* अथ भूमिपालनफलं(लम्) ॥ दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दानाच्छ्रेयोनु-
पालनं(नम्) । दानात्सुर्गमवाप्नोति-
- 137 ति पालनादच्युतं पदं(दम्) ।[५५]* गच्छन्ते पांशवो भूमेर्गच्छन्ते वृष्टिविंदवः । न
गच्छन्ते विधात्रापि भूमिसंर-
- 138 क्षणे फलं(लम्) ।[५६]* बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः[*] सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य
यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-

^१ Read either *kum=uttamām* or *Kur=ūttama*.^२ *Danḍa* unnecessary.^३ This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

- 139 लं(लम्) ॥[५७॥*] सामान्दीयं धर्ममेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥[*]
 सर्वानितान् भाविनः पार्थिवं(वे)द्वान् भू-
 140 यो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः ॥[५८॥*] महेशजाः परमहोपतिवंशजा वा पापादपेत-
 मनसो भुवि भाविभूपाः । ते
 141 पालयंतु मम धर्ममि[मं समग्रं] तेभ्यो मया विरचितोज्ज्वलिते सूरिभिः¹ ॥[५९॥*]
 मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥ छ ।

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Obeisance to the holy primeval Boar !

(Verse 1) May Śārngapāni (Viṣṇu) be worshipped !—(he) whose proper form consists of unsurpassed and infinite bliss and consciousness ; whose manifest power is possessed through mighty and stainless *satteja* ; who has an extremely attractive body which is an abode of auspicious things (and) who is the refuge of those who are worsted by others !

(V. 2) Glorious is the moon, the pleasure-lotus (in the hand) of the goddess of fortune of the three worlds, which sprang from the milk-ocean which is the pleasure-lake of Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa !

(V. 3) Glorious is that infinite race of the moon, the creeper of whose fame shines in this world. In that race,² again, there were the bright and round pearls possessed of great and attractive lustre, viz., the Vṛishṇis of unblemished character. Among them, again, there is a one-string necklace formed with a beautiful thread, (viz., the Yādava family of Dvayāgiri which is possessed of excellent merits) which gave lustre to the necks of poets.³ In it, again, there is this central gem possessing the beautiful lustre of the wish-fulfilling jewel, (namely,) the king Śiṛṇha.

(V. 4) What kings were not terrified to hear that by Śiṛṇha Ballāla was vanquished, the lord of Āndhra was made to suffer a defeat, Kakkalla was overthrown, the lord of Bhambhāgiri was devoured in a moment, the king Bhōja was thrown into confinement on the crest of a fortress and Arjuna was subjugated ?

(V. 5) His son was Jaitrapāla, the moon to the *kumuda* which was (his) family (and) a very gracious temple of the goddess of heroism ; who by his excellent form completely quelled the pride of the god of love, the tap-root of beauty ; who was concluded to be the unique limit of the excess of magnanimity by the people who (at first) expressed (their) doubts as to whether he was Karna, or Dadhichi, or Śibi, or Jīmūtavāhana.⁴

(V. 6) From him was born the lord, the illustrious king Kṛishṇa, who frequently vanquished brave men. Seeing warriors fleeing away (before him), the regions laughed at them under the guise of his fame.

¹ *Viṣarga* is superfluous.

² The original has *rasaśaṣ* which means also a bamboo. On this double entendre is based the following metaphor. According to a poetic convention, pearls are produced also from bamboo.

³ Because it supplied them with an excellent subject for their poems.

⁴ All these were noted for their great liberality.

(V. 7) He whose activities extended to **Kāmapāla** and to whom extensive fortune resorted of its own accord, clearly manifested himself to be **Kṛishṇa**,¹ delighting zealously a multitude of cowherds.

(V. 8) On the occasion of his march for conquest, princes disguised as bards sang as follows :—
Collect, O old **Gārjara**, the mass of dust in the cowpens throughout (*thy*) life ! Do not, O **Mālava**, stop mowing ! Cling, O **Chōla**, to the hem of the lower garment (*of ladies*) ! Be intent, O **Kōśala**, on giving up (*thy*) treasure !

(V. 9) When the king **Kṛishṇa** went sportively to his own city **Vaikuṇṭha** in order to have a look at it, that younger brother of his (*viz.*), **Mahādēva**, ruled over this earth thereafter ;—(*he*) whose sword, which produced the misapprehension that it was the ornamental mark of musk (*on the forehead*) of the Earth who was shining on his arm, caused terror among hostile kings.

(V. 10) Though he plunged the crescent moon into the ocean, removing her from her proper place, he is, strange (*to say*),² still called **Mahādēva** by the people.

(V. 11) (*Then*) was born his son the king **Ammapa**, who was possessed of great strength³ and who greatly rescued the **Brāhmaṇas** oppressed by taxes, even as **Skanda** rescued the gods oppressed by (*the demon*) **Tāraka**.

(V. 12) When the Grandsire of warriors⁴ was giving away (*in charity*), all hostile kings, indeed, became eager to receive the gifts ; since having continuously exposed themselves to the rays of the hot-rayed (*sun*), they whose minds were distressed by the reproachful words of (*their*) beautiful (*wives*), regretfully cast a (*wistful*) glance at their kingdoms.⁵

(V. 13) Climbing the highest **Dēvagiri** by means of the ladder which were the heads of hostile princes, the (*famous*) **Rāma**, the son of **Kṛishṇa**, enjoys his kingdom, forcibly wresting it from him (*i.e.*, **Ammapa**).

(V. 14) First entrance into the fort of **Dēvagiri**, then observation of the manner of dancing, afterwards rallying of self-willed foot-soldiers, then throwing off of ornaments, removal of the opponent who obstructed (*his*) desired object and wresting of the earth from him—these were successively accomplished by the illustrious **Rāma**. Hence his glory⁶ is extraordinary !

¹ **Kṛishṇa** also is known for similar deeds. He gave protection to **Kāma** (*i.e.*, the god of love) who became his son **Pradyumna**. He was chosen by **Lakshmi** (who had incarnated herself as **Rukmiṇī**) at her *svayamvara*. Finally, he used to delight herds of cows by his sweet music.

² The astonishment is due to the fact that the god **Mahādēva** (whose name the king bears) always keeps on his head the crescent moon which had sprung from the ocean. The contradiction in this verse is only apparent, the figure being *Virbhadrakāśa* ; for **Sōma** means here the **Śilāhara** king **Sōmāśvara** whom **Mahādēva** killed in a naval engagement.

³ **Saktidhara** (the wielder of a spear) is also a name of **Skanda**.

⁴ **Kahatra-pitāmaha** 'Grandsire of kings' was one of the *śirudās* of the **Yādavas** of **Dēvagiri**. The **Thāṅṅā** plates mention in two places (lines 28 and 35-36) a similar title in connection with **Rāmachandra**.

⁵ The idea seems to be that these princes were standing in the hot sun the whole day in the hope of receiving back their kingdoms as gifts from **Ammapadēva**. As they went home empty-handed, they were rebuked by their wives. *Lilāntī* is also the name of the first section of **Bhāskarāchārya's Siddhāntatīrthamāṇī**. Is there, then, a play on the word *chāpādhāru* also (meaning **Bhāskara**) ? **Bhāskarāchārya** is not, however, known to have written a work named *Kīraṇāvalī*.

⁶ *Śloka* means also a verse. This verse which describes the successive achievements of **Rāmachandra** is superior to the following traditional verse which describes in a similar manner the successive doings of **Rāma**, an incarnation of **Vishṇu** :—**Ādau Rāma-tapōvan-ābhigamanam hatvā mrigam kūśhanam Vaidēhī-harṇam Jāṭāyamarṇam Sugriva-sambhāṇam | Vālī-nirdalanam sarṇudra-tarṇam Laṅkā-purī-dāhanam pāśchād-Rāvaṇa-Kumbhakarṇa-haranam-etad-dhī Rāmāyaṇam** †

(V. 15) The illustrious Rāma,—who noticed an easy way of securing his kingdom, whose entire policy is explained by his occupation of the fort (*of Dēvagiri*), who obtained his object by his personal energy which shone by the use of various means, who showed the way to acquire wealth by forbidding actions of the castes in transgression (*of the dictates of the Śāstras*), who surpassed celestial beings¹ in that though a boy² he was not affected by abuse,—is (*verily*) Śarvavarman,³ who noticed an easy way of forming *padas*,⁴ all of whose aphorisms are explained by Durgā's⁵ commentary, who derived the (*intended*) sense from roots shining with conjugational signs, who showed how to obtain the meaning (*of abbreviations*) without writing the letters (*of the alphabet*) in the reverse order,⁶ and who has surpassed the primeval grammarians,⁷ since not even a boy (*who studies his grammar*) is tainted by the use of wrong words.⁸

(V. 16) How can that Rāma be described ?—(*he*) who vanquished in a moment the king of the great and extensive **Dāhala** country ; who made the lord of the country of **Bhāṇḍāgāra** suffer a great defeat ; who deprived the king of **Vajrākara** of his kingdom, and who subjugated in battle that (*well-known*) king of cowherds ?

(V. 17) How can that Rāmachandra be truly described ?—(*he*) who only by his prowess defeated with arrows the lord of **Palli** on a battle-field, made the king of **Kanyakubja** bend low, captured by force the mighty lord of **Saṅgama** and crushed the chief of **Khēṭa** ?

(V. 18) He abrogated the conventional rules about tolls, exempted all *agrahāras* from taxes, freed **Vārāṇasī** from a hoard of *Mlēchchhas* and constructed (*there*) a golden temple of Śārṅga-dhara.

(Lines 31-42) He, the *Praudhapratāpa* (*Chakravartin*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious king **Rāmachandra**, adorned by a multitude of such excellences, the sun which makes the lotus-bud, *viz.*, the **Yādava** race, bloom, the Purandara of the city of **Dēvagiri**, granted with joy caused by the execution of all his commands, by pouring water on the hand, on **Saturday**, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of **Bhādrapada** in the (*cyclic*) year **Sādhārāṇa** when twelve hundred years increased by thirty-two had elapsed since the time of the Śaka king, the four villages together with nine hamlets included in them, situated in the **Kānhairi khampanaka** (*sub-division*) included in the **Kānhairi dēśa**, together with the treasures, deposits, trees, grass, water, stones, and all dues such as fines, taxes, and cess on artisans,—(*the four villages, namely*), **Pōkharī** (*with*) the hamlets included in it, (*viz.*), **Sāṅgāhvāṇa**, **Piṃpalagāhvāṇa** (*and*) **Pālipōkharī** ; **Aḍagau** (*with*) the hamlets included in it, (*viz.*), **Piṃpalavādī**, **Kājalakōvi** (*and*) **Sōijaṇē** ; **Vāghaure** (*with*) the hamlets included in it, (*viz.*), **Simpivihirē**, **Gōlēgāhvāṇa** (*and*) **Dhāravāghaurē** ; (*and*) **Kurupapāragau**—

¹ *Divy-ākṛitī* means a celestial being such as Rāma who was an incarnation of Viṣṇu. He was blamed by the people of Ayōdhya, because he took back his wife Sītā after her stay in Rāvaṇa's house. (See Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bom. ed.), *Uttarakāṇḍa*, *sarga* 63.)

² As Rāmachandra had a long reign of about forty years, he may have been in his teens when he wrested the crown from his cousin.

³ Śarvavarman is the reputed author of the Kātantra system of Sanskrit grammar.

⁴ A *pada* is a nominal or a verbal form ending in a case-affix or a termination.

⁵ Durgā or Durgasimha is a well-known commentator of the Kātantra *sūtras*.

⁶ In the *Māhēśvara sūtras*, on which the system of Pāṇini is based, the natural order of the letters of the alphabet is reversed for the sake of the *pratyāhāras*. In the *sūtras* of Śarvavarman, however, the natural order of the letters is retained.

⁷ In the second sense we have to make the *pada-cchhēda* as *jētā ādi-ryākṛitīnām* (who surpassed the primeval grammarians like Pāṇini).

⁸ The Kātantra system is much easier than the Pāṇinian, so that even a boy can soon master the Sanskrit language with its aid. For the story of its origin, see the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, *lambaka* 1, *tarāṅga* 6-7.

to the *Mahāmāṇḍalika Purushai Nāyaka*, the son of the *Phulabaḍuē Sāmvala Nāyaka*, who belongs to the *Vāsishṭha-gōtra* and is a student of the *Rigvēda-śākhā*. The following are the eulogistic verses about him :—

(V. 19) Glorious is *Vasishṭha*, the abode of austerities, who is the sole preceptor of the world, the son of the Creator, known as his second self, (*and*) the foremost of the seven sages ; whose wife is *Arundhatī* whose virtue is the foremost teacher for (*giving*) instruction in chastity ; and in a corner of whose cowpen there is the celestial cow which is a very moonlight for (*dispelling*) the darkness, namely, the distress of the three worlds.

(V. 20) From him another son was born like him and then from him another. Thus in course of time there sprang a noble family, an ornament of the three worlds, resembling a succession of the sun's rays causing awakening among the embodied beings troubled by the alligator-like darkness and infatuation.

(V. 21) In that (*family*) was born *Bhānusūri* who constructed in every quarter, staircases in the guise of temples for the sake of gods who had come out (*of heaven*) to receive offerings in his sacrifices ; and who, in order to raise up the creatures who had sunk low by reason of their (*bad*) deeds, excavated, as deep as the surface of the nether regions, tanks which were the mines of jewels in the form of his bright fame.¹

(V. 22) From him was born *Alhadēva*,² (*who was*) a treasure of austerities, and a meeting place of all fruitful excellences ; in whose mouth dwelt with ease the fourteen lores even as the fourteen worlds do in the belly of *Hari* (*at the time of world-destruction.*)

(V. 23) From him was born a son named *Vināyaka*, the crest-jewel of (*all*) learned people. In the water of the Ganges, namely, his fame, even the holy places perform the purificatory rite ; (*and*) the loud noise of the exposition of the *Vēdas* discloses his house to the supplicants who come in haste, having heard of his virtue of liberality.

(V. 24) From that learned man sprang a famous son named *Sāmvaladēva*, the friend of the love of piety, the source of glory, the essence of cleverness, the abode of contentment, forgiveness and happiness, the head of the family of compassion, the festivity of the establishment of courage, the treasury of learning, the minister of discrimination and the assembly-hall of wealth.

(V. 25) Having ascertained that like a flower he was gentle by nature, venerable, pure, capable of attracting the mind and the best abode of fortune, the king *Rāma*, the foremost of the *Yadus*, who has a keen intellect, being intent on showing favour to him, made him, (*who was*) vigilant, the superintendent of the arrangement of flowers.

(V. 26) Day by day there grew in the mind of the king affection for *Sāmvaladēva*, who was honest, beneficent, intelligent, truthful and devoted to service even as fortune did in his home.

(V. 27) Then he married, according to the sacred rite, a wife named *Akvāmbikā*, worthy of himself, who was the daughter of *Sāraṅgasūri* and the son's daughter of *Mādhavasūri* born in the family of *Jāmadagnya-Vatsa*, and who was adorned by the jewels of excellences

(V. 28) To these, who were designedly united by the wise Creator, there was born a son, bearing the fitting and significant name of *Purushōttama*. This is the eleventh incarnation of *Hari*, who reflecting on the slight blemish in incarnating himself as the fish, etc., was seeking a noble birth.

¹ *I.e.*, he became famous by excavating these tanks.

² [See above, p 212, n. 7.—Ed.]

(V. 29) The Yadu king made him a minister of his Government—(him) who had double wisdom due to his association with good people marked by discrimination, double vision by his study of the extensive *śrutis* and *smṛitis*, (and) double strength by his inexhaustible courage.

(V. 30) Having shown by his brilliant command separate courses of conduct for the castes and orders of life, even as a cloud shows different paths by its lightning, he poured a large shower of gold into the treasure-house of the king.

(V. 31) The crooked and hard mind of treasonous people was quickly made straightforward by his brilliant prowess, even as the hard and curved bracelet of iron is made straight by burning fire. The cruel ones among them were burnt like thorny trees and then taken out. Then the glory of the king Rāmachandra was made bright like gold.

(V. 32) When he, who had devoted his heart to the holy places like Kāśī and Dvārakā which are the treasures of religious merit, established charitable feeding houses (in them) the capacity to yield (both) enjoyment and liberation now shines in those (holy places) which, from a consideration of the declaration of sages, were (previously) held to confer liberation only.

(V. 33) While he, who is well-conducted, devoted to his lord, modest, extremely averse to others' wives and wealth and possessed of great prowess, was conducting himself as a (noble) man, displaying herosim, there generally followed, day and night, in the wake of his glory which went forth in every direction, joy in good people and great trembling in the head and heart of wicked ones.

(V. 34) The illustrious and gracious-minded king Rāma asked him many times to make an *agrahāra* worthy of himself for (the attainment of) well-being in both the worlds. And when he accepted that honour as a great favour, he (i.e., the king) who humbles the pride (of his foes), conferred on him villages of great value by pouring water (on the hand).

(Ll. 71-80) He, that **Purushai Nāyaka**, the mine of such jewels of excellences, the *Mahāmāṇḍalika* of the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja Rāmachandradēva*, has conferred, for the attainment of his desired object, making first the offerings of gold, rice and water on the *Kapilashashthi* in the month **Bhādrapada** included in the (cyclic) year **Sādhārana** when twelve hundred years increased by thirty-two had elapsed since the time of the Śaka king, the four villages together with nine hamlets included in them, situated in the **Kānhairi kṣanpapaka** (sub-division) of the **Kānhairi dēśa**, together with the treasures, deposits, grass, water, stones and all dues such as fines, taxes (and) cess on artisans,—(the four villages, namely), **Pōkharī** (with) the hamlets included in it, (viz.), **Sāḡāhvāna**, **Pimpalagāhvāna** (and) **Pālipōkharī**; **Aḍagau** (with) the hamlets included in it, (viz.), **Pimpalavāḍi**, **Kājalakōvi** (and) **Sōljaḡē**; **Vāghaurē** (with) the hamlets included in it, (viz.), **Śrāpidihirē**, **Gōḡāhvāna** (and) **Dhāravāghaurē**; and **Kurupapāragau**—after dividing them into *vr̥ttis* (i.e., parts) numbering eighty-six (and) assigning (them) to the **Brāhmaṇas**, eighty-three in number, who belong to various *gōtras* and are students of various *śākhās*, together with two gods, *agnishthikā* and *prapā*, in this manner, namely, two *vr̥ttis* to the two gods, one *vr̥tti* for (the performance of) the *agnishthikā* rite and (the maintenance of) a *prapā* (charitable water-shed) (every year) and the remaining *vr̥ttis* numbering eighty-three to (the following) **Brāhmaṇas**. Now the names of the **Brāhmaṇas** :—

(Here follow the names of eighty-three **Brāhmaṇas** together with those of their fathers, *gōtras* and *śākhās*.)

(Ll. 114-117) Now the boundaries of this *agrahāra* land :—To the east **Dāḡḡigau** (and) **Sādulē**; to the south **Kōśavapuri**, **Sāvarigavā** (and) **Harikimbagau**; to the west **Rājagau**, **Hivarē**, **Chūncha-**

vali, (and) Mahādēvapuri joined to Drūgalēgāhvāṇa; to the north the Gaṅgā. The *agrahāra*, which has the other name of **Purushōttamapuri**, has thus been formed with the four boundaries well-determined in this manner.

(Ll. 117-20) Now rules for the conduct of the Brāhmaṇas. This land shall be enjoyed by these (*Brāhmaṇas*) and their descendants, following always the righteous path; it shall not be mortgaged or sold. No quarter shall be given to prostitutes; the custom of gambling also shall be prohibited; (and) weapons and (such) other things shall not be used¹. These Brāhmaṇas shall (always) be intent on (performing) good deeds. There shall be no forced contribution (for the expenses of) royal officers halting at and departing from (the *agrahāra*)².

(Ll. 120-41) Now the praise of a gift of land:—

(Here follow twenty-three benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(Line 141) May there be bliss and great fortune!

NO. 22.—TWO GRANTS OF PRITHIVICHANDRA BHOGASAKTI.

By MADHO SARUP VATS, M.A., AND D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.

In August 1936 when Mr. Vats was Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, three grants consisting of seven copper plates were sent to him by the Collector of Nāsik. They were found with a Marāṭhī Patel family, surnamed Shid, of **Anjaneri** village in the headquarters Taluka of the Nāsik District. Three of the plates were found to make one grant, marked **A** and two another, marked **B**, both issued by a king named **Prithivichandra Bhogasakti**. Lines 1-25 of the former are identical with lines 1-27 of the latter. The remaining two plates were found to make a third grant of the Gurjara king Jayabhāṭa III. Below are described the first two grants mentioned above as **A** and **B**.

Each of these grants was held together by two copper rings. To one of the two rings of the one marked **A** is affixed a tubular seal containing the figure of a lion in relief. The surface of the seal is circular and $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The three plates of this set along with the rings and the seal weigh 308 *tolas*. There is also the figure of a boar engraved in the middle of the second half of the second plate of this grant. The plates measure $12\frac{1}{2}$ to $12\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length and $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 inches in width. As usual, the first and the third plates are inscribed on the inner faces only and the middle plate on both the sides. The inscription consists of 55 lines of writing, 14 on each of the first, second and fourth faces and 13 on the third one.

A circumscribed lotus is incised on the uninscribed outer face of the first plate, while a large figure of conch shell appears upside down across the outer face of the third plate which bears a postscript record of king **Tējavarman** in 9 lines.

The two plates making up the second grant measure $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ to $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches. One of the two rings of this grant is missing and the remaining one has a tubular seal similar to that found in **A**. The weight of the two plates forming this grant together with the ring and the seal is

¹ Such restrictions date from ancient times. See, for instance, vv. 31 ff. of the Sirpur inscription of the time of Mahā-Sīvaguṇa, above, Vol. XI, pp. 192 f.

² The same expression occurs also in the Palṭhan plates. It was first interpreted by Dr. Fleet as referring to the exemption of the king's servants from fines either for staying at or for setting out on journeys from them. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 315). Later on he gave the alternative explanation that "the expression... may refer to 'fines' i.e., 'forced contributions of money or supplies' obligatory on the holders of villages on such occasions" (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 98, n. 2). There is no doubt that the latter is the correct interpretation.

178 *talaz*. In this, the inscription consists of 38 lines only, 12 being inscribed on the first plate, 14 and 12 respectively on the inner and outer faces of the second plate.

Both the grants are, on the whole, well preserved, but in some cases owing to portions of the plates being more or less corroded certain letters of grant B are not quite legible.

The characters in the inscriptions belong to the southern variety of the seventh century A.D. and are similar to those of the Valabhi and Gurjara grants of the same period. They are crowned by small circles and are more angular than rounded, mark, for instance, the letters *m*, *n*, and *d*. Among peculiarities of the inscription in grant A, it may be pointed out that the sign for the medial long *ā* is used in two ways, cf. *Pūrvastrikūṭa*, l. 38 and *Pūrvā śatam*, l. 39. The sign for initial *ā* in l. 54 deserves to be noted specially with reference to the same sign in ll. 14 and 31 of grant B. Equally remarkable are the forms of letters *ph* and *bhū* in lines 52 and 53 respectively. It may also be noted that both the forms of *l* are found in this inscription. As regards the orthography it may be stated that the sign for *upadhmāniya* is but once used in l. 44 of A and a consonant is usually doubled both before and after *r* as in *gōṭṭra*, *putṭra*, *parāḥkrama*, *eikkrānta*, *kkriyā*, *kshōbhāt-ārṇṇava*, *wireviśsha*, *varmma*, *dākshīy-ādibhir-gguyath*, *pūrvva*, *dēvasy-ārchehana*, *Janāyādana*, etc. *Ṇ* is used for *anusvāra* in *cañśasy-* (l. 6) and *Sinhavarman* (l. 9). The language of the records is Sanskrit prose with the exception of the invocatory and the imperatory verses at the beginning and end.

As regards the peculiarities of the inscription in grant B, it may be stated that the signs for the medial *u* and *ri* and the subscript *r* are not easily distinguishable from one another. So also is the case with *ṛ* and *l*. The *rīpha* is turned round to the left of a letter so much so that it goes above it. In this inscription, too, a consonant is usually doubled before and after *r*. Grant A seems to contain Sanskrit renderings of certain local words or phrases e.g., *karapē kōṭṭraṇ*, l. 35, *ghrīta-śetikā*, l. 37. Of the former, the sense is not at all clear, but the latter was possibly a small measure such as a ladle¹.

In both the grants, the records open with an invocatory verse in praise of the boat incarnation of the god Vishnu as is always the case with the inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi who were acknowledged as their overlords by the kings of the Hariśchandra family. Then follows the prose portion describing in usual terms the origin of the Chalukya family in which was ruling the emperor Vikramāditya, who was an ornament of the whole earth. This is followed by the description of a ruler named Svāmichandra whose sovereign Vikramāditya Chalukya considered him as his son, who was an ornament of the Hariśchandra family and who enjoyed the possession of the whole of the Purī-kōṅkaṇa, consisting of 14,000 villages. Svāmichandra's son was Sindhavarman and the latter's son was Bhōgaśakti, who bore the second name of Prithivichandra². Much of the further portion of the inscription is devoted to an extravagant praise of this feudatory king Bhōgaśakti.

The grant marked A was issued by Bhōgaśakti after addressing the state officials etc. of Gōparāshṭra, eastern Trīkūṭa, Amrarājī, Mairikā, two Mahāgīrīhāras, and Palla Aḍhamba[ka] divisions, and its object was to provide for conducting the worship of the god Nārāyaṇa and for dance, music, free kitchen, etc., at the temple which had been built at Jayapura by Bhōgēśvara who is probably to be identified with Bhōgaśakti himself. The endowment made for the above purposes consisted of the revenues of eight villages, viz., Jayagrāma, Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa, Pālittapāṭaka, Kōkilākshaka, Kalahaka, Mradgāhitaka³,

¹ [See below p. 235, n. 3.—Ed.]

² [He also seems to have had the *śirṣa* Trībhuvaṇākuṣa (l. 23A, l. 27B).—Ed.]

³ [See below p. 232, n. 2.—Ed.]

Kshāmagiraka and **Ānagrāma** and the income derived from certain taxes. The taxes consisted of certain levies during the *yātrā* festival of the god from every shop in the market and every court-yard(t); and on the import and export of every load of caravan; a handful of corn, and a fixed measure of ghee from (every house in) the principal village in each of the sub-divisions of **Gōparāshtra**, **Āmrarāji**, and **Mairikā**; and in like manner from other villages¹: one hundred **Krishnarāja** rupees from the sub-division of eastern **Trikūṭa**; two hundred **Krishnarāja** rupees from the western **Mahāgiri**hāra and one hundred from the eastern one; and fifty **Krishnarāja** rupees from the **Palla Āḍhamba** sub-division. But the above eight villages, on which taxes were thus imposed, were exempted from all the usual exactions of forced labour, etc. A committee of five or ten merchants was enjoined, in accordance with the established custom of the town, to arrange for the *yātrā* festival of the god **Vishnu** for a whole fortnight in the month of **Mārgaśīrsha**. The management of the temple was vested in the merchant guild of the town of **Jayapura** and the local merchants were exempted from (all other state) taxes.

This grant is dated in the year 461 of an unspecified era. Its scribe was **Bharatasvāmin**, an inhabitant of **Kallivana**.

The grant **B** refers to the re-colonisation of the formerly deserted **Samagiri**paṭṭana (the township of **Samagiri**) along with **Chandrapurī** and four other hamlets called **Ambayapallikā**², **Savāṇyapallikā**, **Maurāyapallikā** and **Kaṁsārīpallikā**. All these were vested in the town council of **Samagiri**paṭṭana, the merchants whereof were exempted from the payment of custom duties, the *aputradhana*, etc. The town council was also empowered to impose fines for certain moral delinquencies and other crimes.

The outer face of the third plate of grant **A** bears another inscription of nine lines in characters larger in size and slightly different in form from those of the main inscription. It records the grant by king **Tējavarman** of a free pasture land in the village of **Pālittapāṭaka** near **Jayapura**, already mentioned in the main inscription. In lieu of this land belonging to the god **Bhōgēśvara-dēva**, who is identical with the *Bhōgēśvara-pratishṭhita-Nārāyaṇa* of the main inscription, one hundred rupees were deposited by him with the merchant guild of **Jayapura** as a perpetual endowment, the interest of which was to be utilised for providing *guggula* for the daily worship of the god.

It is interesting to note that **Tējavarman**, who calls himself a *rājan*, is mentioned also in grant **B** wherein he is said to have promulgated the orders contained in the grant. As **Bhōgasakti** and his predecessors also bore no more assuming a title than *rājan* it is possible that **Tējavarman** belonged to the same family and might even have been a successor of **Bhōgasakti**, since his record appears as a postscript to grant **A**.

The great historical importance of the present grants lies in the fact that they bring to light a new feudatory dynasty which ruled in the latter part of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century A.D. over the vast territory comprising the whole of **Puri-kōṣakya** consisting of 14,000 villages which apparently included the present **Nāsik District** under the sovereignty of the **Western Chalukyas**. The first member of this feudatory family, which was named after **Hariśchandra**, was **Svāmichandra**, who acknowledged the sovereignty of **Vikramāditya**, the **Western Chalukya** emperor who, as we know, reigned from 655 to 680 A.D. It is specially noted in the inscriptions that **Svāmichandra** was loved by his overlord as his own son. The figure of a boar, the emblem of the **Chalukya** family of **Bādāmi**, engraved on the reverse of the second plate of Grant **A**, was probably meant to indicate respect and loyalty to the Imperial dynasty, whereas

¹ [See below p. 235, n. 3.—Ed.]

² [See below p. 237, n. 3.—Ed.]

the figure of a lion embossed on the seals attached to the plates was presumably the emblem of the Hariśchandra family. Since nothing is specifically mentioned in the inscriptions to the credit of Svāmichandra's two successors, Śiṅhavarmanrāja and Bhōgaśakti, it may be concluded that they did little in raising the importance of the family.

There is nothing in the inscription to denote the era to which its date should be referred. The Chalukya emperors, to whom Bhōgaśakti's family owed allegiance, used no doubt the Śaka era in all their grants and ordinarily it might be expected that the same would be used by their feudatories of the Hariśchandra family as well. But that the date 461 of our record cannot be referred to the Śaka era is obvious from the fact that Svāmichandra, the grandfather of Bhōgaśakti who is the donor of the present grant, was a contemporary of the Chalukya emperor Vikramāditya, who, we know, ruled from A.D. 655 to 680. This is possible only if the date is referred to the **Kalachuri era** which is found generally used in inscriptions of the period discovered in the Lāṭa country and the Nāsik District¹. The inscription therefore belongs to the year 709-10 A.D. The Hariśchandra family, although it owed allegiance to the Chalukyas, seems to have adopted the Kalachuri era in their grants because it was current in the country.

The Aihole inscription of Pulikēśin II, dated A.D. 634, tells us that this ruler had defeated the Mauryas of Kōṅkaṇa and had subdued the city called Puri², which was the glory of the western sea. But we know that in the concluding years of Pulikēśin's reign his hold over the northern territories had slackened. Svāmichandra of the Hariśchandra family, who was probably ruling over a small territory round about Jayapura in the Nāsik District, seems to have rendered such signal services to the Chalukya emperor Vikramāditya, son of Pulikēśin, in consolidating his power over the western and northern parts of the empire that he was not only considered as his son by the emperor but, as may be inferred from our Anjaneri plates, also appears to have obtained from him as a reward the whole of the territory known as Puri-kōṅkaṇa.

The Dhōṇḍhaka grant³ of the Chalukya Jayasimhavarman, younger son of Pulikēśin, shows that he was ruling over the Nāsik territory in about Śaka 580 (A.D. 658). Similarly, the Nirpaṇ plates⁴ found in the Igatpuri Taluka of the Nāsik District record a grant by Tribhuvanāśraya-Nāgavardhana, son of Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman, one of the younger brothers of the emperor Pulikēśin himself, of a village named Balēgrāma in the Gōparāṣṭra *viśaya*. Although there are strong reasons to suppose that the Nirpaṇ plates are spurious, yet from both of these it is clear that a portion of the Nāsik District was for some time in the possession of a scion of the Imperial family. Now our Anjaneri plates show that the divisions of Gōparāṣṭra and others were in the possession of Bhōgaśakti and probably of his predecessors too. This was possible only if Vikramāditya had taken out the territory from the possession of a scion of his own family and granted it to Svāmichandra for his valuable services.

It seems strange, however, that no successor of Vikramāditya has been mentioned in the record, not even the sovereign Vijayāditya (A.D. 697-733) who was reigning at the time of this inscription. It need not be supposed from this that the Chalukya emperors lost hold over the pro-

¹ Cf. (a) Ābhōṇa (Nāsik District) plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa dated in the year 347 = A.D. 595. Above, Vol. IX, pp. 297 ff. (b) Vajñēra (Nāsik District) plates of Buddharāja dated in the year 380 = A.D. 608. Above, Vol. XII, pp. 33 ff. (c) Sarasvī (Baroda State) plates of Buddharāja dated in the year 361 = A.D. 600. Above, Vol. VI, pp. 297 ff.

² Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff., verses 20-21.

³ G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan* (in Marāṭhī), Vol. I, pp. 12 ff.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 124.

vince in which Bhōgasakti was ruling, since the latter makes a proper mention of the Chalukya family at the beginning of the inscription and engraved the figure of a boar in the middle of it showing thereby that he had full regard for the Imperial family and owed allegiance to it.

Secondly, a copper plate grant referring to the reign of Vijayāditya was found at Balsār¹ in Gujarāt which was issued from the town of Maṅgalapuri by the Rājā Maṅgalarasa, son of Dharaśraya-Jayasinhavarman, the younger brother of Vikramāditya I. Contrary to the usual practice of the Gujarāt grants, this record is dated not in the Kalachuri era but in Śaka 653 and this fact suggests that the record really belongs not to the Lāṭa country but to the territory above the Ghāts in the direction of Nāsik and Khāndesh. This shows that Vijayāditya's power was acknowledged in the Nāsik District as late as A.D. 731. The failure, therefore, to mention the name of the reigning emperor in the Anjaneri grants indicates not so much the carelessness of the scribe or the draftsman of the record as the troublous times.

We do not know how long after the date of our inscription the Hariśchandra family continued to rule over Puri-kōṅkaṇa, but it seems certain that with the overthrow of the Western Chalukya power by the Rāshtrakūṭas the family of Svāmichandra suffered the same fate, for the Kanheri cave inscription of Śaka 765 (A.D. 843-44) states that the Śilāhāra chief *Mahāsāmanta* Pullaśakti was ruling over the whole of the Puri-kōṅkaṇa holding it through the favour of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Amoghavarsha. Pullaśakti's father, Kapardin I, seems to have founded the Śilāhāra family of north Kōṅkaṇa at the beginning of the ninth century. This is another reason to suppose that the Hariśchandra family ruled not later than the middle of the 8th century and ended with the fall of the Imperial Chalukyas.

The mention of the *Krishṇarāja rūpakas* in the inscription is important. It shows that at the time of the Anjaneri plates there were in use in the Nāsik District silver coins named after *Krishṇarāja*. There can be no doubt that this *Krishṇarāja* was the famous Kalachuri emperor, whose son Śaṅkaraṇa (Śaṅkaragaṇa) issued the *Sāṅkheḍā* plate² of Śāntilla and whose coins were found not only in Dēvalanā in the Nāsik District but also in the islands of Bombay and Salsette. These bear the legend *Paramamāhēśvara Krishṇarāja* and the figure of a bull.

The *yātrā* festival in honour of the god Vishṇu mentioned in the inscription A is interesting. That it was held in the month of *Mārgaśīrsha* is stated in l. 44 of grant A. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit informs that the occurrence of a special festival in the bright fortnight of *Mārgaśīrsha* is a peculiar feature in some parts of the Marāṭhā country. Thus among the Brāhmaṇas of Nāsik and Ahmadnagar there is a regular *Navarātra* festival in this month just as there is the usual festival in the month of *Āśvina* celebrated all over India. The sixth day of the fortnight is called *Champā-shashthī* which is particularly observed among the Dēśastha Brāhmaṇas. Most of the people above the Ghāts have as their tutelary deity Khaṇḍōba of Jejuri near Poona, to whom *Champā-shashthī* is sacred. Khaṇḍōba is a peculiar deity, perhaps originally equivalent to Skanda, but having quite independent characteristics such as a dog for a *vāhana*. It is very likely that the fair or festival referred to above dates back to the time of the present inscription.

The following localities are mentioned in grant A: *Gōparāshṭra*, *Pūrva-Trikūṭa*, *Āmrarājī*, *Mairikā*, *Mahāgiriḥāra*, *Palla Āḍhamba[ka]*, *Jayapura*, *Jayagrāma*, *Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa*, *Pālitapāṭaka*, *Kōkilākshaka*, *Kalahaka*, *Mradgāhitaka*³,

¹ See *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

² Above, Vol. II, pp. 23 f.

³ [See below p. 232, n. 2.—Ed.]

Kahēmagiraka, **Ānagrāma** and **Kallivana**. The first six are stated to be *vishayas* or territorial divisions. The approximate situation of **Gōparāshṭra** can be known from the mention in the Nirpaṇ plates referred to above, of a village named **Balēgrāma** as situated in the **Gōparāshṭra-vishaya**. **Balēgrāma** is no doubt to be identified with modern Belgaum-Taralha in the Igatpuri Taluka of the Nāsik District. **Jayapura**, where the temple of Nārāyaṇa was situated, may be Jarvad Budrukh, 10 miles south-west of Anjaneri. **Jayagrāma** may be Jaikheda in the Dindori Taluka. **Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa** is Ambegaon, about 23 miles north-west of Nāsik; **Kalahaka** may be Kokangaon, 2 miles south-east of Jaikheda and **Mradgāhitaka**, Magaupara, 3 miles north-west of Jaikheda. **Kallivana** is undoubtedly Kalvan in the Nāsik District, which is also mentioned in some other grants of the period.

The localities mentioned in grant B are **Samagripaṭṭana**, **Chandrapurī**, **Ambayapallikā**, **Savāṇēyapallikā**, **Maurēyapallikā** and **Karṇāsripallikā**. **Samagripaṭṭana** cannot now be traced, but it was probably situated near **Chandrapurī** with which it is coupled in the present grant, and which is probably identical with Chandrachi Met, 12 miles south-west of Anjaneri. **Savāṇēyapallikā** may be Samundi, 5 miles north-east and **Karṇāsripallikā** may be Karholi or Karohavadi, 6 and 7 miles respectively east of Chandrachi Met. **Maurēyapallikā** may be Morwadi, 3 miles south-west of Nāsik¹.

Grant A.

TEXT.

First Plate.

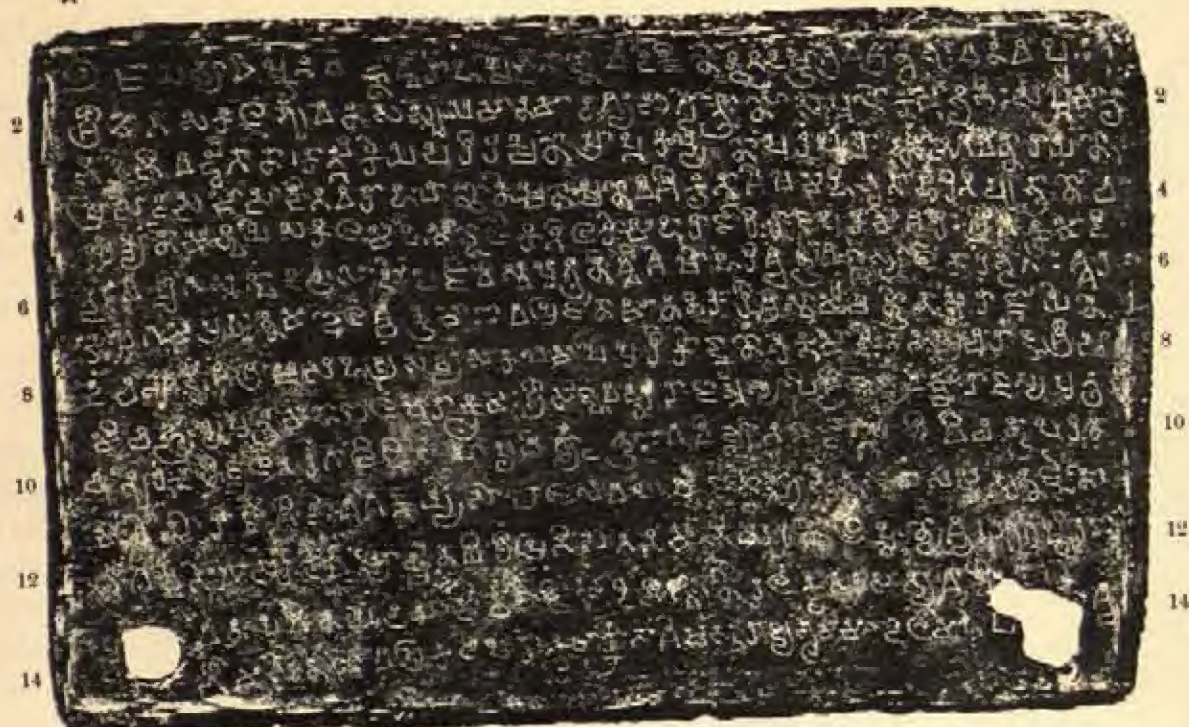
- 1 श्री¹ [1*] जयत्वाविष्कृतं विष्णोर्ध्वराहं जीमितार्णवं(वम्) [1*] दक्षिणीव्रतदंष्ट्रायविद्या-
न्तभुवनं वपुः [11] [1*]
- 2 श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसंगोच्चाणां सप्तलोकमावृभिः सप्तमावृ-
- 3 भिरभिवर्हितानां ।² कार्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्मारायण-
- 4 प्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणचणवशीकृताग्नेयमन्त्रीभृतां हारीतीपुच्छाणां च-
- 5 लुब्धानामन्वये सकलमन्त्रीमण्डलैकतिलको महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः श्रीविष्णुमादि-
- 6 त्ववल्लभस्तत्पादप्रसादोपजीवी स्वपुत्रनिर्विशेषो हरिचन्द्रवङ्गस्थालंकारभूतः(त)शर-
- 7 दुपगमप्रसन्नमण्डलचन्द्रमा इव प्रजानामानन्दकारी श्रीस्वामिचन्द्रो नाम राजा येने-
- 8 दं चतुर्दशग्रामसहस्रसंख्यं सकलमपि पुरीकीर्णं भुक्तमासीत् [1*] तस्य च
राज्ञः[*] श्रीस्वा-

¹ We have to thank Prof. V. V. Mirashi of the Nagpur University for suggesting the identification of most of the place names mentioned in the grants and also for making some valuable suggestions in the preparation of this article.

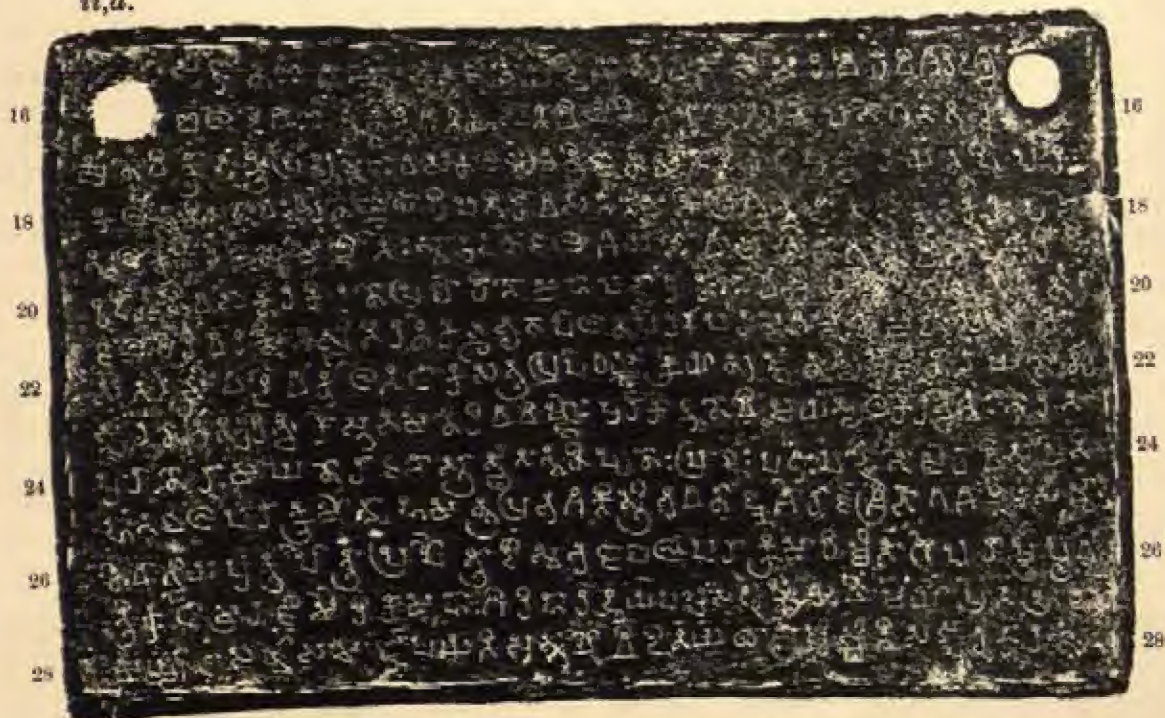
² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Darga unnecessary.

i.



ii, a.



ii, b.

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iii, a.

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- 9 मिचन्द्रस्य पुत्री महावलपराक्रमः श्रीसिङ्घ(सिंह)वर्मराजस्तस्यापि श्रीसिङ्घ(सिंह)वर्म-
राजस्य पुत्रः[.]
- 10 चतुर्दधिजलतरंगालिङ्गितायां पृथिव्यां चन्द्र इव विख्याततेजाः पृथिवीचन्द्रापरना-
11 मधेयो राजा श्रीभोगशक्त्योसौ बाल एव पूर्वजन्माभ्यासेन स्वयं समुत्पन्नज्ञानो
12 भगवतो वासुदेवस्यार्चनविधिं प्रति सततमभियुक्तो ब्रह्मण्यश्च युधिष्ठिर इ-
13 व नयविनयदयादानदाक्षिण्यादिभिर्गुणैरलंकृतः सत्यवादी च
14 भीमसेन इव प्रकटपराक्रमाक्क्रान्ताशेषस्वराज्यभूमिमण्डलो महाव[ल]श्च

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 15 अर्जुन इव जनार्दनज्ञानोपदेशानुवर्त्ती समरविधिविशारदश्च
16 बलदेव इव नृत्तगीतहसितविलसितक्रोडासुखोपभोगतत्परः
17 क्षणं विक्रान्तश्च प्रद्युम्न इव सकलयुवतिजनमनोहरं वपुर्धारयन्नपि पर-
18 कलक्षनिस्पृहः वनवारणयूथाधिपतिरिव सततमभिप्रवृत्तदानार्द्रोक्तकरः पद्मी-
19 त्पलकुमुदपण्डमण्डितः स्वादूदको जलाशय इव प्राणिनां तृणाविच्छेदकारी
20 उदितदिवसकरकिरणप्रबोधिनी महापद्माकर इव श्रियो निवासभवनं
21 जलधिरिव रक्षितस्थितिर्नकभूभृत्पालनपरः परमगम्भीरो महासत्व(त्व)श्च
22 सततमेव देवकुलतटाकसत्प्रपाधर्मक्रियानुष्ठानव्यसनी नारायणानु-
23 स्मरणतत्परश्च ।¹ कौस्तुभमणिरिव विष्णोः पुरीकोङ्कणविषयस्थालंकारभूतः भारत-
24 पुराणरामायणराजशास्त्रार्थतत्त्वनिपुणः प्राज्ञः पटुः पण्डितो मेधावी अप्रति-
25 हतवलपराक्रमोत्साहमन्त्रप्रभुशक्तिस्त्रिभुवनाङ्गुशो राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिः सर्वा-
26 नैवात्मीयपुत्रपौत्रपौत्रादी² स्वभुजवलपराक्रमाधिष्ठिता³ गोपराष्ट्रपूर्व-
27 त्तिकूटाम्बराजीमैरिकामहागिरिहारहयपल्लआढस्वकविषया⁴
28 मर्यादां(दान्) सर्वां(र्वान्) समाज्ञापयति अस्तु वो विदितं यथा सृष्टिस्थितिसङ्गा-
(संहा)रकारणं

¹ *Daṇḍa unnecessary.*

² Read *prapautr-ādīn.*

³ Read *dhishthitām.*

⁴ [Reading seems to be *Palluāḍhambaka-vishayām(yān) Prēṭāhradā-maryyādām(dān)*. In l. 39 the first name is read as *Pallūḍhamba*.—Ed.]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 29 देवातिदेवं सुरासुरगुरुं भगवंतं वासुदेवं मुक्ता नान्या विशिष्टदेवतास्ती-
 30 ति मत्वा जयपुरे भोगेश्वरप्रतिष्ठिताय पुराणपुरुषाय परमात्मने भगव-
 31 ते नारायणाय गन्धपुष्पधूपदीपसन्मा(म्ना)र्जनीपलेपनक्रियार्थं नृत्तगीतवाद्यो-
 32 पेतसंगीतकार्यं सत्तार्थं खण्डस्फुटितसंस्कारार्थं च [1] मातापितृरात्मनश्च पुण्य-
 33 वृद्धये अष्टौ ग्रामा आदानानि च प्रतिपादितानि [1] तेषाम्नामानि जयग्रामः
 अश्वे-
 34 अवङ्गणं [1] पालितपाटकः कीकिलाक्षकः¹ कलहकः म्ब्राहितकः² चेम-
 35 गिरकः आन्रग्रामश्च [1] आदानानि [1] आपणेषु आवाराः करणे कीविरं [1]
 सार्यवह्निक्षेषु
 36 प्रवेशे निर्गमे च प्रत्येकं रूपकः देवस्य याक्षोत्सवे दातव्यं [1] गोपराष्ट्राम्बराजीमै-
 37 रिकाविषयेषु ज्येष्ठिकाग्रामे मुटकः³ घृतसेतिका च अनेनावतारेण इतर-
 38 ष्वपि ग्रामेषु [1] पूर्वत्तिकूटविषये कृष्णराजरूपकशतं १०० [1] महागिरिहारे
 अपरे
 39 कृष्णराजरूपकशतद्वयं २०० पूर्वं शतं १०० पञ्चदशविषये कृष्णराजरूपका[.]
 पञ्चाशत् ५०
 40 ये चाष्टौ ग्रामास्ते सर्वादानविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणाः अचाटभटप्रवेश्याः
 41 अभ्यन्तरसिद्धिकाः आचन्द्रार्कार्णवक्षितस्थितिसमकालीनाः य-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 42 तस्तस्मादस्मदंश्यैः प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजलतरंगचंचलं
 43 जीवलीकमवलीक्य अयमस्मद्वायोनुमंतव्यः पालयितव्यश्च [1]
 44 वणिग्भिर्पंचभिर्दंशभिरपि नगरधर्ममवलंब्य मार्गशीर्षमासस्य पञ्चमाक्षं
 45 देवस्य विष्णोर्याक्षोत्सवस्मारयितव्यः [1*] यो वाञ्छानतिमिरावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादा-
 46 च्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्संयुक्तः[*] स्यात् [1*] यदेतदे-

¹ A figure of a boar is engraved here.² [Reading seems to be *Mudgā*.—Ed.]³ [Reading is *mūṭakaḥ*. See below p. 235, n. 3.—Ed.]

- 47 वकुलं तद्वणिङ्गगराय निरूपितं तैश्च सर्व्वर्भगवती देवस्य शुश्रूषा योगक्षेम-
 48 च वोढव्यः [1*] नगरस्य च स्थितिर्लिख्यते [1] ये स्थानवासिनो वाणिजकास्तेषां
 शुल्कं जेमकी
 49 वा कदाचिदपि नास्ति । य एतां स्थितिं भिनत्ति स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैः[*] संयुक्तः[*]
 स्यादिति ।
 50 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव
 नरके वसेत् ॥ [२*]
 51 पूर्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष्य युधिष्ठिर । महीं मतिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपा-
 लनं(नम्) [11] [३*]
 52 बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[४*]
 53 विध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं
 हरन्ति ये ॥[५*]
 54 संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये एकषष्ट्यधिके ४०० ६० १ शासनं लिखितं कलिवन-
 55 वास्तव्येन भरतस्वामिना ॥

Third Plate ; Second Side.

Inscription of Tējavarman.

- 1 श्री^१ स्वस्ति श्रीतेजवर्मराज्ञा(राजेन) जयपुरस्य दक्षिणायां(णस्यां)
 2 दिशि पालितपाटको गोप्रचारी मुक्तः [1*] तस्य च प्र-
 3 माणं चतुर्दिक्षु दुर्गादेवि(वी)सहिता[*] शैलिमा गावो स्थापिता[: 1*] सीम-
 4 स्^२ तदेव प्रमा^३णं [1*] तस्य गोप्रचारस्यार्थं भोगेश्वरदेवस्य भूमिनि-
 5 ष्क्रयार्थं जयपुरवणिङ्गागरस्य रूपकशतं^४ दत्तं तस्य च रूपक-
 6 शतस्य वृद्धिः गुग्गुलमूल्यं भोगेश्वरदेवस्य वर्षप्रतिवर्षं
 7 नगरेण यावदाचन्द्रार्कतारकं दातव्यं यो वास्या-
 8 न्यथा कर्षति^५ स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैस्संयुक्तो भ-
 9 विष्यति ॥

^१ *Dhi* which was first omitted is written below the line in smaller character.

^२ Expressed by a symbol.

^३ *Mā* which was at first omitted, is written below this line.

^४ *Tam* was at first omitted and then written below the line.

^५ Read *śimnaḥ* or *śimāyāḥ*.

^६ Read *karishyati*.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) Ōm. Victorious is the form of Vishṇu manifesting itself as the boar, which troubled the ocean and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its up-lifted right tusk.

(Ll. 2-6) In the family of the illustrious **Chalukyas** who belong to the *Mānavya gōtra* praised over the whole world; who have been nourished by the seven mothers, the mothers of the seven worlds; who have attained an uninterrupted continuation of prosperity through the protection of (*the god*) *Kārttikēya*; who subjugated all the kings in an instant at (*their having*) a sight of the boar-insignia which was acquired through the favour of the lord *Nārāyaṇa*; and who are the descendants of *Hārīti*—(*was born*) the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vikramāditya Vallabha**, the sole forehead mark (*tilakā*) of the whole earth.

(Ll. 6-28) Living upon the favour of his (*Vikramāditya's*) feet and being unto him like his own son, was the illustrious king named **Svāmichandra**, who was an ornament of the **Harischandra** family, who delighted his subjects like the autumnal bright full moon and who enjoyed (*the possession of*) the entire **Purī-kōṅkaṇa** consisting of fourteen thousand villages. The son of this king Svāmichandra was the illustrious king **Sīmhavarman**, who was great in strength and prowess. And this illustrious king Sīmhavarman's son was the illustrious king **Bhōgaśakti** also known as **Prithivichandra** whose glory like that of the moon is resplendent on the earth embraced by the waves of the four oceans; who even as a child, was imbued with inborn knowledge acquired by constant application in his previous births; who is ever engaged in the worship of the god *Vāsudēva*, and is well versed in the sacred lore; who like *Yudhisṭhira* is adorned with the virtues such as justice, modesty, compassion, charity, courtesy, etc., and is also truthful; who like *Bhīmasēna* is a great hero and has filled the circle of his entire kingdom by his manifest prowess; who like *Arjuna* is adept in the art of war and is a follower of the teachings of *Kṛishṇa*; who like *Baladēva* is given to the enjoyment of dance, music, merry-making, flirtation and sports and (*at the same time*) would be heroic in a moment¹; who, though endowed like *Pradyumna* with a physique which attracted the hearts of all damsels, has no desire for the wives of others; whose (*right*) hand, like the trunk of the leader of wild elephants wet with the incessant flow of ichor, is moistened on account of his being constantly engaged in performing charities; who quenches the thirst of beings like a pond of sweet water adorned by multitudes of lotuses and lilies; who is the abode of splendour like a large tank of lotuses blossomed by the rays of the rising sun; who like the ocean is steadfast, is the protector of numerous kings and is profound and noble as the ocean is used to keep within its boundary, protects numerous mountains (*in its depth*), is profound in depth and contains large (*aquatic*) animals; who is ever eager to perform acts of charity such as (*the construction and endowment of*) temples, tanks, free kitchen and water stalls; who is given to the contemplation of *Nārāyaṇa*; who is the ornament of the *Purī-kōṅkaṇa vishaya* as the *Kaustubha* gem is of *Vishṇu*; who is skilled in (*ascertaining*) the real import of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in king-craft; who is wise, sagacious, learned and intelligent; who is endowed with irresistible strength, valour and (*the attributes of*) *utsāhaśakti*, *prabhukāṅkṣi* and *mantraśakti*; who is the goad of the three worlds (*Tribhuvanāṅkuśa*)—the same illustrious king **Bhōgaśakti** commands all his sons, grandsons, great-grandsons, etc., placed in charge of the *vishayas* of *Gōparāshṭra*, eastern *Trikūṭa*, *Amrarāji*, *Mairikā*, two *Mahāgiriḥāras* and *Palla Ādhambā*—[*ka*] which have been acquired by the prowess of his arms (and all others)²:

¹ If *śakṣanā* is taken in the sense of happiness then this phrase might be translated as "who had conquered (*i.e.*, acquired complete possession of) happiness."

² [I would translate ll. 25-28 as follows:—³ *Bhōgaśakti* commands all his sons, etc., and all the districts of *Gōparāshṭra*, etc., upto the boundary of *Prētahradā*, which were conquered by the prowess of his own arms and courage'.—Ed.]

(Ll. 28-49) " Be it known to you that having recognised that no other pre-eminent deity excepting the god Vāsudēva who is the cause of creation, preservation and destruction, who is the supreme god, and who is the god of gods and demons, I have made to the god Nārāyaṇa, the Primeval Being and the supreme spirit, installed by **Bhōgēśvara** in *(the town of)* **Jayapura**, in order to augment the merits of my parents and myself, an endowment of eight villages together with the taxes thereof so as to provide *(at the temple)* for perfume, flowers, incense, light, ablutions and unguents and also for dance, vocal and instrumental music, free kitchen, repairs and upkeep. The names of these *(villages)* are **Jayagrāma**, **Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa**, **Pālitapāṭaka**, **Kōkilākshaka**, **Kalahaka**, **Mradgāhitaka**, **Kshēmāgiraka** and **Ānagrāma**. As to the taxes, the stall tax is to be levied in the market places, a rupee each is to be paid on the occasion of the god's *yātrā* at the entry and exit of each caravan of merchandise. *Muṭakas*¹ (handfuls) of corn and *Sītikās*² of ghee are to be levied from *(every house in)* the principal village of each of the *vishayas* of Gōparāśhtra, Āmrarājī and Maṭrikā, and in like manner from other villages too.³ *(Taxes to be collected in cash are)* 100 one hundred *Krishṇarāja* rupees from the *vishaya* of eastern Trikūṭa; 200 two hundred *Krishṇarāja* rupees from the western Mahāgiriḥara and 100 one hundred from the eastern one; and 50 fifty *Krishṇarāja* rupees from the *vishaya* of Pallūḍhambha. *(In consideration of the above)* these eight villages have been exempted from all kinds of taxes, forced labour and vexatious interference; they are not to be entered by the regular or irregular troops *(and)* they are to enjoy rights over wealth underground. This grant shall last as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth endure. Therefore, viewing the world as unsteady as the waves of the sea ruffled by a strong wind, this grant of ours is to be upheld and maintained by our descendants. The *yātrā* festival of the god Vishṇu should be arranged by *(a committee of)* five or ten merchants for a whole fortnight in the month of *Mārgaśīrṣa* in accordance with the established custom of the town. Whoever, blinded by the darkness of ignorance, shall confiscate or assent to confiscation *(of the grant)* he shall be guilty of the five great sins. Since this temple has been entrusted to *(the care of)* the town merchants, on them shall devolve the proper worship and service of the divine Lord. And the following town convention is laid down. The local merchants shall, for ever, be immune from customs duties and feeding expenses *(of officers on duty)*. Whoever shall violate this convention, shall be guilty of the five great sins."⁴

(Ll. 50-53) [Here are four of the usual imprecatory verses.]

This grant was written by **Bharatasvāmin**, an inhabitant of **Kallivana** in the year 461 (expressed both in words and in figures).

Inscription of Tējavarman.

(Ll. 1-9) Ōm hail. The king **Tējavarman** has given a free grazing ground *(within the limits of the village)* **Pālitapāṭaka** situated to the south of **Jayapura**. For the demarcation thereof along with *(the temple of)* the goddess Durgā stone sculptures of cows have been set up on all four sides. That is the measure of its extent. In order to compensate for the land belonging to

¹ This term is still used in Mahārāshtra.

² Might be a small measure such as a ladle or a derivative from *śatikā* or mother-of-pearl.

³ [I would translate the passage as follows:—¹ One load (of corn) and one *śtika* of ghee from the principal village of the districts of Gōparāśhtra, etc., and in the same proportion from the other villages also.² I would connect *mūṭaka*, which seems to be the reading here, with the word *mūṭa* or *mūṭa* (Hindi *mūṭh*) meaning a 'bundle' or 'provision bag'. *Sītika* is apparently connected with *śtikā* of the *Purāṇas* which is equivalent to 4 *pālas* or approximately 14 *lohas*. See Edward Thomas—*Ancient Indian Weights*, p. 26. I am, however, unable to suggest any meaning for *kācra* in l. 35.—Ed.]

Bhōgēśvaradēva now converted into a pasture, one hundred rupees have been deposited with the merchant guild of Jayapura. And from the interest of this one hundred rupees should be met, year after year, the cost of *guggula* for the (*worship of the*) god Bhōgēśvara until the sun, moon and stars endure. Whosoever shall interfere with this shall be possessed with the five great sins.

Grant B.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 श्री¹ जयत्वाविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं चोभिततार्क्षवं(वम्) [1*] दक्षिणीन्नत[दं]द्वाय-
- 2 विश्रान्तभुवनं वपुः [11*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानमान²-
- 3 व्यसगोच्चाणां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्तिके-
- 4 यपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादस-
- 5 मासादितवराहलांकनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां हारीतीपुच्चा-
- 6 णां चलुक्यानामन्वये सकलमहीमण्डलैकतिलको महाराजाधिराजपर-
- 7 मेश्वरश्रीविक्रमादित्यवल्लभस्तत्पादप्रसादोपजीवी स्वपुत्रनिर्व्विशेषो
- 8 हरिश्चन्द्रवंशस्थालंकारभूतः शरदुपगमप्रसन्नमण्डलश्चन्द्रमा इव प्र-
- 9 जानामानन्दकारी श्रीस्वामिचन्द्री नाम राजा येनेदं चतुर्दशग्रामसहस्र-
- 10 संख्यं सकलमु(म)पि पुरीकोकणं भुक्तमासीत् [1*] तस्य च राज्ञः श्रीस्वामि-
- चंद्रस्य
- 11 पुत्नी महावलपराक्रमः[*] श्रीसिंह(सिंह)वर्मराजस्तस्यापि श्रीसिंह(सिंह)वर्मराजस्य
- 12 पुत्रश्चतुर्दधिलतर्गालिंगितायां पृथिव्यां चन्द्र इव

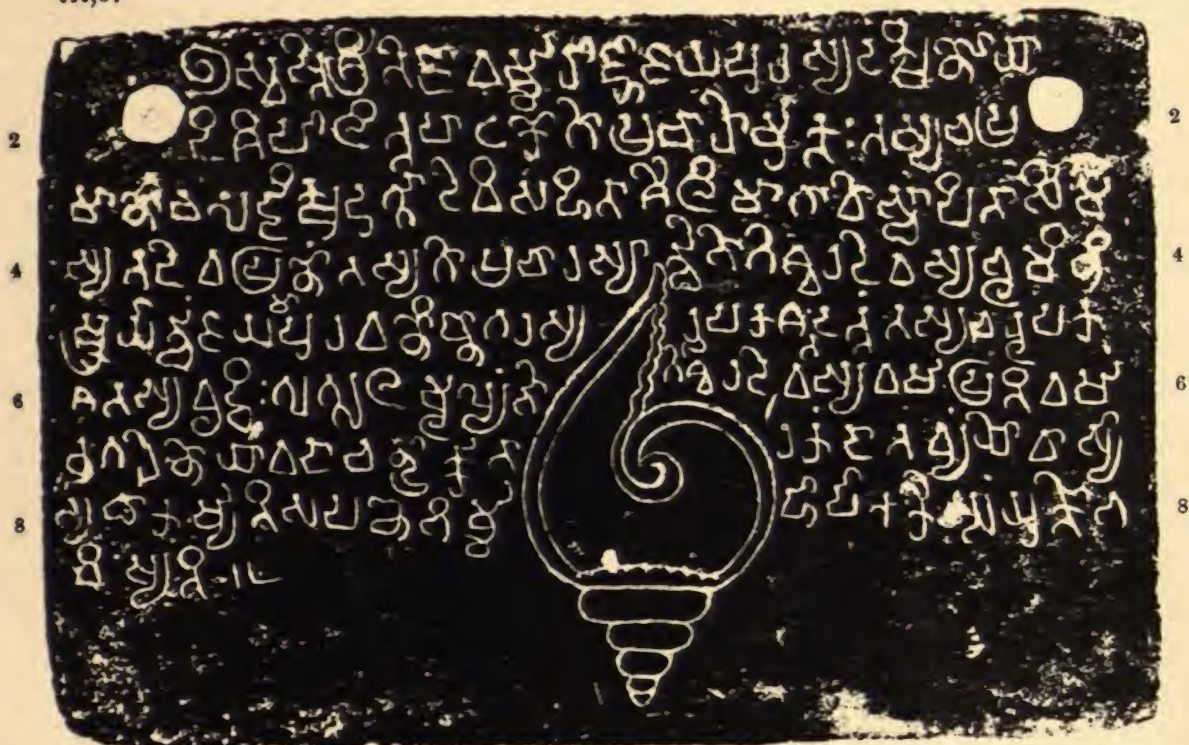
Second Plate ; First Side.

- 13 विख्याततेजा[*] पृथिवीचन्द्रापरनामधेयो राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिः योसौ बाल
- 14 एव पूर्वजन्माभ्यासेन स्वयं समुत्पन्नज्ञानो भगवतो वासुदेवस्यार्चनवि-
- 15 धिं प्रति सततमभियुक्तो ब्रह्मण्यश्च युधिष्ठिर इव नयविनयदयादानदाक्षि-
- 16 ण्यादिभिर्गुणैरलंकृतस्सत्यवादी च भीमसेन इव प्रकटपराक्रमाक्रान्ताशेषस्वरा-
- 17 ज्यभूमिमंडलो महावलश्च अर्जुन इव जनार्दनज्ञानोपदेशवर्त्ती समरविधिविशा-
- 18 रदश्च बलदेव इव नृत्तगौतहसितविलसितक्रीडासुखोपभोगतत्परः क्षणं वि-
- 19 क्रांतश्च प्रद्युम्न इव सकलयुवतिजनमनोहरं वपुर्द्वारयन्नपि परकलचनि-
- 20 स्सृष्टः वनवारणयूथाधिपतिरिव सततमभिप्रवृत्तदानार्द्रकृतकरः पद्मो[त्यल]-

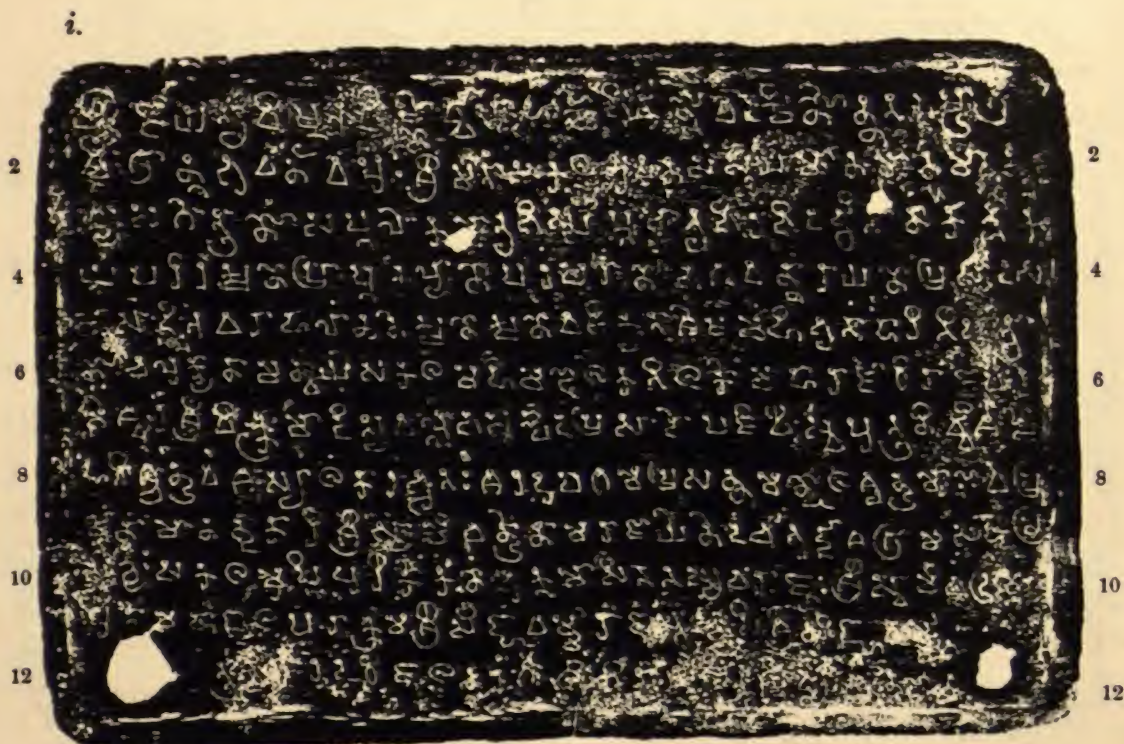
¹ Expressed by a symbol.² One *māna* is redundant.

Inscription of Tejavarman.

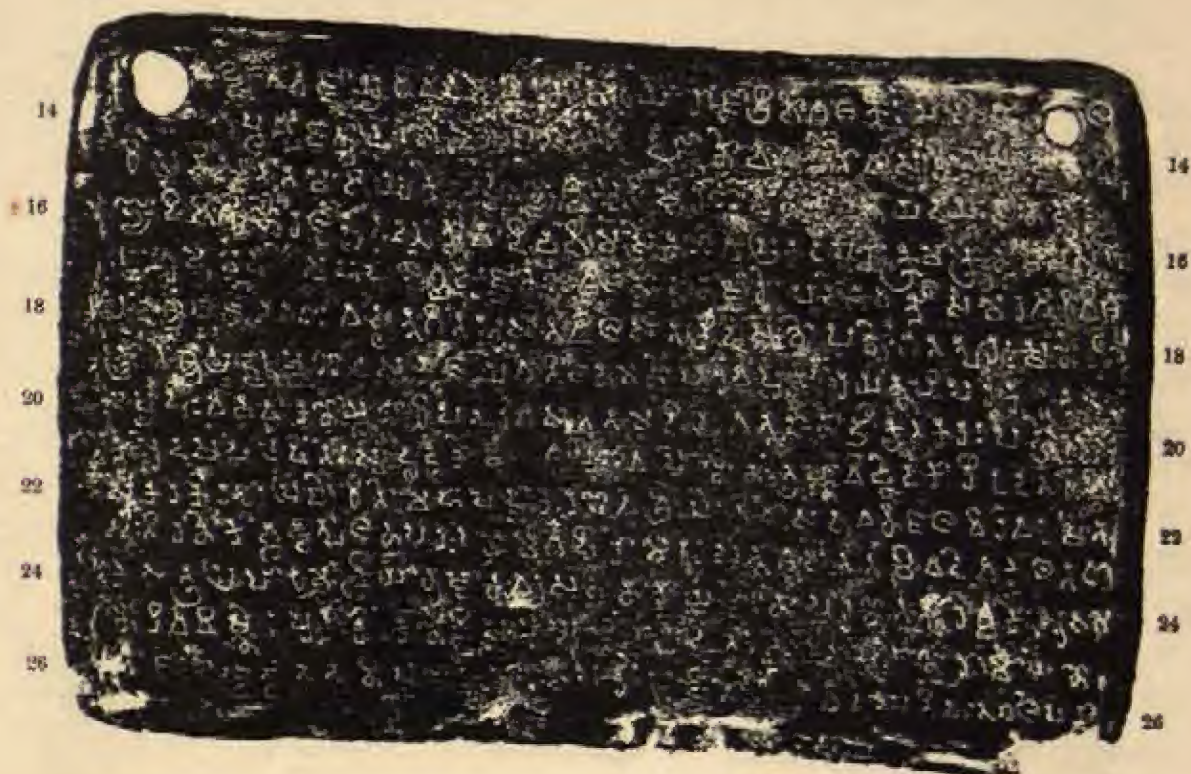
iii, b.



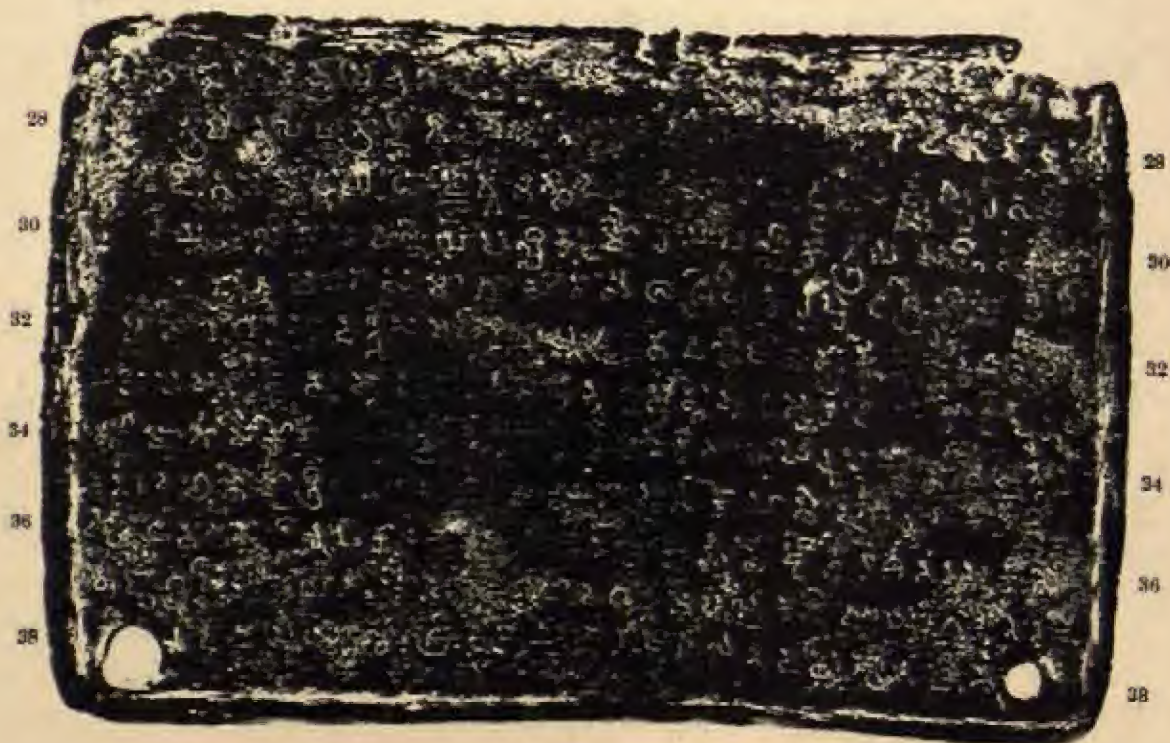
Grant B.



ii, a.



ii, b.



- 21 [कुं(कु)]सुदण्डमंडितः स्वादूदकी जलाशय इव प्राणिनां दृष्ट्याविच्छेदकारी उदितदिव-
 22 सकरकिरणप्रवीधितो महापद्माकर इव श्रियो निवासभवनं जलवि(धि)रिव रक्षित-
 23 स्थितिरनेकभूभृत्यालनपरः परमगंभीरी महासत्व(त्त्व)श्च सततमेव देवकुलतटा-
 24 कसच्चप्रपाधर्मक्रियानुष्ठानव्यसनी नारायणानुस्मरणतत्परश्च कौस्तुभम-
 25 णिरिव विष्णोः पुरीकीकणविषयस्थालंकारभूतः भारतपुराणरामायण-
 26 राजशास्त्रार्थतत्व(त्त्व)निपुणः प्राज्ञः पटुः पण्डितो मेधावी अप्रतिहतबलपरा-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 27 [कुमो]त्साहमन्त्रप्रभुशक्तिस्त्रिभुवन[ाङ्गुशी] [राजा भोगशक्तिः सर्वनिवासी*]-¹
 28 यपुचपौचप्रपौचादीं(दीन्) विषयपतिग्रामभोगिकम[ह]त्तरा[दीं(दीन्) समाचापय]-²
 29 ति विदितमस्तु वो यथा पूर्वमुत्सादितं [स]मगिरिपट्टनं चन्द्रपुरीसहि[तं]
 30 [अ*]स्वय³पल्लिकास[वा]ण्यपल्लिकामौर्यपल्लिकाचयसहितं कंसा-
 31 रिपल्लिका च मया समावासितं एलश्रेष्ठिकरपुटश्रेष्ठिप्रमुख-
 32 समस्तनगरस्य दत्तं समगिरिवास्तव्यानां वणिजां चन्द्रार्ककालिकं शुल्कमादौ(दे)-
 33 यं समस्तराज्ये नास्ति [I*] अपरं च अपुचधनं द्वा(ना)स्ति उम्बरभेद[:]

राजपुरुषा-

- 34 णामावासकी जेमकश्च एतन्नास्ति [I*] कुमारीसाहसे रूपकाणामष्टीत्तर-
 35 शतं । संग्रह⁴णि द्वात्रिंशतिरूपकाः कर्णचोडणिकायां षोडश रूपकाः शिर-
 36 स्फीटने चत्वारि रूपकाः भारिकायां वणिकपुत्रस्याष्टीत्तरशतं रूपकाणां
 37 नङ्गे गृहीतस्य यच्चाष्टौ षोडश वा नगरमहल्लका विचार्य वदन्ते तदे⁵
 38 तदेव प्रमाणं [II*] श्रौतेजवर्मराजिन एतदनुष्ठितमिति ।

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-28) [Common with Grant A.]

(Ll. 29-38) " Be it known to you that the deserted lands comprised within the township of Samagiri along with Chandrapuri and the three hamlets of Ambayapallikā,⁶ Savāṇyapallikā and Maurēyapallikā as well as Kamsāripallikā have been recolonised by me and vested in the town council headed by the merchants Ēla and Karapuṭa. The merchants residing in Samagiri (paṭṭana) shall, for ever, be exempt from the payment of custom duties throughout the kingdom; their property shall not escheat to the state in the absence of a male heir; nor (shall they pay registration fee) owing to partition of joint property⁷ and they shall not have to provide

¹ This portion within square brackets is completely effaced and the reading is restored from Grant A.

² This portion within square brackets is badly corroded and hardly any letter is visible.

³ [Reading seems to be [A]mmēya.—Ed.]

⁴ *Ila* is written below the line.

⁵ *Tadē* is redundant.

⁶ [See above, n. 3.—Ed.]

⁷ Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit informs me that *umbara* (derived from Skt. *udumbara*) wood is still used for the door sill in Mahārāshtra and that therefore the sense is partition of the joint family property.

accommodation or provisions to the state officials. (*The town council is also empowered to levy the following fines :—*) Rupees one hundred and eight for outraging the modesty of a virgin ; rupees thirty-two for adultery ; rupees sixteen for the mutilation of ear ; rupees four for bruising the head ; rupees one hundred and eight if a merchant's son is found to have illicit connection with a female porter ; and should one be caught in the actual act of adultery whatever eight or sixteen elders of the town council shall determine that shall be final. This has been promulgated by the illustrious king **Tējavarman**.

No. 23.—A NOTE ON THE RAGOLU PLATES OF SAKTIVARMAN AND THE CHALUKYAN CONQUEST OF KALINGA.

BY RAO BAHADUR C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

The inscription on these plates has been published by Dr. Hultzsck in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pages 1 ff. In the spring of 1922, when I happened to visit Jeypore (Vizagapatam District, Madras Presidency), the owner of the plates, M. R. Ry. G. Ramdas Pantulu, B.A., offered them for sale to the Government. They have been subsequently bought and deposited in the Government Museum, Madras.

One important point to note in connection with this record is that in line 4 Dr. Hultzsck reads *samanvāgatān-tahapatitān*. I may suggest that a more correct reading would be *samanvāgatān=grihapatikān*. This could be read clearly on the original plates and the facsimile plate given also shows the reading. It may be noted that in this inscription the subscript letter *ta* has the shape of an inverted narrow cup with unequal arms and carries with it a small upward stroke in the centre of the top with which it is joined to the main letter. For example, see the letters *sta* in the expression *parihṛitas=ta°* in l. 10, *ta* in *-pravṛittayā* in line 11 and *nta* in the expression *ch=ānumantā* in l. 20. On the other hand, the subscript letter *ga* being of the same shape is broader and has equal arms unlike *ta*. Moreover, *ga* generally bears no stroke on the top though in a few cases when it is attached to the main letter above, such a stroke is formed by the upward extension of the proper left arm ; see *Kalīṅgādhipati* (l. 1), *Kalīṅga-vishayē* (l. 3), and *svarggē* (l. 19). The sign for *ri* of *gri* is partly damaged in the facsimile plate. It is likely that being close to the slightly raised margin, it has not come off clearly enough in the ink impression. But it is not totally invisible on the facsimile plate. The existing traces may be compared with that of *vri* in *vṛiddhayē* in l. 6 and that of *hri* in *parihṛita* in l. 10. As for the letter *ka* of the expression it is quite clear on the facsimile plate as well as on the original. The suggested reading suits the context much better than the existing one with the proposed emendation.

The word *grihapati* or *grihapatika* ('a householder') occurs in many Prākṛit inscriptions as the attribute of a donor or a relative of a donor under the Prākṛit form *gahapati* or *gahapatika*.¹ In one or two cases *kudubika* (Sanskrit *kuṭumbika*) i.e. householder and *kuṭumbini* (wife of a householder) are also mentioned.² In the Eastern Chālukya copper-plates the royal order of gift is invariably addressed to the *kuṭumbins* of the granted village, to whom the *grihapatikas* of the Rāgōlu plates correspond.

It is interesting to note that the grant was issued by the early king Śaktivarman of the Kalīṅga country from Piṣṭapura which was also famous as the capital of king Mahēndra whom Samudragupta conquered with many other kings of the Dakṣiṇāpatha. Barring this, the men-

¹ Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (above, Vol. X, Appendix) and above, Vol. XIV, pp. 154 and 155.

² Lüders' *List*, Nos. 1121 and 1127.

tion of the place in the Rāgōlu plates would be the earliest and the first in a copper-plate record in point of time which, judging from the characters of the plates, may be said to be about the 4th century A.D. The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri was of the opinion that it was even earlier—some time even prior to Samudragupta. The subsequent mention of the place is in the Aihole inscription of the early Chālukya king, Pulikēśin II,¹ which refers to the Chālukya capture of Piṣṭapura, i.e., the Chālukya conquest of the Kaliṅga country. These events must have happened before Śaka 556 (=A.D. 634-35) which is the date of the last mentioned inscription. It is therefore reasonable to infer that the Chālukya conquest of Kaliṅga by the capture of Piṣṭapura, must have happened in or before the year A.D. 634. Piṣṭapura subsequently became the provincial or independent seat (*vāsaka*) of Viṣṇuvardhana who, with the title *Mahārāja*, issued the Timmāpuram plates from this city.² This record with the Chīpurupalle plates of this same king issued in his 18th regnal year³ would tend to show that the Kaliṅga country was under the Eastern Chālukyas from this period.

The discovery of the copper-plate inscriptions of the later kings of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, viz., Kokkilivarman-Mahārāja (A.D. 709) so far north as the village Muñjēru in the Binlipatam Taluk of the Vizagapatam District, the mention therein of the Madhyama-Kaliṅga country in which the village granted by the king was situated, together with the mention of Elamañchili (the modern Yellamañchili in the Sarvasiddhi Taluk of the same District) as the *vāsaka* (residence) of the king⁴ show that the Chālukya dominion in the Kaliṅga country continued to last even up to the beginning of the eighth century A.D. In the same tract of country has been found a copper-plate grant of his son Maṅgi II⁵. A grant of the later Chālukya king Bhīma I (A.D. 888-918) also records the gift of a village in the Elamañchili-Kaliṅgadēśa and Dēvarāshṭra⁶. These records go to prove that the Chālukya kingdom in the Kaliṅga country lasted even down to the beginning of the 10th century A.D. The Chālukyan authority here seems to have been opposed for a time after the close of the first quarter of the 10th century A.D., since we are told in an unpublished copper-plate grant of Amma II⁷ that after the short reign of Vikramāditya II (A.D. 925-926) who was killed and succeeded by Yuddhamalla II whose reign lasted for seven years (i.e., A.D. 927-934), the feudatory Śabara chiefs, the commanders of the Vallabha (i.e. Rāshtrakūṭa) forces and others rebelled and apportioned among themselves the northern Chālukyan territory for seven years. We may here infer that the revolution and usurpation in the Kaliṅga country occurred in and lasted throughout the seven years' rule of Yuddhamalla II. The recalcitrant feudatories and their allies who had usurped authority were driven away by Chālukya-Bhīma II who recovered the Kaliṅga country and ruled over the entire Chālukya kingdom for 12 years. The troubles in the Kaliṅga country did not end here but again recurred in the time of Amma II (the son of Chālukya-Bhīma II), who after reigning for 11 years had to proceed to the Kaliṅga country in wrath against Kṛishṇa (probably Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III)⁸ who was evidently interested in fomenting trouble against the Chālukyas in the Kaliṅga country. We may conclude that the Chālukya dominion in the Kaliṅga country practically came to an end or at least grew very weak about or after A.D. 950. Taking A.D. 633 as the probable year of the Chālukya conquest of Kaliṅga as stated at first we may say that the Chālukyan dominion in the Kaliṅga country lasted roughly for three centuries.

¹ Above, Vol. VI, p. 11.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 16.

³ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1909, p. 105.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 117.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 317.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁸ *Ibid.*

No. 24.—A NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE GANGAS OF SVĒTAKA.

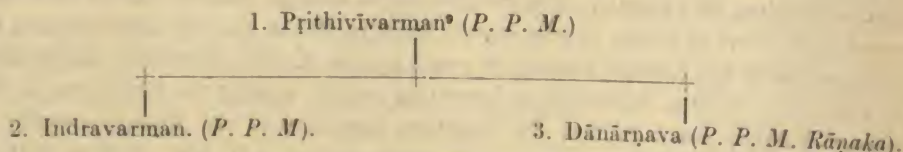
By B. CH. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (LUGD), OOTACAMUND.

It has already been pointed out¹ that the Gaṅga rulers who issued their charters from Śvētaka most probably constitute a separate branch of the Eastern Gaṅgas, but that sufficient data are not yet available for determining the chronology of these kings.² In this note an attempt is made to fix the chronological position of at least three of the so far known kings of this branch.

It may readily be recognised that *Bhaṭṭaputra* Durgakhaṇḍin, son of *Bhaṭṭa* Bōdhana, of the Vatsa *gōtra* and the Chhāndōga *charaṇa*, the donee in the Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarman,³ is identical with *Bhaṭṭa* Durgakhaṇḍika, the donee of Dānārṇava's grant,⁴ coming likewise from the Badakhimedi Estate,⁵ as the name of the donee's father, *gōtra* and *charaṇa* in the latter record are the same as in the former. However, the grantor in the first instance is Indravarman, while in the second it is Dānārṇava. Next, it may be observed that both of them are stated to be sons of Prithivivarman. Since both the records are issued from Śvētaka and in both of them one and the same person figures as the donee, the natural conclusion is that the donors Indravarman and Dānārṇava are not far removed from each other in point of time. And when we further know that the name of the donor's father in each case is the same we can safely infer that both Indravarman and Dānārṇava were brothers and that both of them ruled⁶ in succession. However, the question remains as to who was the elder or who preceded on the throne. Luckily we possess a piece of evidence to decide this issue as well.

The names of the writer and the engraver of Indravarman's charter are given respectively as *Samudhivigrahin* Śrīsāmanta and *kaṁsāra-kulaputraka* śrēṣṭhin Śrīsāmanta Svayambhu. Both these persons figure likewise as the writer and the engraver respectively in the Ganjām plates of Prithivivarman.⁷ This Prithivivarman must, therefore, be identical with Indravarman's father, as has been indicated by Mr. P. N. Bhattacharya.⁸ The presumption here is naturally this that the persons employed by the father as writer and engraver continued to function as such in the son's regime after the father's death. From this we may also infer that Indravarman was the immediate successor of Prithivivarman. This inference is confirmed by the fact that the writer and the engraver of Dānārṇava's grant are different persons and not those who served under Prithivivarman and Indravarman. Thus we may conclude that Indravarman was elder than and preceded Dānārṇava.

This part of the chronology will thus be determined as follows :—



¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 131.

² *Ibid.*, p. 133.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 78.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 129.

⁶ Both Indravarman and Dānārṇava bear, like their father, the imperial title of *Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja*, though curiously enough Dānārṇava bears an additional title of *Rāṇaka*, too, which fact makes it rather doubtful whether he came to the throne at all.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 201.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 79.

⁹ He is stated to be son of Mahindravarman, whose identity is not certain.

No. 25.—CHARALA PLATES OF VIRARAJENDRADEVA : SAKA 991.

By A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A. AND V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The present plates¹ are stated to have been discovered in 1935 by one Narasā Reddi, a resident of Chārāla in the Punganur taluk of the Chittoor District, while he was removing earth from a manure-pit in his garden. The whereabouts of the plates could not however be immediately traced, but with the assistance of Rao Saheb Totadri Ayyangar, Deputy Superintendent of Police, who was then in charge of the Tirupati Division, they were finally located and secured on loan for examination. They have since been purchased by Government and are now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. We edit the plates from the ink-impressions prepared in the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

The set consists of seven oblong copper-plates with raised rims, each measuring 9" by 4", and strung together on a ring 4" in diameter, passing through a ring-hole at the left margin of the plates. The ends of the ring are soldered to the bottom of a flat circular seal 3½" in diameter and ¼" in thickness. The different leaves of the set do not bear serial numbers engraved near the ring-hole. The plates weigh 154 *tolas* and the ring and seal together weigh 57 *tolas*.

The seal bears in relief from left to right the figures of (1) a lamp-stand, (2) a tiger seated on its haunches facing the proper left and with its tail tucked up between its legs and rising in front up to the neck, (3) a pair of fish in the vertical position, and (4) a lamp-stand. Canopying the fish and the tiger is a tasselled parasol, flanked on either side by a *chauri*.² Below this group is shown a bow curving upwards and with the bow-string in position. All round the margin of the seal is engraved in raised Grantha characters, which are somewhat obliterated in places, the following Sanskrit verse³ in the *Anushtubh* metre stating that the charter was issued by king Virarājendra :

[[*śair-viśvambharādhiśair*=[*nnanditair*]=*vandita*[*m=ida*]*m*]]*
Śāsanam Virarājendra-Rājakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ [||*]

All the plates have writing on both their sides except the first one, which bears writing on one side only. Each fully written side has, on an average, about 18 lines in the Sanskrit portion and 15 in the Tamil; and the complete record consists of 211 lines. The writing is in a good state of preservation. The languages used are Sanskrit for the *praśasti* and genealogical preamble of the inscription which is of considerable length running up to 81 numbered verses, and the *rāja-bhāṣā*⁴ Tamil for the documentary portion. The alphabets employed are respectively Grantha and Tamil characters attributable to the 11th century A.D. The Grantha letters are well shaped and cleanly cut, but the Tamil letters exhibit a slight carelessness in execution.

The inscription engraved on these plates is dated in Śaka 991, Saumya and the 7th year of the Chōla king Rājakēsarivarman Virarājēndradēva and registers the royal gift of the village Chērām⁵ alias Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimangalam in Pulī-nāḍu made from

¹ Registered as C. P. No. 1 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1937-38.

² The *chauri* and umbrella appear to have been intended as honorific emblems. These are also found on the top of an inscription of Parāntaka I at Pīlāipākkam (No. 176 of 1929-30 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) and also on the top of images of gods in niches in early Chōla temples.

³ This verse is repeated in lines 189-191 of the text.

⁴ The Punganur taluk where the plates were discovered was the border between the territories, whose spoken languages were Kannada, Telugu and Tamil, and inscriptions in all these languages are found in this locality. Tamil being the court-language of the Chōla kings, the documentary portion, which was drafted by a Chōla officer, was couched in that language.

⁵ The form of the name is somewhat peculiar, without the 'village'-suffix, like Buddhām, etc.

Kāñchipuram, to three Brāhman named Sō(Śrō)triya-Kramavittan, Mundaya-Kramavittan and Pallaya-Kramavittan of the Ātrēya-gōtra and Bahudhānya (Bōdhāyana)-sūtra and of the lineage of a certain Ṛishikēśava (Hrishikēśa)-Bhaṭṭa of Chēram, on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-Saṅkrānti. This document is of interest as being the first copper-plate charter of this king.

For a study of **Chōla seals**¹ we have so far five specimens and the one attached to the present plates, therefore, forms a useful addition. Of these, the seals attached to the two sets of Leiden plates, Madras Museum. Anbil and the present Chārāla plates, have the same objects represented on them, while the seal of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates exhibits a few more emblems. In shape, however, the two Leiden seals are slightly more ornate, being lotus-like in shape, while the rest are circular; but this may be due only to a difference in the work of the designer. In the Chārāla seal the Chōla emblem, the tiger², is seated in the proper right side and facing towards the left, instead of the right as in the other cases. The animal is delineated with claws drawn out, leaving no room for doubt as to its identity, and the two fish are also clearly portrayed. But in point of finish and neatness of execution, the two Leiden seals are the best. The tiger, the pair of fish and the bow are well-known emblems of the Chōla, Pāṇḍya and Chēra dynasties respectively, and the juxta-

¹ The seals of the early copper-plate grants contain only the *birudas* of kings, such as *Tribhuvanāṅkuśa*, *Vishamasiddhi*, *Prabhummēru*, etc. The three early copper-plate grants of the Pāṇḍyas have no seals, and we do not know what legend, if any, this dynasty had used. The Pallava seal of Nandivarman III (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 501) has a defaced legend in the *Anushtubh* metre running round its margin. In the Vijayanagara, Nāyaka and Sētipati copper-plate grants, the respective sign-manuals of the dynasty were engraved at the end of the documents themselves and not on the seals. The Chōla seals, however, have one full verse in the *Anushtubh* metre engraved on them. The formal verses of the four kings Sundara-Chōla, Uttama-Chōla, Rājendra-Chōla and Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I are reproduced below for purposes of easy reference. Of these, the text of the legend on the seal of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla is given here for the first time.

(a) Sundara-Chōla—

Śaśvat(ś)-viśrambhārā-nētram Lakshmi-jaya-[sa*]rōruham |
śāsanaṁ śāśvatam śrīmad-Rājakēsarivarmmaṇa[h*] ||

—(Anbil Plates).

(b) Uttama-Chōla—

Nyāyānām śāsanaṁ kureat-śāsanaṁ chakrabhūhṛitā |
śāsanaṁ bhūpatē-ētat Parakēsarivarmmaṇa ||

—(Madras Museum Plates).

(c) Rājārāja I—

A stone record of this king opens with the following verse, which is likely to be found engraved on the seals of his copper-plate grants.

Ētat viśva-nṛipa-śrēṇi-maṇi-māl-ōpalāḍitam |
śāsanaṁ Rājārājasya Rājakēsarivarmmaṇa ||

—(*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, No. 1).

(d) Rājendra-Chōla—

Rājad-rājanya-makuṭa-śrēṇi-ratnēshu śāsanaṁ |
ētat-Rājendra-Chōlasya Parakēsarivarmmaṇa ||

—(Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Plates).

The seal of the larger Leiden plates has also this verse engraved on it. On the analogy of the form of the legend of the present seal which is also reproduced in ll. 189 to 191 of the text and the fact that legends on circular seals have probably to be read clockwise beginning from the centre of the top, the two lines of the verse given above, Vol. XXII, p. 213, have to be interchanged.

(e) Kulōttuṅga-Chōla—

Puṇyam kshōṇīvara-sabhā-chūḍā-ratnāya śāsanaṁ |
śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōlasya Rājakēsarivarmmaṇa ||

—(Smaller Leiden Plates).

Here also the lines of the verse as read in above, Vol. XXII, p. 267, have been interchanged.

² It may be noted that king Virarājendra claims to have set up pillars of victory (*jaya-bhadrattūṇa*) at several places with the emblem of the tiger engraved on them (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 67). The Mahēndragiri inscription of Rājendra-Chōla I (No. 396 of 1896) has also the figure of a tiger seated in front of two fish carved near it.

position of the latter two to the tiger on Chōla seals is meant to indicate the political supremacy of the Chōla over the Pāṇḍya and Chēra kings. The other objects such as the pair of *chauris*, the two lamps on either side, etc., belong to the group of eight objects called the *ashṭamaṅgalam*,¹ which are associated with auspicious ceremonials. It may be noted that the full set of *ashṭamaṅgalam* objects are represented on the seal of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates where, in addition to these, a small figure of the Chālukyan crest², the boar, is also introduced, indicative perhaps of the Chōla supremacy over the Chālukya. Though Virarājendra claims to have defeated the Chālukya king several times, it is noticed that the Chālukyan *varāha-lāṅchhana* has not been figured on the Chārāla seal.

There are a few **orthographical** peculiarities noticeable in the record under review. The lengths of medial *i* in Grantha letters are indicated by a pronounced loop (l. 2). The *ra*-sign when it is the second member in conjunct consonants is shaped like the *ri*-symbol in some cases (ll. 2, 47, etc.). *La* and *la* are often interchanged (l. 20) and *śa* is wrongly used for *cha* in some cases (ll. 167, 176). The rules of *sandhi* are almost always observed, correctly in some cases and incorrectly in others. In the latter instances, the first consonant is retained instead of being changed into the third letter of the same *varga*. The use of the *anusvāra* in place of the appropriate nasals and the doubling of consonants after a *rēpha* are frequent. Such features are common to copper-plate inscriptions of this period. The errors have been corrected either in the body of the text or in relevant footnotes. At the ends of some of the verses in the Sanskrit portion, the symbol: followed by three vertical strokes is used as a punctuation mark, and should not be mistaken for the *visarga*, whereas in some other cases it is meant as such. The Tamil text, for the drafting of which the officer Madhurāntaka-Brahmādhirāja was responsible, is not free from errors of composition and transcription.

The Sanskrit portion of 81 verses in different metres which comprises nearly three-fourths of the document, is identical, verse for verse, with that in the long stone record of the king dated in the same 7th year, discovered at Kanyākumari in the Travancore State and published in a scholarly manner by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar in the *Travancore Archaeological Series*³ and by the late T. A. Gopinatha Rao in a previous volume of this *Journal*.⁴ As the Kanyākumari record is, however, damaged in several places, the present inscription is of great help in filling up the lacunae and settling some doubtful readings in the former and in thus arriving at a complete text of this particular version of the Sanskrit *prastāva* of the Chōla dynasty. In several instances, the readings furnished by this inscription are better than those made out from the Kanyākumari epigraph. These and other minor differences between these two copies have been noticed in footnotes under the text.

The record may, for the sake of convenience, be divided into four sections—the mythological, the historical, the donatory and the signatory.

Section I (Lines 1-104).

In this section of 52 Sanskrit verses, the mythological origin of the Chōla dynasty is given in great elaboration from Brahmā through Kāśyapa, Manu and other members of the Solar race. An eponymous Chōla, a Rājakesari and a Parakesari are then introduced, and the genealogy is

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⁴ *Ante*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 21 ff.

No. 24.—A NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE GANGAS OF SVĒTAKA.

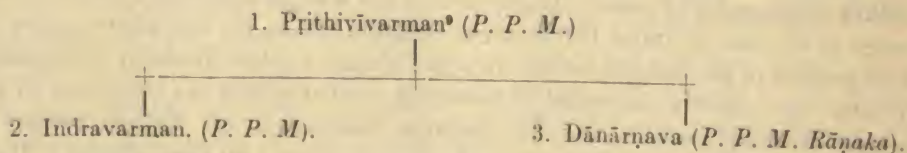
By B. CH. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (LUGD), OOTACAMUND.

It has already been pointed out¹ that the Gaṅga rulers who issued their charters from Śvĕtaka most probably constitute a separate branch of the Eastern Gaṅgas, but that sufficient data are not yet available for determining the chronology of these kings.² In this note an attempt is made to fix the chronological position of at least three of the so far known kings of this branch.

It may readily be recognised that *Bhaṭṭaputra* Durgakhaṇḍin, son of *Bhaṭṭa* Bōdhana, of the Vatsa *gōtra* and the Chhāndōga *charaṇa*, the donee in the Badakhimedi copper-plates of Indravarmān,³ is identical with *Bhaṭṭa* Durgakhaṇḍika, the donee of Dānārṇava's grant,⁴ coming likewise from the Badakhimedi Estate,⁵ as the name of the donee's father, *gōtra* and *charaṇa* in the latter record are the same as in the former. However, the grantor in the first instance is Indravarmān, while in the second it is Dānārṇava. Next, it may be observed that both of them are stated to be sons of Prithivīvarman. Since both the records are issued from Śvĕtaka and in both of them one and the same person figures as the donee, the natural conclusion is that the donors Indravarmān and Dānārṇava are not far removed from each other in point of time. And when we further know that the name of the donor's father in each case is the same we can safely infer that both Indravarmān and Dānārṇava were brothers and that both of them ruled⁶ in succession. However, the question remains as to who was the elder or who preceded on the throne. Luckily we possess a piece of evidence to decide this issue as well.

The names of the writer and the engraver of Indravarmān's charter are given respectively as *Samdhivigrahin* Śrisāmanta and *kamsāra-kulaputraka* śrēṣṭhin Śrisāmanta Svayambhu. Both these persons figure likewise as the writer and the engraver respectively in the Ganjām plates of Prithivīvarman.⁷ This Prithivīvarman must, therefore, be identical with Indravarmān's father, as has been indicated by Mr. P. N. Bhattacharya.⁸ The presumption here is naturally this that the persons employed by the father as writer and engraver continued to function as such in the son's regime after the father's death. From this we may also infer that Indravarmān was the immediate successor of Prithivīvarman. This inference is confirmed by the fact that the writer and the engraver of Dānārṇava's grant are different persons and not those who served under Prithivīvarman and Indravarmān. Thus we may conclude that Indravarmān was elder than and preceded Dānārṇava.

This part of the chronology will thus be determined as follows:—



¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 131.

² *Ibid.*, p. 133.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 78.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 129.

⁶ Both Indravarmān and Dānārṇava bear, like their father, the imperial title of *Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja*, though curiously enough Dānārṇava bears an additional title of *Rāṇaka*, too, which fact makes it rather doubtful whether he came to the throne at all.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 201.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 79.

⁹ He is stated to be son of Mahindravarmān, whose identity is not certain.

No. 25.—CHARALA PLATES OF VIRARAJENDRADEVA : SAKA 991.

By A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A. AND V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The present plates¹ are stated to have been discovered in 1935 by one Narasā Reddī, a resident of *Chārāla* in the Punganur taluk of the Chittoor District, while he was removing earth from a manure-pit in his garden. The whereabouts of the plates could not however be immediately traced, but with the assistance of Rao Saheb Totadri Ayyangar, Deputy Superintendent of Police, who was then in charge of the Tirupati Division, they were finally located and secured on loan for examination. They have since been purchased by Government and are now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. We edit the plates from the ink-impressions prepared in the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

The set consists of seven oblong copper-plates with raised rims, each measuring 9" by 4", and strung together on a ring 4" in diameter, passing through a ring-hole at the left margin of the plates. The ends of the ring are soldered to the bottom of a flat circular seal 3½" in diameter and ¼" in thickness. The different leaves of the set do not bear serial numbers engraved near the ring-hole. The plates weigh 154 *tolas* and the ring and seal together weigh 57 *tolas*.

The seal bears in relief from left to right the figures of (1) a lamp-stand, (2) a tiger seated on its haunches facing the proper left and with its tail tucked up between its legs and rising in front up to the neck, (3) a pair of fish in the vertical position, and (4) a lamp-stand. Canopying the fish and the tiger is a tasselled parasol, flanked on either side by a *chaurī*.² Below this group is shown a bow curving upwards and with the bow-string in position. All round the margin of the seal is engraved in raised Grantha characters, which are somewhat obliterated in places, the following Sanskrit verse³ in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre stating that the charter was issued by king Virarājendra :

Vīśvair-vaiśvambharādhiśair=[manditair]=vandita[m=ida]m [!*]

Śāsanam Virarājendra-Rājakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ [!]*

All the plates have writing on both their sides except the first one, which bears writing on one side only. Each fully written side has, on an average, about 18 lines in the Sanskrit portion and 15 in the Tamil; and the complete record consists of 211 lines. The writing is in a good state of preservation. The languages used are Sanskrit for the *prastāvi* and genealogical preamble of the inscription which is of considerable length running up to 81 numbered verses, and the *rāja-bhāṣā*⁴ Tamil for the documentary portion. The alphabets employed are respectively Grantha and Tamil characters attributable to the 11th century A.D. The Grantha letters are well shaped and cleanly cut, but the Tamil letters exhibit a slight carelessness in execution.

The inscription engraved on these plates is dated in Śaka 991, Saumya and the 7th year of the Chōla king Rājakēsarivarman Virarājēndradēva and registers the royal gift of the village Chēṇām⁵ alias Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Puli-nāḍu made from

¹ Registered as C. P. No. I of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1937-38.

² The *chaurī* and umbrella appear to have been intended as honorific emblems. These are also found on the top of an inscription of Parāntaka I at Pillaipākkam (No. 176 of 1929-30 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) and also on the top of images of gods in niches in early Chōla temples.

³ This verse is repeated in lines 189-191 of the text.

⁴ The Punganur taluk where the plates were discovered was the border between the territories, whose spoken languages were Kannāḍa, Telugu and Tamil, and inscriptions in all these languages are found in this locality. Tamil being the court-language of the Chōla kings, the documentary portion, which was drafted by a Chōla officer, was couched in that language.

⁵ The form of the name is somewhat peculiar, without the 'village'-suffix, like Buddhām, etc.

Kāñchipuram, to three Brāhmanas named Sō(Śrō)triya-Kramavittan, Mundaya-Kramavittan and Pallaya-Kramavittan of the Ātrēya-gōtra and Bahudhānya (Bōdhāyana)-sūtra and of the lineage of a certain Rishikēśava (Hrishikēśa)-Bhaṭṭa of Chērām, on the occasion of the Uttarāyāna-Saṅkrānti. This document is of interest as being the first copper-plate charter of this king.

For a study of **Chōla seals**¹ we have so far five specimens and the one attached to the present plates, therefore, forms a useful addition. Of these, the seals attached to the two sets of Leiden plates, Madras Museum, Anbil and the present Chārāla plates, have the same objects represented on them, while the seal of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates exhibits a few more emblems. In shape, however, the two Leiden seals are slightly more ornate, being lotus-like in shape, while the rest are circular; but this may be due only to a difference in the work of the designer. In the Chārāla seal the Chōla emblem, the tiger², is seated in the proper right side and facing towards the left, instead of the right as in the other cases. The animal is delineated with claws drawn out, leaving no room for doubt as to its identity, and the two fish are also clearly portrayed. But in point of finish and neatness of execution, the two Leiden seals are the best. The tiger, the pair of fish and the bow are well-known emblems of the Chōla, Pāṇḍya and Chēra dynasties respectively, and the juxta-

¹ The seals of the early copper-plate grants contain only the *birudas* of kings, such as *Tribhuvanāṅkuśa*, *Vishamasiddhi*, *Prabhūmēru*, etc. The three early copper-plate grants of the Pāṇḍyas have no seals, and we do not know what legend, if any, this dynasty had used. The Pallava seal of Nandivarman III (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 501) has a defaced legend in the *Anushṭubh* metre running round its margin. In the Vijayanagara, Nāyaka and Sētupati copper-plate grants, the respective sign-manuals of the dynasty were engraved at the end of the documents themselves and not on the seals. The Chōla seals, however, have one full verse in the *Anushṭubh* metre engraved on them. The formal verses of the four kings Sundara-Chōla, Uttama-Chōla, Rājendra-Chōla and Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I are reproduced below for purposes of easy reference. Of these, the text of the legend on the seal of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla is given here for the first time.

(a) Sundara-Chōla—

Śaśeat(d)-viśvambharā-nētram Lakshmī-jaya-[sa*]rōruham |
śāsanam śāśeatam śrīmad-Rājakēsarivarmmaṇa[h*] ||

—(Anbil Plates).

(b) Uttama-Chōla—

Nyāyānām śāsanam kureut-śāsanam chakrabhūbhritā |
śāsanam bhūpatē-ētat Parakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ ||

—(Madras Museum Plates).

(c) Rājārāja I—

A stone record of this king opens with the following verse, which is likely to be found engraved on the seals of his copper-plate grants.

Ētat viśva-nripa-śrēṇi-mauḷi-māl-ōpalāṭitam |
śāsanam Rājārājasya Rājakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ ||

—(*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, No. 1).

(d) Rājendra-Chōla—

Rājad-rājanya-makuḷa-śrēṇi-ratnēshu śāsanam |
ētat-Rājendra-Chōlasya Parakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ ||

—(Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Plates).

The seal of the larger Leiden plates has also this verse engraved on it. On the analogy of the form of the legend of the present seal which is also reproduced in ll. 189 to 191 of the text and the fact that legends on circular seals have probably to be read clockwise beginning from the centre of the top, the two lines of the verse given above, Vol. XXII, p. 213, have to be interchanged.

(e) Kulōttuṅga-Chōla—

Paṇyam kshōṇīśvara-sabhā-chūdā-ratnāya śāsanam |
śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōlasya Rājakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ ||

—(Smaller Leiden Plates).

Here also the lines of the verse as read in above, Vol. XXII, p. 267, have been interchanged.

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position of the latter two to the tiger on Chōla seals is meant to indicate the political supremacy of the Chōla over the Pāṇḍya and Chēra kings. The other objects such as the pair of *chauris*, the two lamps on either side, etc., belong to the group of eight objects called the *aṣṭamaṅgalam*,¹ which are associated with auspicious ceremonials. It may be noted that the full set of *aṣṭamaṅgalam* objects are represented on the seal of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates where, in addition to these, a small figure of the Chālukyan crest², the boar, is also introduced, indicative perhaps of the Chōla supremacy over the Chālukya. Though Virarājendra claims to have defeated the Chālukya king several times, it is noticed that the Chālukyan *varāha-lāṅchhana* has not been figured on the Chārāla seal.

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In this section of 52 Sanskrit verses, the mythological origin of the Chōla dynasty is given in great elaboration from Brahmā through Kāśyapa, Manu and other members of the Solar race. An eponymous Chōla, a Rājakesarī and a Parakesarī are then introduced, and the genealogy is

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⁴ *Ante.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 21 ff.

further traced, though with no direct sequence, through a few more Purāṇic kings up to a certain Manōratha, after whom the names of a few *quasi*-historical members, such as, Parunetkīlī, Karikāla, Valabha, Jagadēkamalla and Vyālabhayaṅkara are mentioned, — the whole *prāśasti* being a manifest attempt on the part of the composer to give his patron a pedigree going back to high antiquity. This portion has been discussed with characteristic fullness by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar.¹

Section II (Ll. 104-169).

The really historical portion commences with the name of (Parakēsari) Vijayālaya, and from this king down to Rājēndradēva, the predecessor and elder brother of Virarājēndradēva, this inscription furnishes some useful information about the several members of the Chōla family. These facts have also been dealt with in detail elsewhere.²

Coming to **Virarājēndradēva**, the donor of the present grant, his military and other achievements are then described in seven verses (vv. 75-81). It is stated that "when king Rājēndradēva went to heaven, his younger brother Virarājēndra who had deprived his enemies of their splendour, succeeded to the extensive kingdom in accordance with the prescribed laws. Having killed at **Kūḍal-Saṅgama** the kings of the *Karnāṭa-vamśa*,³ this powerful Chōla ruler increased the army of the partakers of sacrificial offerings by the addition (to its numerical strength) of these kings, who had themselves become celestials. With the help of a single elephant,⁴ he destroyed the Kuntala army and created a new river of blood, whereat the ocean-god was delighted.

This king Vallabha-Vallabha conquered back the **Vēṅgi** and **Kaliṅga** countries, which had been inherited by his brothers but which had been left uncared for by them and had therefore been captured by his powerful enemies. Having defeated the strong armies of his opponents and having destroyed many of their fortresses, he ruled his kingdom in prosperity.

This **Vira-Chōla**, called also **Karikāla-Chōla**, destroyed the strength of the Kali-age and bestowed numerous *dharmaśāsana*s (edicts of charitable gifts). Further, he embellished the crown of the Dancer in the Dabhra-sabhā (i.e., god Natarāja at Chidambaram) with a ruby called the '*Trailokyasāra*' which looked as if the progenitor of his own race (i.e., the Sun) had himself mounted on the top of the crown, so as to cause annoyance to the moon, the ancestor of the dynasty of his enemy (i.e., the Pāṇḍya), which is also worn as the crest-jewel by god Śrīkaṭṭha.⁵ This king founded several *brahmadēyas* under the name of Virarājēndra in the Chōla, Tundīra, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgavāṇi and Kulūta⁶ countries, and pleased forty-thousand Brāhmanas learned in the Vēdas, by munificent gifts of lands."

The regnal year of the king is quoted as the 7th corresponding to Śaka 991, Saumya (ll. 159-160). The same regnal and Śaka years occur also in a record⁷ of his from Yōgi-Mallavaram

¹ T. A. S., Vol. III, pp. 87 ff.

² *Ibid.*, and *ante*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 21 ff.

³ In this battle several generals lost their lives, but who were 'the Kings of the Karnāṭa-vamśa' who are also said to have been slain is not clear. In *Ep. Caro.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 136, Ahavamalla is described as an enemy of the Karnāṭa kings also. Probably this is a loose description of the panegyrist.

⁴ This achievement with 'a single elephant' also occurs in the Tamil text in *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 66, l. 6.

⁵ In addition to this gem, the king presented to the god a pedestal with the name of 'Virarājēndra' engraved on it—(No. 217 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1912).

⁶ Kulūta referred to here cannot be the country of the same name in the Punjab, identified with Kulu. A general of the Chōla king Rājēndra-Chōla I is said to have defeated a Kulūta chief named Vimaladitya (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1351), and so this Kulūta must be located near about Vēṅgi and Utkala, and ruled over by an Eastern Chālukyan feudatory.

⁷ No. 273 of 1904.

in the Puttur Division of the Chittoor District. The locality where these two inscriptions were discovered, namely the Chittoor District, has perhaps to account for the useful quotation of both the regnal as well as the Śaka years in them, for such double citations are somewhat rare in inscriptions of this period in the southern districts.

Several Sanskrit and Tamil *birudas* of the king are also enumerated in this portion of the record (ll. 155-8), some belonging to him by his own right as a scion of the Chōla family, such as *Ravikulatilaka*, *Chōlakulaśekhara*, etc., while others were acquired by him as a result of his victory over the Chālukyas, such as *Sakalabhuvanāśraya*, *Āhavamallakulakāla*, etc. The title '*Āhavamallaṇṇai-aimmaḍi-veṇ-kaṇḍa*' is of particular interest, as it claims for him victory over Āhavamalla, as many as five times. *Pāṇḍyakulāntaka* refers to his victory over the Pāṇḍyas.

These and other achievements of the king are further elaborated in the short historical introduction commencing with the words '*Vīramēy tuṇaiyāgavum*', etc., which follows thereafter (ll. 160-68). It is herein claimed that Rājakēśarivarman¹ Virarājendra took the head of the Tenṇaṇ (Pāṇḍya), levied tribute from the Chēra king, subdued Siṅgaḷa-dēśam (Ceylon), saw the back of Āhavamalla five times in battle, fulfilled the vow of his elder brothers by recovering Vēṅgai-nāḍu which, however, he gave to king Vijayāditya (Vijayāditya VII) who had submitted to him, gave Kaḍāraṁ back after conquest to the (Kaḍāra ?) king who fell at his feet soliciting his help, drove away Sōmēśvara (Sōmēśvara II) from his Kannaḍa-dēśam, and gave Iraṭṭapāḍi-seven-and-a-half-lakh country to Vikramāditya (VI). Incidentally, Virarājendra is also stated to have defeated the Chālukya king at Muḍakkāru, apparently on an earlier occasion, and to have thus cooled his anger.

From a study of the elaborate details contained in the variant historical introductions prefacing his lithic records, it is seen that the reign of Virarājendra, though it occupied a short span of only seven years, was crowded with campaigns conducted in as many as four war-fronts,—on the *west* against Āhavamalla to whom he had a score to pay in revenge for the death of his elder brothers in battle, on the *east* against Āhavamalla's feudatory, the Eastern Chālukya Vijayāditya, on the *south* against the Pāṇḍyas, the Chēras and Ceylon, while on the *north* he is said to have invaded Kālīṅgam and carried his raid as far as Chakkarakkōṭṭam, in extension of his Vēṅgī campaigns.² Virarājendra began his military career even as a prince and appears to have taken part in the wars against the Western Chālukyas undertaken by his predecessors Rājādhirāja I, Rājēndradēva and Rājamahēndra, and what they had failed to accomplish themselves, he claims to have brought to a successful finish. Soon after the death of Rājēndradēva, he is said to have returned to Gaṅgā-purī (Gaṅgaikondaśōḷapuram) direct from the battlefield for his coronation and to have again started out on that very day to prosecute the war against Āhavamalla. In all, he credits himself with having routed Āhavamalla in five pitched battles. These facts have been reviewed in a thorough manner by Dr. Hultzsch,³ but the sequence of events in this Chōla-Chālukya conflict as worked out by him seems to require slight revision.

Before examining this question, however, a few relevant facts bearing upon this period may be quoted here, for purposes of easy reference.

- (1) Rājēndradēva's rule extended from 28th May 1052 A.D. to A.D. 1063, his highest regnal year so far known being 12.⁴

¹ There is only one instance (No. 230 of 1928-29) in which he is styled a 'Parakēśarivarman'.

² Kālīṅgam and Chakkarakkōṭṭam were in close political connection with the Vēṅgī kingdom at this period, and the political changes in Vēṅgī had their repercussions in the other two northern territories.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 194.

⁴ *Ante*, Vol. IX, p. 218 and No. 144 of 1898. His 12th year, if correct, will have commenced in June 1063, and he did not probably live long in that regnal year; but the details given in this record (No. 144 of 1898). work for February, A. D. 1063, which, however, fell in his 11th year.

- (2) A record of Rājamahēndra¹ dated in the 4th year, gives astronomical details which correspond to A.D. 1062, July 22. In a record dated in his 3rd year, this prince claims to have worsted the Chālukyas at Muḍakkāru².
- (3) Rājamahēndra did not rule independently and probably predeceased his father; so Rājēndra may have chosen Virarājēndra as heir-apparent, some time before his own death.
- (4) Virarājēndra's date of accession has been calculated to fall between 11th September 1062 and 10th September 1063 A.D.³
- (5) He is said to have defeated Āhavamalla three times by the 4th year,⁴ and by the end of the 5th year, he claims to have defeated him in five engagements.⁵
- (6) A record of the 5th year⁶ which recounts several of his achievements gives astronomical details agreeing only for A.D. 1067, September 10, Monday, and serves as an important chronological landmark.
- (7) Āhavamalla (Sōmēśvara I) drowned himself in the Tuṅgabhadra on Sunday, 30th March, A.D. 1068.⁷
- (8) In the disputed succession that followed Āhavamalla's death, Virarājēndra sided with Vikramāditya against the latter's elder brother Sōmēśvara.⁸
- (9) The date of Sōmēśvara (II)'s accession was 11th April A.D. 1068.⁹
- (10) The highest regnal year of Virarājēndra found in his own inscriptions is 7, and in two records¹⁰ of his successor Adhirājēndra, his 8th year is also quoted.
- (11) As Kulōttuṅga-Chōla's accession took place on 9th June, A.D. 1070,¹¹ Virarājēndra must have passed away early in his 8th year, i.e., towards the beginning of A.D. 1070, and Adhirājēndra, who succeeded the latter, must have had a very short independent reign.

Virarājēndra's campaigns against Āhavamalla—

Now as Virarājēndra boasts of the title '*Āhavamallagai-nimmaḷi-veḷ-kaṇṇa*' (i.e.) he 'who saw the back of Āhavamalla five times', all the five engagements must have been directed against Āhavamalla-Sōmēśvara I during the latter's life-time, i.e., before 30th March A.D. 1068. As Rājamahēndra and Virarājēndra both claim to have fought the Chālukyas at or on the bank

¹ No. 80 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1933-36.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 743. The name Muḍakkāru means a 'river with a sharp bend', and so it may have been a simple descriptive name of a devious river, which later became its distinctive name. This Muḍakkāru may be different from the Kūḍal-Saṅgamam, which requires more than one river to justify its name. It has to be noted that the name Muḍakkāru is Tamil in form and if this was its original name in its locality, we may have to look for it in some place where Tamil was current. If, however, a Telugu or Kannada name had been appropriately paraphrased into Muḍakkāru, its identification becomes somewhat difficult. As another instance of such transformation may be mentioned the name Kāṇḍai (or Karandai ?) in the vicinity of Kūḍal-Saṅgamam, which appears to be a Tamilised poetic form of a Telugu or Kannada name. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya suggests that it may perhaps be identified with Kāṇḍana (vrōlu) i.e., the modern Kurnool. Similarly Kōṇḍai, the scene of another battle, may perhaps be identified with Kōṇḍavīḍu or Kōṇḍapalli.

³ *Ante*, Vol. IX, p. 218. This interval can be narrowed down further. Sewall dates it after March 10, A.D. 1063—*The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 342.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 198.

⁵ *Ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 232, ll. 5-6.

⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 67, l. 37.

⁷ *Ep. Carv.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 156.

⁸ The *Takkayāgapparaṇi* (v. 774) also confirms the friendship of this Chōla king with Vikramāditya VI.

⁹ Nos. 15 of 1890 and 418 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

¹⁰ *Ante*, Vol. VII, p. 7, l. n. 5.

of Muḍakkāru, and as there is no great possibility for two separate battles at the same place by two kings within a short interval, it is likely that both Rājamahēndra and Virarājēndra took part together in the same battle, and as such, this must have happened in about the beginning of A.D. 1062,¹ when Virarājēndra was only a prince.

In the present record Virarājēndra states that, on the very day of his coronation, he proceeded against his enemy Āhavamalla and routed him and his sons at Kūḍal-Saṅgamam in the north.² This information is interesting and has not been specified in his other inscriptions. As Virarājēndra's coronation could have taken place only after Rājēndradēva's demise in A.D. 1063, this first battle of Kūḍal-Saṅgamam by Virarājēndra, as king, will have to be dated in about A.D. 1064 only. But on the other hand the Maṇimaṅgalam inscription³ mentions that after the notable victory at Kūḍal-Saṅgamam, the king was pleased to ascend the *vīrasimhāsana* along with his consort Ulagamuḷududaiyāl and donned (*māyadu*) the crown (*viṣaya-maṇimakūṭam*). In view of the specific post-dating of the Kūḍal-Saṅgamam battle to his coronation in the present grant, the description given in the Maṇimaṅgalam record has to be understood in the sense that the king signified his success by a second elaborate coronation ceremonial after his return from the battle-field.

As Virarājēndra claims to have defeated Āhavamalla **three times** by his 4th year, he must have defeated him on two other occasions in addition to the Kūḍal-Saṅgamam battle. These are mentioned in the Tamil preamble beginning with the words *tirucalar*, etc., i.e., (1) a campaign against Gaṅgapāḍi in which Vikkaluṅ and several *sāmantas* were routed and (2) another, against the Western Chālukya army in occupation in Vēṅgi, when the Chālukya general named Chāmuṇḍarāja was killed. The Muḍakkāru battle may have to be placed in one of the early campaigns.

Two other expeditions are also specified in the above *prasasti* to have been undertaken before the end of the 5th year of his reign. One of them was a battle on the bank of an unspecified river, when he slew a number of Chālukya and other generals. The other was arranged to be fought at Kūḍal-Saṅgamam again, in response to a challenge issued by Āhavamalla fixing a tryst there, but as Āhavamalla did not turn up in person, Virarājēndra waited for him at Kāṇḍai (or Karandai) in its vicinity for over a month. In the skirmish that, however, ensued between the latter and the Chālukya garrison that was near by, three Chālukya generals were killed. Virarājēndra proceeding thence, overran Vēṅgi and gave it back to Vijayāditya, and raided the territory as far as Chakkarakkōṭṭam.

Thus the **five** occasions⁴ in which Virarājēndra 'saw the back of Āhavamalla' were—(1) the campaign against Gaṅgapāḍi in A.D. 1062, (2) the first invasion of Vēṅgi in A.D. 1063, (3) the battle of Kūḍal-Saṅgamam in A.D. 1064, (4) the battle on the bank of an unnamed river in

¹ Taking the 4th year record of prince Rājamahēndra from Māruṅgiyūr as belonging to the beginning of that regnal year, the Muḍakkāru battle, if it took place at the end of the 3rd year, may be dated in about March A.D. 1062.

² This battle is referred to as early as the 2+1st year (No. 452 of 1918) or 2nd year+230th day (No. 113 of 1896) of the king. So Virarājēndra's actual coronation must have taken place before this date and the battle may have to be placed in the end of A.D. 1064. There is, however, one record from Tiruvorriyūr (No. 136 of 1912) dated in the 2nd year which commences with '*vīramūḍi-vaṇai*,' but without mentioning any of his conquests at all. The Sanskrit verses (vv. 75, 76) also state that after he was crowned, he fought at Kūḍal-Saṅgamam. The scene of this battle has been tentatively identified with a place on the confluence of the Kṛishṇā and the Tuṅgabhadra. This will take us near Nandikōṭkūr in the Kurnool District which would well fit in as a battle-field midway between the Eastern and Western Chālukyan territories. An alternative identification that had been suggested was Kūḍali at the junction of the Tuṅgā and the Bhadrā (*The Cōlas*, pp. 321—22).

³ S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 30, ll. 13-14.

⁴ Rājēndradēva also claims to have defeated Āhavamalla twice (*vīramūḍi-vaṇai-kaṇḍa*) (*ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 233, l. 11). He is called *vīramūḍi-vaṇai-kaṇḍa Ulagaṇṇakkoṭṭaraiyā Ayyar* (*Ann. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1931-32*, p. 52).

A.D. 1066, and (5) the encounter at Kāndai (or Karandai) near Kūḍal-Saṅgamam, which was followed up by a second invasion of Vēṅgī towards the middle of A.D. 1067. As already stated, all these military campaigns must have occurred before Āhavamalla's death in March A.D. 1068, and before September 10, A.D. 1067 which is the date of the Maṇimaṅgalam inscription¹ of his 5th year mentioning them.

His Vēṅgī campaigns—

From his records it is learnt that Virarājendra undertook two expeditions against Vēṅgī during his reign as against Āhavamalla's power in that region. The Chōḷa influence which had prevailed in that territory since the time of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I (A.D. 1000) suffered an eclipse in the middle of the 11th century A.D. About A.D. 1062, soon after the death of the Eastern Chāḷukya Rājarāja I, his brother Vijayāditya appears to have wrested the power into his hands in preference to Rājarāja's son Rājendra-Chōḷa,² who must have been a very young prince at the time. Taking advantage of the indifference of Rājādhirāja and Rājendradēva in Vēṅgī affairs, referred to in verse 77 of the present record, Āhavamalla found it a good opportunity to invade Vēṅgī about this time or somewhat earlier³ and made Vijayāditya VII his feudatory. Virarājendra's first campaign was therefore directed against Āhavamalla's army in Vēṅgī, but except for the defeat of the Chāḷukya general Chāmuṇḍarāja in an engagement, this expedition does not appear to have accomplished much. It is possible that on the receipt of the news of death of his elder brother Rājendradēva, Virarājendra had to rush back to the Chōḷa capital in the middle of this campaign for his coronation, and as Āhavamalla appears, in the meantime, to have mustered his forces for another fight, the newly anointed Chōḷa king was obliged to depart from the capital again on the very day of his coronation, posthaste to meet his enemy at **Vaḍa-Kūḍal-Saṅgamam**. In the second invasion undertaken about A.D. 1067, a fierce battle was fought in the vicinity of Vijayavāḍa (**Bezwada**). Āhavamalla's power having been broken, his feudatory Vijayāditya appears to have also submitted and transferred his allegiance, for the time being, to his Chōḷa conqueror, from whom, it is said, he got back his territory.⁴ Virarājendra's raid through Kalingam and as far as Chakkarakkōṭṭam was only in continuation of this Vēṅgī campaign.

There appears to have been a third occasion in which Vēṅgī was invested by the Chōḷa army. This campaign which is described only in the Tirumukkūḍal inscription⁵ is stated to have occurred after the Ceylon expedition, and so has to be dated in about January or February A.D. 1068 approximately. Though it is not expressly stated as to what had necessitated it so soon after the last campaign a few months earlier, in which Vijayāditya was given back Vēṅgī, a clue seems to be afforded in the statement that the Chāḷukki (*ach-Chāḷukki*)⁶ came out with an army twice in numerical strength to what he had marshalled on a former occasion. This

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 30.

² In *ante*, Vol. XXII, No. 35, Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar states that the succession of Vijayāditya was not disputed. Prince Rājendra was perhaps too young to make a strong protest.

³ In a record of Sōmēśvara dated in Śaka 975, his son Sōmēśvara (II) has the title 'Vēṅgīpuravarādhīśvara,' thus postulating Vēṅgī connection so early (above, Vol. XVI, p. 53). A record from Drākshārāma dated in Śaka 936 in the reign of a Vishṇuvardhana is attributable to this Eastern Chāḷukya Vijayāditya who was then probably a feudatory of the Western Chāḷukyas (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1013).

⁴ This event must have happened before A.D. 1067, September 10, which is the English equivalent for the details furnished in the Maṇimaṅgalam inscription dated in the 5th year of the king, which refers to this episode (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 30, p. 67).

⁵ *Ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 232.

⁶ The expression '*ach-Chāḷukki*' used here probably refers only to the Eastern Chāḷukya Vijayāditya, who has been mentioned just previous to the description of the Ceylon campaign.

inscription dated in the 5th year states that Virarājendra defeated Āhavamalla five times, ending with the battle of Karandai. In later records¹ of the 7th year, the Western Chālukya king continues to be mentioned as having suffered defeat the same number of times. So the enemy encountered by the Chōla at the subsequent battle of Koṇḍai, (probably Koṇḍaviḍu in the Vēṅgī territory), could not have been Āhavamalla, but was in all probability Vijayāditya. The latter who was a Western Chālukya feudatory in the initial years of his reign, appears to have transferred his nominal allegiance to the Chōla conqueror, and as the price of his submission, got back Vēṅgī. It is possible that, a short time later, he attempted to throw off the Chōla yoke and mustering a large army opposed the Chōla king at the battle of Koṇḍai. The Chālukyan army was, however, repulsed, and the victorious Virarājendra is then stated to have planted a pillar of victory at Śūṭṭukkal² and marched into Kalingam and Chakkarakkōṭṭam, defeating and killing some Chālukya generals.

Further Chālukya hostilities.

The Chōla-Chālukya hostilities did not, however, cease with the death of Āhavamalla. In a record dated in the 6th year,³ Virarājendra claims to have defeated Sōmēśvara before he had had time to take off his necklet (*kaṇṭhikā*), to have burnt the Chālukya capital Kampili and to have set up a pillar of victory at Karaḍikkal. Another dated in the 7th year,⁴ states that Sōmēśvara was driven out of Kannaḍa-dēśam and the Raṭṭapaḍi-seven-and-a-half-lakhs country in its entirety was given to Vikramāditya (VI) who had submitted to him. The *kaṇṭhikā* or the necklet was the conventional emblem of heir-apparency⁵ of the Chālukya dynasty, as differentiated from the *makuta* or crown, the emblem of royalty, and the Sōmēśvara referred to here was evidently the second of that name. The above-noted claim of Virarājendra has therefore to be understood to be but a poetical way of saying that the Chōla king swooped down on the Chālukya capital evidently in aid of his ally Vikramāditya,⁶ immediately after the death of Āhavamalla and before the quondam heir-apparent Sōmēśvara II put on the crown of royalty, i.e., in the interval between 30th March, A.D. 1068, the date of death of Āhavamalla, and 11th April A.D. 1068, the actual date of accession of Sōmēśvara II. The result of this campaign has, however, been exaggerated by the Chōla panegyrist, for Sōmēśvara appears to have ceded only a portion of his territory to Vikramāditya, as evidenced by his own records being simultaneously found in other parts of the kingdom, and Vikramāditya, the protégé of Virarājendra, appears to have himself continued in a subordinate capacity, as suggested by his investiture with the *kaṇṭhikā* only. The claim for a Chālukyan victory made in the Shikarpur record,⁷ which must have been dated some time later than April, A.D. 1068, may be noted in this connection. It is stated therein that Virarājendra thinking that this was an opportune occasion, invaded the Chālukyan territory with a large army and laid siege to Gutti; but when Sōmēśvara II opposed him with a powerful cavalry force, he was forced to flee. The Chālukya records are silent about the burning of Kampili, while there is no mention of the Chōla reverses at Gutti in the Chōla records. It may be inferred that the Chōla king was successful in the beginning of this campaign, and that later he sustained a defeat at Gutti in about the end of A.D. 1068, which put an end to his military aspirations in the north.

¹ The Kanyākumari inscription and the present copper-plate. Nowhere has Āhavamalla been described as having been defeated six times or more (*arumadi-veṇ-kaṇḍa*, etc.).

² The expression Puli-Śūṭṭukkal has been taken to be the name of a village (*ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 226). But it may also be taken to mean a 'stone pillar of victory with the mark of a tiger on it', which was probably set up at Koṇḍai itself.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 201.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 267.

⁶ This political pact was also cemented by the marriage of Virarājendra's daughter with Vikramāditya.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 136.

His campaign against the Pāṇḍya.

In regard to Virarājendra's southern campaigns, the one against the **Pāṇḍya** is in a way confirmed by the existence of his inscriptions¹ at Kanyākumari (Travancore), Āttūr (Tirunelveli District) and Tiruputtūr (Ramanad District). Before the 3rd year of his reign, he had appointed prince Gaṅgaikonda-Chōla as the Chōla-Pāṇḍya viceroy² over the Pāṇḍya country in continuation of the previous system of administration, but this Chōla prince was not left undisturbed for long, for according to a record³ dated in the 3+1st year, Virarājendra marched against a certain Śrīvallabha, apparently a Pāṇḍya, and killed his son Virakūśari. As this campaign has not been referred to in the Tiruvēṅkaḍu⁴ record dated in the 2nd year+230th day of his reign but is mentioned in the Karuvūr inscription⁵ of this king dated in the 3+1st year, it has to be placed towards the end of his 3rd year, i.e., in about A.D. 1065. This victory also appears to have been of a temporary nature, for Virarājendra's successor Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I had again to go to war against the 'five Pāṇḍyas' a few years later.

His campaign against Udagai.

In the course of this southern campaign, the **Chēra** must have also felt the impact of the Chōla army and consented to pay tribute. The Kēraja king and his sons are described to have fled before the mad elephant of Virarājendra in a battle at **Udagai**⁶ and to have hidden themselves in the western ocean. In an inscription⁷ copied at Kīlūr in the South Arcot District, dated in the 29th year of Rājārāja I, the king is stated to have burnt the city of Udagai⁸ during his Malai-nāḍu campaign. From these references, it is clear that Udagai was a city in the Chēra dominion, and was, in all probability identical with Udaiyampērūr, 'the big city of the Udaiyas (the Chēras)' in the northern portion of the Travancore State, which is only three miles distant from Trichūr and which in the olden days was an important place in the Chēra territory. The Chēra contemporaries of Rājendra-Chōla I were Rājasimha and his son Rājārāja who figure in the Maṇṇārkkōyil inscription⁹ of Jātavarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya, but who the contemporary of Virarājendra was, is not clear.

His conquest of Ceylon.

The conquest of **Sinhala** is only briefly referred to in the present record; but the Tirumukkūḍal inscription¹⁰ dated in the 5th year of the king, describes this campaign in some detail and refers to his defeat of the Ceylon king Vijayabāhu and the subjugation of the island 'girt round by the waters of the sea'. Though this is perhaps a sweeping claim, it has to be conceded that a portion of the island was under Chōla sway at this period. As the Maṇḍimaṅgalam record of the 10th September A.D. 1067 does not refer to this expedition, it will have to be placed towards the end of that year, about November or December A.D. 1067.¹¹ Virarājendra's predecessor Rājendradēva had also invaded Ceylon and an inscription¹² of his is found there. Inscriptions¹³ of Adhirājendra, the successor of Virarājendra, are also found at Polonnaruwa (Ceylon). The latter

¹ Nos. 400 and 401 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30 and No. 110 of 1908.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 976.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 20. The Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabha was the contemporary of Rājendra-Chōla I also.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 30.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 863.

⁶ Udagai has been taken to be a Pāṇḍya city (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 68). ⁷ *Ante*, Vol. XI, p. 294.

⁸ *Ante*, Vol. XXI, No. 38, where this point has been examined by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar in detail. The Polonnaruwa inscription of Vijayabāhu (*ante*, Vol. XVIII, No. 38) may be considered to mark the eclipse of Chōla power in Ceylon, for no inscriptions of later Chōla kings are found actually in that island.

⁹ If the Ceylon expedition of the 5th year took place about November 1067, and an incident of April A.D. 1068 fell in the 6th year, the date of accession of Virarājendra can be narrowed down between the limits—December 1062 A.D. and March 1063 A.D. A date in his 7th regnal year (Kanni, bn. 7, Thursday, Mṛigaśrēṣṭha) was A.D. 1069, September 10, Thursday (No. 160 of 1937-38).

¹⁰ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1408.

¹¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1388 and 1392.

did not perhaps lead an independent expedition against the island during his very short reign and may be presumed to have participated in his father's campaign only. No records attributable to Virarājendra have, however, been found in Ceylon.¹

His campaign against Kaḍāram.

Another overseas victory is claimed for Virarājendra over **Kaḍāram**. In the later historical introduction of the 7th year commencing with '*viramēy-tuṇaiyāṇṇam*'² this achievement is introduced between the second invasion of Vēṅgī in A.D. 1067 and the last campaign of Virarājendra that we know of, which was directed against Sōmēśvara II (A.D. 1068). As his father Rājendra-Chōḷa I claims to have invaded Kaḍāram himself by about A.D. 1026,³ it is possible that Virarājendra, as a young prince, had accompanied the Chōḷa army in that campaign also. Such a campaign to the distant Kaḍāram towards the close of Virarājendra's reign appears problematical and has to be confirmed only by future researches. The express statement that the Chōḷa king conquered Kaḍāram and gave it back to the (Kaḍāra) king who had supplicated him, seems to imply that an expedition, at least under an able general though not personally led by the king himself, may have been sent against this far eastern country in aid of his ally. If it was an accomplished fact of his reign, it may have taken place in the beginning of A.D. 1068. The friendly relationship between the Chōḷa and the Kaḍāram kings seems to have been continued down to the 20th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I (A.D. 1090), when two messengers (*dūtār*) of the Kaḍāram king came to the mainland to obtain from the Chōḷa monarch some concessions on behalf of the *Bauddha-vihāra* at Negapatam.⁴

Thus Virarājendra's short reign was a period of strenuous military effort to keep up the weakening Chōḷa power and prestige to some extent. The several campaigns of his reign may thus be briefly reviewed, in their probable chronological sequence :

- (1) the first campaign against Gaṅgapāḍi in A.D. 1062 ;
- (2) the first invasion of Vēṅgī in A.D. 1063 ;
- (3) the first battle of Kūḍal-Saṅgamam in A.D. 1064 ;
- (4) the southern expedition against the Pāṇḍya and Chēra in A.D. 1065 ;
- (5) the battle on the bank of an unspecified river in A.D. 1066 ;
- (6) the clash with the Chālukyan army at Kāṇḍai (or Karaṇḍai) near Kūḍal-Saṅgamam in the middle of A.D. 1067 ;
- (7) the second invasion against Vēṅgī, the battle of Vijayavāḍa and the restoration of Vēṅgī to Vijayāditya before September A.D. 1067 ;
- (8) the expedition against Simhaḷam in the end of A.D. 1067 ;
- (9) the overseas campaign to Kaḍāram in the beginning of A.D. 1068 ;
- (10) the third expedition against Vēṅgī and the battle of Koṇḍai in about February A.D. 1068 ;
- (11) the campaign against the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara, the burning of Kampīlī and the erection of a pillar of victory at Karaḍikkal in April A.D. 1068 ; and the installation of Vikramāditya VI in a portion of the Western Chālukya dominions ; and
- (12) the battle of Gutti⁵ in about the end of A.D. 1068, wherein Virarājendra suffered defeat at the hands of Sōmēśvara II.

¹ See also *ante*, Vol. XVIII, p. 332 and f. n. 2. The Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon has kindly informed us that there are no inscriptions of Virarājendra-devā in Ceylon. ² *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 203.

³ The conquest of Kaḍāram (Keddah in the Srivijaya kingdom located in the Malay Peninsula) by Rājendra-Chōḷa occurred about his 13th year corresponding to A.D. 1026. As Virarājendra lived up to A.D. 1060, he may have been a young prince capable of participating in a military expedition, 43 years earlier.

⁴ *Ante*, Vol. XXII, p. 268.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 136.

Though this warlike king was so much preoccupied in his wars during his short reign, for not a year, except perhaps the last, passed without his army being engaged in some campaign or other, he appears to have found time to attend to the welfare of his subjects. He is said to have presented many *agrahāras* to Brāhmins and several benefactions to temples owed their origin to his munificence.

In this context, it may be remarked that the Chōla version of the Chōla-Chālukya war appears to give a slightly exaggerated account of Virarājēndradēva's victories. The Chālukya records, on the other hand, seem to indicate that the reverses were not always on the Chālukyan side alone.¹ In fact, the two parties appear to have been fairly well-matched, with the result that the hostilities were protracted and the opposing armies met in as many as five different engagements. The Chōla army no doubt took the offensive and carried the war into the enemy's country, as testified to by the scenes of battles which were all located in Chālukyan territory, and except for the Chōla reverses in the death of Rājādhirāja I in the earlier battle of Koppam and later at Gutti, Virarājēndra's independent campaigns appear to have met with a fair measure of success; but the fact that he is described as having restored the conquered dominions—viz., Vēṅgi to Vijayāditya VII and Raṭṭapaḍi to Vikramāditya VI—seems to indicate that his hold on the conquered territories was not of a permanent nature. His Pāṇḍya and Chēra conquests also appear to have shared the same fate. This policy of restoration adopted by Virarājēndra may have been due to considerations of statecraft by which he had tried to placate the kings on his frontiers or to the insufficiency of his own resources which had weakened his hold on his conquests so far away from Chōla headquarters. Whatever the reason, the provenance of his inscriptions with the exception of the Kanyākumari, Āttūr and Tiruppuṭtūr records reveals that his authority extended over a restricted area only, comprising the North Arcot, South Arcot, Chingleput, Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts of the Madras Presidency with a portion of the adjoining Pudukkōṭṭai State and the Kolar and Bangalore Districts of the Mysore State, added thereto.

The circumstances under which the king died are not known. As a record² of his 7th year is dated on September 10, A.D. 1069, and as two records of Adhirājēndra refer to the 8th year of his predecessor, Virarājēndra must have been alive till at least October A.D. 1069, and he may have passed away sometime later in the beginning of A.D. 1070. It is possible that there is some reference to his last days in an undated record from Tiruvorriyūr,³ in which provision was made for worship in the local temple for the welfare of the king and for the prosperity of the queen's *tirumāṅgalayam*. Virarājēndra was succeeded by his son Adhirājēndra, a portion of whose short period of rule must have merged into his own reign. The prayer offered for the welfare of Adhirājēndra in a record from Kūhūr⁴ in the Tanjore District, dated in his 3rd year, seems to indicate that this king was himself suffering from illness at the time and his records end with the 4th year⁵. As his successor Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I ascended the throne on 9th June 1070 A.D.,⁶ Adhirājēndra could have ruled independently for only a short time in the first half of A.D. 1070.

¹ The Chālukya titles 'the shatterer of the pride of the Chōla monarchs' (*ante*, Vol. XV, p. 91) and the foundation of a temple called Chōla-gaṇḍa-Traiparushadēva at Annigere (*S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, B.K. No. 103) may be noted. An invasion led by Prince Vishnūvardhana Vijayāditya in the reign of Trailōkyamalla, against the Chōla king in A.D. 1084 is referred to in *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, Nos. 127 and 128.

² No. 160 of the Mad. Epig. Colln. for 1937-38.

³ No. 128 of the Mad. Epig. Colln. for 1912.

⁴ No. 289 of 1917.

⁵ No. 18 of 1890 is dated in the 3rd year+200th day of reign.

⁶ *Ante*, Vol. VII, p. 7, f.n. 5.

Jayaṅgaṇḍasōja-vaṇaṇḍu and Aruṃmōji-Rājēndrasōjaṇ *alias* Jananātha-Viṇḍupparaiyaṇ of Śēnda-maṇḍalam in Viraṣōja-vaṇaṇḍu.

The composer of the Sanskrit *prakāśi* was a certain **Chandrabhūṣhaṇa-Bhaṭṭa** who is referred to later by the paraphrased name of Śaśibhūṣhaṇa-Paṇḍita. He is evidently identical with Chandrasēkharaḥbhūṣhaṇa-Bhaṭṭa *alias* Virarājēndra-Brahmaṇḍhirājaṇ mentioned in an inscription¹ of the king from Gaṅgaikōṇḍasōjapuram, where a large number of the king's officers are enumerated, among whom Guṇanīdhi-Aruṃmōji *alias* Mīṇavaṇ-Mūvēṇḍavēḷar of the present record also finds mention.² A certain Chandrabhūṣhaṇa-Paṇḍita figures in two records³ from the Bellary District dated in A. D. 1054 and 1063, and it is possible he was identical with the composer of this copper-plate grant. In collaboration with this panegyrist, the officer named Madhurāntaka-Brahmaṇḍhirāja is said to have drafted this copper-plate charter finally, and got it engraved by Śaṅkaraṇ-Kāḍāḍi *alias* Karuṇākara-Āchāriyaṇ, a *Tachchāchāriyaṇ* of Kuvalāḷam in Kuvalāḷa-nāḍu.

A few imprecatory verses are then quoted, and along with them there is one more verse in the *Mālinī*-metre added here, as an exhortation made by king 'Rājarāja' whose head is ornamented with the lotus-feet of Hara, enjoining all future kings to protect this charity. As this reminds us of the title 'Śivapādaśekhara' borne by the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I, it appears probable that like the supplicatory verse ending with 'gāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ' this Chōḷa king also got a similar verse composed for use in Chōḷa documents. Or as an alternative, it may be suggested that the verse refers to Virarājēndra himself, who is given the titles 'Rājāḍhirājaṇ' and 'Rājarājaṇ' in the Tirumukkūḍal inscription,⁴ in which case the attribute used in this verse may be understood as indicating simply the king's intense devotion to Hara.⁵

Among the **place-names** mentioned in the record, the village **Chēṛām** in **Puṭi-nāḍu** may be identified with Chārāla in the Punganur taluk of the Chittoor District, where the copper-plate set was discovered. **Rattapāḍikōṇḍasōja-maṇḍalam**, which took the new name from the time of Rājēndradēva who conquered Rattapāḍi, is represented by the tract of country round about Punganur in the Chittoor District, and the adjoining Chintamani taluk of the Mysore State. There was also another sub-division known by the name of Rattapāḍikōṇḍasōja-vaṇaṇḍu in the Podukkottai State. The names occurring in the description of boundaries are too vague to be identified now⁶.

TEXT.

[For metres of verses 1—81 see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 31.]

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti Śrīḷy ||*|| Yaḷ karttā jagad-ut(d)bhava-sthiti-layān-ut(d)bhūtayā Mayā yō vāchām-adhināyakaś-śrayati yaṇi sa-
- 2 rvaṇṇat-aikāśrayā ||*|| yaṇ(d)-bhakti-pravaṇṇair-apāya-viśhamas-tāryyō bhav-āmbhōṇi-dhir-ddēyāḍ-vas-sa vi-
- 3 bhūtim-inḍu-śakal-āpāḷō Bhavānīpatih |||-1 |||- Māyām-āyūminīm yō vahati jagad-idaṇṇ-ruṇṇayantiṇ-jayantiṇ jūṇ-ā-

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 529, l. 27.

² *Ibid.*, l. 29.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 232, l. 7.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, Nos. 112 and 143.

⁵ King Parāntaka also describes himself as 'Smarāri-charaṇāmbuja-śekhara'—(*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 385).

⁶ The Tahsildar of Punganur, who was addressed, has not been able to render much help in this matter.

- 4 jñāna-prasūti(tih) sphuṭa-ruchi-vapushā yōgabhāj-āgabhājā [1*] satv-ā-satv-ānukampī sthī-
ta¹-mudita-mahā-tāpa-śū-
5 nām=paśūnām Śambhus-śam-bhugna-pāpa-vyatikṛtī bhavatas-sa prapātāt prapātāt [1]-
2 [1]- Chakrē chakrēṇa
6 daitya-prakaram-atibalan yas=somastam somastam pātā pātāja-māl-āhita-Bahir-anisam
bhāsurūpām surāpām [1*] sa-
7 dyas=sa dyatv-aghast vō **Harir**-akhila-jagad-rakṣaṇēna kṣaṇēna svairam svair-anśa-
lēśair-iva dharāṇi-
8 gatais=sambhavat(d)bhīr=bhavat(d)bhū[h] [1]- 3 [1]- Ādan dēvas-sisṛikṣhām upanātā-sama-
yah pratyavēksh-
9 ām=adabhrām-bibhrat(d)=viśv-ādhināthas=samuchita-samay-ārambham²-ambhas=sasarjja
[1*] tasmīn=nikshipya bijan-nijam-ajara³-ba-
10 lam sa trilōkī-karāṇḍam=brahmāṇḍan=tēna chakrē vyadhita vidhīm=api sraṣṭum=ishṭam
vidhēyam [1]-4 [1]- Tasmā-
11 j=jātas=tadānūn sakalam=api jagat sa-prapañchast **Virīñcharh**(chah) kurvvan⁴ durvvāra-
vīryān=ajanayad=aparān Brahman[h*] karm-
12 ma-nishṭhān[1*] tēshām=ēkas=tv=akēshair=api Vidhī-vibhavair-ggarbhītō nirbhara-śrīr-
vviśhvag-rōchir=**mMarīchis**-tribhuvana-
13 bhavanām sañchakāsāñchakāra [1]-5 [1]- Tasmāt(d=) vismēra-patmā(dnā)sana-nayana-chaya-
spashta-dṛishṭ-ōrjjita-śrīś-śrē-
14 yas=sampatti-bhājān=dhuri gaṇita-guṇah **Kaśyapa**[h] paśyakō=bhūt [1*] anyōny-ōnmardda-
nēna śriyam=iha dadhatō
15 yat-prasūtās=sur-ādyā nirvvyājan=nirjjayanti prachuram=upachitān-amburāśēs=taram-
gān [1]-6 [1]- Tasmāj=jātas=tadā-
16 nīm samayakṛit-a(d=a)samas=svaiḥ prabhāvair-udārair=vviśva-trāṇa-praviṇais=satatām=
atitarān=nirjjayan svān=**Vi**-
17 **vavvān** [1*] nidrā-madrā-vibhōdam prathamam=anubhavan-yannmayūkt-ābhīmarśād=
dhātur=vakt-āravindais=saha saka-
18 la-gurōś=satma(dma)-patma(dma)ñ=chakāśē [1]-7 [1]- Yasy-ōdasyat(d)bhīr=ārōd-āvatama-
sam=atī-vyātatair-anśu-jālair=bhūsva-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 19 t-kūrttasvar-āṇḍam prathamam=abhīgaṭat kālīm=ēv=ābabhāśē [1*] yat(d)-himbaḥ karṇa-
kātyam nivahati kirāṇaḥ kē⁵
20 sarair=āhita-ārīc-ut(d)gāḍhair-ddig-da-anghair=uparochita-ruchō vyōma-patīkēruhasya
[1]-8 [1]- Ētasy=ā-
21 bhūt=tanūjō **Manur**=amaḷa-tanur=bhūbhujām bijam=ādyam yēn=aikāntēna yōgūn-muni-
bhīr=abhīhitā mūna-
22 v-tyam praj-ēti [1*] lōkānām=ēka-vandyaḥ pravidhad=atulan śarmma dharmma-prapañ-
chair=bhūsvān bhūsvat-suta-

¹ TAS has hū instead of sthī. [TA Sindicates the readings given in the *Tramwore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, No. 34, as made out from the Kanyākumari inscription.]

² TAS has jagad-ārambham instead of samay-ārambham.

³ TAS has ajara=akhilam instead of ajara-balam.

⁴ TAS has kṛitā instead of kurvaṇa.

⁵ TAS has avatamam-jatī which is obviously a misreading for avatamam=atī.

⁶ Of the syllable *kē* only the *ē* sign appears in this line, while the letter *k* occurs in the next.

- 23 tvāt pitaram-ihā¹ sutam yah² prakāśchakāra |||-9 |||. Tasy=Ēkehvākur=abhūd-yaśōbhira-
ama|air-ddikahv=ātatai-
- 24 ś-śōbhitas=sūnus=sānushu bhūbhitān sura-gaṇair-yyat-kirttir=ut(d)giyatē [|*] yasy=āmitra-
narādhirāja-virahā-
- 25 j-jaitram-mahas-sarvvatō durvvāra³-prasaram vyajēshṭa balavan-Mitrasya tējah param
|||-10 |||. Tasy=ābhūt=tana-
- 26 yas-samunnata-nayah prēkshī Vikukshin-nripō⁴ rakshām-akehata-vikramas-samakarōt
kshāmāṇḍalasy-āsya yah [|*] a-
- 27 nyōnya-pravimarddanēna mahatī yā pārtthivair-labhyatē tām sūtē śśri(śri)yam-aśramam
kshitibhitān yat-pā-
- 28 dayōr-ānatih |||-11 |||. Putras-tasya Purañjayas-samabhavat saṁgrāmam-ājanmū(gmū)-
shān-jētā bhūmibhujān=ji-
- 29 gishur-asurān jajñē⁵ [sa] mānyas-tatah [|*] Jambh[ā*]rim vṛishabham vidhāya kakudē
sthūlē-sya yas-samsthita-
- 30 s-tad-dēvair-adhika-pramōda-gaditām prāptah Kakuth-ābhidām |||-12 |||. Prithur=
babhū(v=ā)tra kulē kul-ādriṇā
- 31 samas-samast-āvanipāla-vandita[h] [|*] vivēda yasmin-nripatau sa-nandedm(thu)r=na
vēpadhu[r]=nn=āpi cha yāchitū=jana[h]⁶ |||-
- 32 13 |||. Amushmin=varhśē-bhūn=mahati Kuvalāśvō narapati[r]=Harēr⁷=vvīryair-ddhuryy-
air=ati-nibhitam=ut(d)bhāṣita-tanu-
- 33 h [|*] sa Dhundhun=daityēndram baha|a-nikatā-sindhu-pihitam hitam lōkāy-āsmāi vidad-
had=avadhid=ud(d)ha-
- 34 ta-balah |||-14 |||. Varhśē-sminn=ut(d)babhūv=āt(d)bhuta-ma[h]ma-bharabhrājitas=ā-
marārēr=amśō viśvamabhar-ārti-prakama-
- 35 nam=aniśam karitum=utsiddha-kīrtih [|*] Māndhātā nāma rājā jana-nayana-mah-ānanda-
sandōha-dāyī yasy=ādharma-kshayāya
- 36 vyacharad=ati-javāch=chakram=āchakravā|āt |||-15 |||. Tāmin=nripē parama-tējasi śūsata-
imām bhūmīn=chachāra hariṇā
- 37 Hariṇas=sah=āpi [|*] sarvō mithas-sahajam=apy=ajahāt(d)=virōdhan=dharminas=tv=adhar-
ma-virahān-na tathā chakāra |||-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 38 16 |||. Udayam=jha dadhānas=sat(d)-gupair-ēdhamānas=satatam-asad-apāyē vṛiddhi(ddhi)-
maty=ānvayāyē [|*] udajani Muchukundaḥ
- 39 kundaḥ(kunda)-gaurair-yyasōbbhiḥ paripata iva chandras-śōbbhamānō mayūkbaiḥ |||-17 |||-
Sa trātun=tridivan=trivishṭapa-
- 40 sadān=nāthēna yūthanviśhām⁸ hantum samprayiyāsāt=āti-tarasā saūchōditah prāūchitah
[|*] nirnādras=tad=āhurnniśan=da-
- 41 nusutān=nighnān-avighnan=nripas-tēshām svarggam=atīva-durggam-akarōd-yuddhē
hatānām=api |||-18 |||. Asmin=va-

¹ TAS has ire which is the correct reading.

² TAS has gam instead of yah.

³ The corresponding reading in TAS is doubtful, though it has been given as drikt-āti-prasaram.

⁴ Read Vikukshī nripō. TAS has Vikukshīparō.

⁵ TAS has the same reading, but it is corrected into jajñē.

⁶ The intended reading of the last pāda of this verse seems to be: =na vēpātun=āpi cha yāchitū=janaḥ.

⁷ TAS has harid-vīryair-ddhuryair which appears to be the correct reading.

⁸ Read yūthan-dvishām.

i.

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Charala Plate i. A rectangular plate with a central circular hole. The text is in Tamil script, arranged in 18 horizontal lines. The script is dense and appears to be a form of shorthand or a specific dialect. The plate is dark, possibly metal or stone, with the text inscribed in a lighter color.

ii.a.

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Charala Plate ii.a. A rectangular plate with a central circular hole. The text is in Tamil script, arranged in 16 horizontal lines. The script is dense and appears to be a form of shorthand or a specific dialect. The plate is dark, possibly metal or stone, with the text inscribed in a lighter color.


ii.b.

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Charala Plate ii.b. A rectangular plate with a central circular hole. The text is in Tamil script, arranged in 16 horizontal lines. The script is dense and appears to be a form of shorthand or a specific dialect. The plate is dark, possibly metal or stone, with the text inscribed in a lighter color.

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84		84
86		86
88		88
90		90

[illegible]

- 42 mśē=bhavad=abhibhavan=ōjasā rājabṛi(vṛi)ndaṁ labdh-ānandas= samitishu **Hariśchandra-**
nāmā narēndrah [*] ditsām=ēkām dadhad=a-
43 pi nayan Kauśikiyān-dhanāyām¹ svaṁ vyakrīṇāt=trīṇam=iva tathā yas=sa-putraṁ kaḷatram
|||-19 |||- Āsīd=atr=ānva-
44 vāyē **Sagara** iti nṛipas=tarjit-āsēsha-bhūpō yēn=ārādhyō=pi² kāmān haya-makha-nikarais³
=trāsi-
45 tō Dēvarōjah [*] yat-putrāṇām prabhāvāl=lavaṇa-jalanidhau sāgaratvam prapannē śēsh-
āṇām vāri-
46 dhīnām=api sakala-gurus=sāgaratvañ=chakāra |||-20 |||- Āsīd=atra **Bhagīrathah** kshitipatr-
vvañśē
47 sva-vañś-ot(d)bhavān=uddharttum Kapila-prakōpa-dahana-jvāl-āvali-bhasmitān [*] svas-
sindhun
48 vasudhān=nayan=Tripathagāñ=chakrē sa Bhāgīrathīm=ma[r*]tyān=apy=amṛitān vyadhāt
surasarid-vāri-pravā-
49 ha-sprīśaṁ |||-21 |||- Anvayē=tra sumahaty=avatirṇṇas=sarvva-bhūpati-guṇaiḥ paripūr-
ṇṇah [*] sajjana-stuti-virāji-
50 ta-varṇṇah kshmām=arakshad=akhilām=**Rita(tu)parṇṇah** |||-22 |||- Iha samajani bhūpas=
sarvva-lōk-aika-dīpaḥ kshapi-
51 ta-bhuvana-tāpas=sātrī⁴-āri-pratāpaḥ [*] āri-yuvati-vilāpas=sphārit-ōddāma-kōpas=
satata-vijayi-chāpa[h*]-
52 sphīta-kīrttir=**Ddīlīpaḥ** |||-23 |||- Asminn=amśa-chatuṣṭayēna bhagavān vañśē=janishṭa
prabhuh klišṭām vikshya
53 vasundharām=atibalaṛ=brashṭair⁵=mahā-rākshasaiḥ [*] **Rāmō Lakshmaṇa-saṁyutō=tha**
Bharataś=Śa[tru]ghna-
54 yuktas=tv=iti⁶ dvandvañ Vishṇubhujā-yuga-dvaya-tulām=ūrjjasvalaṁ yad=yayau |||-
24 |||- Pitari tanaya-vṛitta-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 55 m bhrātṛishu bhrātṛi-vṛittam yuvatishu pati-vṛittam śātravē śa[tru]-vṛittam [*] munishu
nṛipati-vṛittam bāndhavē bandhu-
56 vṛittam sakalam⁷=akhila-nāthaś=śikshayāmāsa lōkam |||-25 |||- Na krōdhēna jaghāna Rāk-
shasa-patīm kāmē-
57 na na prēyasūn sa pratyāhṛitavān=mahīśa-charitam kārtsnyēna chakrē param [*] nō chēt
kin=tapasi sthitam
58 sa Malayē sūdrañ=jaghān-āsinā kim v=ānatyaya-kānti-dhṛity-upachitān=tatyāja Sitām
punaḥ⁸ |||-26 |||- Sētū-
59 n=nētum kapi-balam=asau baddhavān⁹=naikam=abdhau chakrē vakrētara-guṇa-nidhir=
dharma-sē[tū]n=āsēshā-

¹ TAS has the same reading ; but it should be corrected into *Kauśikiy-ārthanāyām*, as has been suggested above, Vol. XVIII, p. 36.

² TAS has *āra[bdhē]=pi*.

³ TAS has *nikarē*.

⁴ Read *sātil-āri-* as in TAS.

⁵ Read *ddhṛishṭair-* as in TAS.

⁶ TAS has *yukta[s=suta]*.

⁷ The syllable *ka* is engraved above the line.

⁸ TAS has *[dru]ta[m]* for *punaḥ*.

⁹ TAS has *bandhayan* for *baddhavān*.

- 60 n [*] kētuṁ hētuṁ vibudha-vīpadāṁ vyāpadā(n=dā)navīnāṁ Rāmaṁ kāmam kathayati
janas=sadguṇānān=nidhā-
61 nam |||-27 ||- Aśmīn-varṣē=jani vīda|ayann=ōjasā bhūpa-yūthañ¹=Chōḷō nāma
kshītipatir=atisphīta-
62 rājanya-kālāḥ [*] yasy-āśēśhām=avanim=avatō rājadhānim=iva svān² ||-ōdyānais=tulanam
=adadhus³=sarvva-
63 taḥ kānanāni :|||-28 ||- Viharaṁ sa Hara-prabhaḥ kadāchin-muni-bṛi(vṛi)nd-ādhyushītēśh
kānanēśhu [*] anayan⁴
64 vinay-āśrayō⁵ vihāra-pratilabdh-āvasarāṇi vāsarāṇi |||-29 ||- Kadāchana mṛiga-vraja-
pramathana-pra-
65 galbh-ādaraś⁶=chachāra vipin-āntarēśhv=anati-bhūri-sainyaḥ kshami [*] tadā sa mṛiga-
rūpiṇā jhaṭiti kēna-
66 chid-rakshasā hṛitō haritam=anvagāt prakṛiti-dakṣiṇō dakṣiṇām |||-30 ||- Mṛigan=tam=
=anugachchataḥ prajavi-
67 nā śanair=vvājinā pṛithu-druma-samākulaṁ vipinam=anyad=āsāditam tam⁷ [*] tam=
anvayur-anārata-pravitata-pra-
68 yāḥ-ōnmukhā javēna rabhas-ōtpatat-pṛithu-varūthini-nāyakūḥ |||-31 ||- Tam hatvā raja-
nicharaṁ
69 sa tatra bhūpaḥ Kāvērīm=anu vichachāra bhūri-chāraḥ [*] kshīr-ārbhḥōnidhi-mathanāt
surair=avāptam pī-
70 yūsham bhuvi sakila-chchhalād=vahantīm :|||-32 ||- Tatra stū(auā)tvā dita(t)sur-artthan=
dva(dvi)jēbhyō n=āpaśyat=tān=vaśya-
71 chittas=tadānim [*] Āryyāvarttād=vipra-varyyān=udagrān⁸=āniy-ā(ayā) vāśayāmāsa⁹ tīrē
: |||-33 ||- Vipinam=a-
72 khilāṁ-chhītvā pūgas=chakāra vanam=mahat=tad=anu vidadhē dhīras=sāraṁ sa-nāgalat-
ākulam [*] upavana-chayai-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 73 r=anyair=ddhanyaiḥ Kavēra-sutā-taḥ dvaya-vasumatīm=ēka-chchhāyām=anēka-phalāṁ
vyadhāt |||-34 ||- A-
74 mara-sariti snānam bhūyas-tapaś-charaṇaṁ=janā vidadhati taḥ tasyāḥ kṛichchhran=tri-
viṣṭapa-kāmyayā [*] iha vīracchītam
75 snānam ghōraṁ=tapaś=cha surālayād=api śubhatarē tīrē¹⁰=vāsam sthīrikurutē satām |||-35 ||-
Anvaśāt=tam=anu Rā-
76 jakōsari vāsarādhipa iv=āsama-dyutiḥ [*] Chōḷabhūpa-tanayō nay-ādhipaḥ kshōṇim=a-
jaladli bādhit-ākita[h]¹¹

¹ TAS has rāja-brindaṁ=

² Read svām as in TAS.

³ TAS has adadhas which is a wrong form.

⁴ Read anayad= as in TAS.

⁵ TAS has vibudh-āśrayō instead of vinay-āśrayō.

⁶ TAS has prabhu(phu)ll-ādaraṁ(ś)=.

⁷ This tam is superfluous.

⁸ TAS has a[nēka]n instead of udagrān.

⁹ TAS has ādhgāvāśayāmāsa for anyā vāśayāmāsa.

¹⁰ TAS has r[āś] instead of tīrē.

¹¹ TAS has tāpit- instead of bādhit-.

- 77 |||-36 |||- Tat-sutas=tu **Parakēsari** nṛpō mātari-kshitipa-vīrya-śātanah¹ [*] sat-sakha
kshitim=imām=apālayat(d)
78 bhartsit-āsura-nikāya²-vikramaḥ |||-37 |||- Asmin=vamśe **Mṛityujin**=nāma rājā mṛityōr=
jjētā pātī-ārāti-va-
79 rggah [*] jajñe yajñair=ājñayā va(cha) prakāman=dēvān=chhatrūnīs³=tōshayan bhrēsha-
yamś=cha :|||-38 |||- Asmin=vamśe **Vi**-
80 **rasēn**-ābhidhānō jātō nīt-āsēsha-lōk-ābhitāpaḥ⁴ [*] rējē rājā tējasā bhānu-tulyaḥ kalyā-
81 ṇānām=mandiram sundar-āṅgaḥ |||-39 |||- **Chitrō** nāma kshitipatir=abhūt=tatra vamśe=
dhika-śrīr=vvitrat-ā-
82 ri-prakara-vinati-vyakta-vichchhinna-kōpaḥ [*] Vṛittrārātir=jjhaṭiti samarē nirjjitō⁵ yasya
bhāpāir=mmitrī-
83 bhūtas=satatam=abhajat(d)=**Vyāghrakētu**=ddhvajatvam |||-40 |||- Avanim=akhila-pārā-
vāra-dhī(tī)r-ābhirām-ōpa-
84 ratim=avirata-śrīs=śāsītum=nāśīt-āriḥ [*] nija-bhuja-bala-lilā-kṛṣṭa-rājanya-lakṣmir=iha
samajani vamśe bhū-
85 patiḥ **Pushpakētuḥ** |||-41 |||- Asmin=vamśe **Kētumāl**-ābhidhānō jātō rāj=Ājātasatru-pra-
86 kāśaḥ⁶ [*] hṛitvā sarvva-kṣmābhṛitām kētu-mālām yēn=āvāptam Kētumāl-ābhidhānam
|||-42 |||- **Samudraji**-
87 n=nāma narādhirājō babhūva vamśe=tra viśāla-vīryaḥ [*] pūrvv-āpar-āmbhōnidhi-
ni(mī)śraṇēna paṇēna⁷ Madrē-
88 śa-sutām sa lēbbē :|||-43 |||- Śrīmaty=atra kulē babhūva mahita-śrīḥ **Pañchap**-ākhyō nṛpō
nirvvyāj-āti-
89 thi-pūjan-ōrjjita-manā yakshān sa pañch=ātithīm [*] vidhyā(ddhvā) pañcha **śirās**=sva-
śōṇitam=asau tair-yāchitas=sa⁸-
90 tvara[m] kōshṇa[n=ta]t sakalān=apāyayad=atas=tat-pālanāt Pañchapaḥ |||-44 |||- Abhavad=
vibhavair=jjayan=digī-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 91 śān=iha vamśe nṛpatīs=sitāmśu-kāntaḥ [*] Dramiḍas⁹=sa Mṛiḍasya samprasādād-**ajayan**=
mṛityum=anatyaya-
92 prabhāvaḥ |||-45 |||- Atr=ābhū[d=a*]mala-guṇaḥ kulē=tula-śrīs=tējasvī samiti **Manōrath**-
ābhidhānaḥ [*] yō hatvā
93 jhaṭiti manōrathān=arīpām bandhūnām=akuruta sat-phalān balēna : |||-46 |||- Etasmin
Parunetkiḷi-
94 prabhṛitayō vamśe dharādhiśvarā bhūyāmsas=tulit-Āmarēśvara-bala-śśrī(śrī)-vikramā
jajñirē [*] yēshām=ā-ja-
95 ladhi kshamām samavatām¹⁰ vyāptam yasōbhiś=śubhair=ā-brahmāṇḍa[m=a]khaṇḍa-dēśa-
samayam viśvañ=jagad=rājatē : |||-47 |||-

¹ TAS has mātā(rītam=a)nivāryya-śāsanah.

² The corresponding reading in TAS is uncertain.

³ Here n is superfluous. Read =chhatrūnīs=

⁴ TAS has lōk-āhita[ś=cha].

⁵ TAS has tarjjitō.

⁶ TAS has jāta-śam[pā-pra]kāśaḥ.

⁷ TAS has [paṇyē]na..... śa-sutām [sa]lō[bhaḥ].

⁸ TAS has sādaram.

⁹ TAS has nṛmṛiḍas=.

¹⁰ TAS has sapātana-, which is ill-suited in the present context.

- 96 Asmin kulē kula-dharādharma-sannikāśaḥ kṛā-ōpamāna-vitat-ōru-yaśaḥ-pratānaḥ [1*] āsit
kṣhitīśa-tilakaḥ Ka-
- 97 rikāla-nāmā Chōlas=samuddhata¹-ripu-kṣhitipāla-kālaḥ ||-48 ||- Sa Kāvērīn=dūrīkṛita-
sakala-sasyām vidadhatīm
- 98 payaḥ-pūrais=sphārair=avanim=avinūt-ōddhati-haraḥ [1*] pratīribhūtābhīr=unarapati-āra-
[h*]-śliṣṭa-piṭaka-prakīrṇābhūr=mmṛit(d)blūr=nyaru-
- 99 [nad-A]ruṇ-āgrāsara-samam(maḥ) : ||-49 ||- Asmin kulē sakala-pārthiva-vandya-pādō jātō-
bhijāta-guṇa-saṁ-
- 100 hati- hīmhita-śrīḥ [1*] ūrjjasval-ōt(d)bhaṭa-nī-āpratima-pratāpas=santāpit-āri-śalabhō
Vajrabhō mahīśaḥ ||-
- 101 50 ||- Ih=ānvayē=bhūd=Amarēśa-tulyaḥ parāsta-vidvaj-jana-tāpa-śalyaḥ [1*] samasta-
rājānaka-bhūri-vallabhaḥ²
- 102 kṣhamādhīnāthō Jagadēkamallaḥ ||-51 ||- Varāśō=aminn=ari-rāja-vandita pada-dvandv-
āravindaḥ kṣhamī rājā Vyālabhayam-
- 103 karaḥ sambhavad sūnōs=samānō ravāḥ [1*] dōr-ddaṇḍ-āñchita-khaḍga-khaḍgita-ripōr-
yasy-ōrjjita-āri-jushaḥ
- 104 kōp-ōgnī[r*]=dvishad-aṅgan-āru-salilais=siktaḥ paraḥ śāmyati : ||-52 ||- Anvayē=tra
Vijayālaya-nāmā sārvaabhūma³
- 105 sakala-kṣhiti-nāthaḥ [1*] yat-pad-āmburuha-yugmam=ajasaṁ śākhārīkṛitam=śēśha- mahī-
śaḥ ||-53 ||- Nivēśayām[ā]-
- 106 sa sa Chōla-dēśō nivēśit⁴-śēśha-guṇa-pravṛiddhām [1*] Kañjāsan-ādyair=amaraḥ pragītā-
Tañchāpurī-nāma pu-
- 107 rin=narēndraḥ ||-54 ||- Adityavanmā(rmm=ā)bhavad=asya putraḥ Kōḍaṇḍarām-abhi-
tayaḥ⁵ prasiddhaḥ [1*] utplutya matta-dvirad-ēndra-
- 108 saṁsthān=jaghāna yaḥ Pallavarājam=ājan : ||-55 ||- Aśy=ābhūt=tanayaḥ parākramavatām-
ēkādhīpaḥ kṣmā-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 109 bhujām vīraśrī-nīlayaḥ Parāntaka iti khyātaḥ kṣhamādhīśvaraḥ [1*] vāl-ōdyāna-vihāribhīr-
mmadakaḥair=yyam⁶ vā-
- 110 raṇ-ādhiśvarair=vvāsyantō mada-sindhuhīḥ pratidīśam pāthūmāsi pāthōnidhēḥ ||-56 ||- Ha-
111 tv=āśu Pāṇḍyam=akbilēna balēna śākari hītvā tadiyam=akhilam vasu vīryaśālī [1*]
bhasmīchakāra Ma-
- 112 dhurīm yad=adhaḥ-kṛit-ārīr=lēbhē⁷ natas=sa Madhurāntaka-nāmadhēyam ||-57 ||- Yaḥ-
jigāya Vijay-ōpama-
- 113 dyutiḥ Kṛishṇarājam=ajitan=narādhipaiḥ [1*] bhūri-vikrama-vivarddhita-dyutir=Vira-Chōla
iti tēna kīrttyatē ||-58 ||- Yat=ti-
- 114 rṇṇair=jjalanidhim=uddhatai[r*]=bal-anghaḥ=samhyattān samiti jaghāna Śiṁhaśēśān [1*]
tat=sarvva-kṣhitipa-
- 115 ti-vandyaṁāna-pādas=sō=nvartthām=abhajata Śiṁhaṁantak-ākhyām ||-59 ||- Drishṭāntaḥ
kō-sya rājās=sakala-guṇa-

¹ TAS has samutthita.

² TAS has rājāntaka-bhūri-bhallaḥ.

³ Read sambabhūva as in TAS.

⁴ TAS has nāvatat-śēśha.

⁵ Read=ābhidhaya.

⁶ Read=yyat=ōś as in TAS.

⁷ Read tatas= as in TAS.

164 164
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- 116 midhōs=śaknuyāt kō=sya vaktum bhūya[h*] ślāghyān guṇ-aughān=upaśamita-ripōr=vvikram-
aik-āspadasya [I*]
117 yō vit(d)vat(d)-vipra-bhōgyān=anupama-vibhavān=Vīranārāyaṇ-ādyān=atyagryān=agra-
hārān=vyadhita vidhir=iva sva-
118 rggam=ast-āri-vargaḥ [I*]-60 [I*]-Amushya tanayō=bhavat(d) vibhur= Arindam-ākhyō
nripaḥ kshapākara-sama-dyuti[h] kshapi-
119 ta-vairi-pakṣh-ōtkaraḥ [I*] yadiya-bhuja-vikrama-śrāvāṇa-sambhavat- sōddha(sādhva)sair-
nripair=avanibhrit(d)-guhā-griha-ni-
120 vāsibhi[h] sthūyatē [I*]-61 [I*]-Asakṛid=akṛita rājās=svāiram=ājñā-vidhēyām=vyadhita
Vidhi-samānas=sam-
121 padaṁ sajjanānām [I*] atanuta nuta-vīryō vyāpadaṁ sātravāpām=atulayad=atula-śrīś-
chandra-kāntir̥ sva-kāntyā : [I*]-
122 62 [I*]-Asya sūnur=abhavat Parāntakas=santata-kshapita-vairi-santatiḥ [I*] chintayan=
yad=udayati sa-sādhvasaḥ
123 Pādya-bhūpatir=alaṅghayat(d) girim [I*]-63 [I*]-Chakāra kārāsu ripūn=asēśhām=tatāra
bhūrin samar-ām-
124 barāśin [I*] jahāra tāpam budha-samhatinān=tatāna santāpam=sajjanānām [I*]-64 [I*]-
Akhila-guṇa-
125 midhānāt(d)-bhūmipālād=amushmād=udajani naranāthō Rājarāj-ābhidhānaḥ [I*] sa khalu
ruchira-dāhaḥ kānta-n-
126 tr-āravindō Dhanada iti paraṁ yad=Rājarājēna tulyaḥ [I*]-65 [I*]-Sañjahāra samarē sa pāri-
thivān=u-

Fifth Plate : First Side.

- 127 jjahāra vipadas=sa bhūta[āt [I*] ājahāra cha makhān=anēkaśō vyājahāra yad=asūnṛitan=
na tat [I*]-66 [I*]-
128 Saty-āśrayē sthitararē bata Rājarājō Satyāśrayaḥ kila palāyata manda-buddhiḥ [I*] natyā
jayanti
129 sa-bhayā ripavas=tam=ājau na tyājayaty-ayam=asūn=aribhiś-śriyas-taiḥ [I*]-67 [I*]-Tasya
sū-
130 nur=anayasya sōsitā Pākāśāsana iv=āri-śāsanaḥ [I*] Śambarāri-ruchir-ākṛitir=nripas=
sambabhū-
131 va Madhurāntak-ābhidhaḥ [I*]-68 [I*]-Ajayad=ajita-vīryas=śauryya-saundaryya-śālī Vijaya
iva sapa-
132 nnā(tnā)n Kunda(na)[ānām-adhiśān [I*] sharata sa kirīṭam kshatriyāpān=nihantu[h]
prasabham=abhihat-ārir=Jāmadā-
133 [guya]sya vīryāt [I*]-69 [I*]-Jahāra hāran=tuhināśu-kāntam Satakratōr=vvikrama-nirjji-
tāriḥ [I*] vihā-
134 ra-bhūmin=nija-sainikanām sa ch=ākarōt samyati Mānyakēṭam [I*]-70 [I*]-Sya-sēnādhiśā-
135 n=apratihata-Kulūt-Ōtkalapetiḥ Kalīngān=Varhēndra¹ saha bahaḥa-vīryyān vidūlayan
[I*] sa
136 Garīgām=ut(d)garjjan=nija-kari-ghaṭā-ghātita²-tatān(n)=ghaṭair=jahrē bhūbhṛin-makūṭa-
nihitair=uddhri-
137 ta-jalām [I*]-71 [I*]-Ullāṅgbit-āmbudhūbhīr=uddhata-bāhu-vīryyair-nmirdhūta-{vai}ri-nara-
nātha-bala-prapañchaiḥ [I*]

¹ TAS has *Vimāśendraiḥ*, which has been rightly guessed to be meant for *Vaṅg-ēndraḥ*, above, Vol. XVIII, p. 45, n.

² TAS has *pātita*.

- 138 saiyair=ddadāha sa Kaṭāham=adaddha(gdha)m=anyai **Rajendra-Chōla**-nripatiḥ kim=asāddhyam=asya :||-72 |||- Tasy=ā-
 139 saṁs=tanayās=trayas=traya iva khyātāḥ kratōr=agnayah's=tēshān=ta prathamah kshitiśa-tilakō **Rājādhīrā**-
 140 jō nripah [*] yah Kalyānapuran=dadāha nripatin=nirjitya Karnnāṭakān=ādāy=Ahavamalla-vārāṇa-ghaṭām Kō-
 141 llāpurañ=ch=ākshipōt ||-73 |||- Tasmin gatē tridivam=uddhṛita-lōka-śōkas=tasy=ānujah kshitim=imām=akhi-
 142 lām=arakshat [*] **Rājendradēva**-nripatis=sa ripūn=śēśhān Śēsh-ōpam-ōt(d) bhaṭa-bhujah prajayam vyanai-
 143 shīt ||-74 |||- Tasmin=yātē tridivam=anujas=tasya nistājit=āriḥ prājyām rājyām vyadhita vidhivat(d) **Virarā**-

Fifth Plate ; Second Side.

- 144 jōndradēvah [*] atyut(d)bhūtam samadhika-balō Rājārājendradēvas=śatru-vrātām vya-jayata javāt(d)-bāhyam=ā-
 145 bhyantarañ=cha :||-75 |||- Hatvā Kūṭala-saṅgamē kshitibhṛitah Karnnāṭa¹-varāś-ōt(d)-bhavān saiyam yajñabhujām prava-
 146 rddhayati yas=tair-ddēvabhūyam gataih [*] yēn=aikēna gajēna Kuntala-balan=nirhatya ta-ch-chhōṇitaiḥ kṛitv=ānyāḥ sa-
 147 ritam samudra-paritām² santōshitō vāridhiḥ ||-76 |||- Bhṛātribhyāṁ samupēkshitañ=jana-padam varāśa-kram-ābhyaṅa-
 148 tam krāntam vairi-mahīśvarair=atibalair=vVēṅgīn(n)=Kalī(n)gān=api [*] jivā śatru-param-parām=atibalām bhītvā cha
 149 durgga(rggā)n³ bahūn=cha⁴ śrīmān-Vallabha-Vallabhah kshitipatiḥ kshēmēṇa tam sō=nya-śāt ||-77 |||- Virachōla-nripatiḥ Kari-
 150 kālah kālayan kali-balaṁ sakaḷam sah [*] dharumā-śāsana-samuchchayam=uchchaṁ vyātanōt(d)-Bharatasāra-samētam |||-
 151 78 |||- Dēvas=Ādriutādhipasya mahatas=Trailōkyasār=ābhidham śrīmad-Dabhrasabhā-naṭasya makutē māṇikka(kya)m=ā-
 152 rōpitam [*] manyē vairikul=ādīmasya śāsinaś=Śrīkaṇṭha-chūdāmaṇēr=bharṅg-ārtthan=nija-varāśakṛit sa bha-
 153 gavān bhānu-samārōpitam(tah) ||-79 |||- Chōla-Tuṇḍira-Pāṇḍyēshu Gaṁgavāṭi-Kulūta-yōḥ [*] Vi-
 154 rarājendra-nāmn=āssu brāhmādēyān=akālpayat ||-80 |||- Chatvārimśat=sahasrāṇi brāhma-
 155 ṇānān=trayividda(dā)m [*] atōshayat(d)=bhūmi-dānair=ā(a)sthāpayad=adi(t)sthiram ||-81 |||- Svasti śrī [*] Sakalabhuvanāśra-
 156 ya śrī-mēdinīva[*]labha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Parama*patṭāraka Ravikula-tilaka Chōlakula-āḥ-
 157 khara Pāṇḍyakul=āntaka Ahavamalla-kula-kāla Ahavamallapāi ainmaḍi veṅ-kaṇḍa Rāja-śekhara Rājāśra-

¹ Here the *varāṇa* is redundant. Read *agnayah*.

² *TAS* has *manvita*.

³ Read *samudra-cannitām* as in *TAS*.

⁴ *TAS* has *bhīṭā*.

⁵ Here *cha* is redundant ; read *bahūn*.

⁶ Read^o *bhaktāraka*.

- 158 ya Rājarājendra Vira-chōla Karikāla-chōla Rājakēsaripanma śrīmat-Vīrarājendradēva Rājakēsari
 159 śrī-Vīrarājendradēvaṛkku yāṇḍu ēlāvadu Śakābdan-toḷāyirattu-ttonṇūṛṇṇu mā-
 160 r-Saumya-sam[va]tsarattu [1*] Viramēy tuṇaiyāgavun-tīyāgamēy-aṇiyāgavun=cheṇḡōl=chechi-kkaruñ-
 161 gali kaṇḍu Teṇṇapai=ttalai-koṇḍu Chēṇapai=ttirai-koṇḍu Śiṅgaladēsam¹ vadip-
 162 paḍuttu veṇḡajatt-Āhavamallaṇai aimmaḍi veṇ-kaṇḍu Vēṅgai-nāḍu mīttu-

Sixth Plate ; First Side.

- 163 kkoṇḍu taṇṇuḍaṇ-piṇanda muṇṇavar virada-muḍittu vandu-paṇḍa Vijayādittarṇkku² mā-
 164 ṇḍalam-aruli-kkaḷal-aḍaina maṇṇarṇkku=k[**Kaḍāra**]m-eṇḍu kuḍutt-aruli Sōmīēvarapaṇai=k-
 165 **Kaṇṇaḍadōśaṇ**=kaṇṇiṇḍa=tturatti=ttan-aḍaina Śaḷukku³ Vikramādittapaṇai eṇḍiṇai niga-
 166 la=kkaṇḍigai-katti **Iraṭṭapāḍi** ēḷarai-ilakkamum-eṇḍu koḍuttaruḷi vijaya-ai-
 167 mūḥāsanattu **Ulagamuḷuḍaiyāḷoḍum** viṇṇirund-aruliṇa⁴ śakravattigaḷ śrī-Vīrarā-
 168 jēndradēvar muṇṇa-Chaḷukkiyai Muḍakkāṇṇil mudugu-kaṇḍu muṇṇi-ariya Iraṭṭarāja-ku-
 169 la-kālan iḡal Vīrarājendraṇ puyāṇ-koṇḍu podu-nikkiy-āḷṇiṇṇa Jayaṇḡon-
 170 ḍaśōla-maṇḍalattu⁵ Eyir-kōṭṭattu nagaram Kāṇchīpurattu Uḍaiyār Ti-
 171 ruvāḡambam=Uḍaiyār kōyilil-tteṇṇappakkattu tīruvōlakka-maṇḍapam Rā-
 172 jarājaṇil muṇṇil tīrukkāvaṇṇattu eḷundaruḷi Uttaram-ayana-saṇṇikrānti nāṇṇu
 173 dānaṇ=cheydarulāṇṇiṇṇu [1*] muḍi-kavitta muḥūrttamē muḥūrttam-āḡav-eḍuttup-pōy vadiko-
 174 t-veṇṇapaḍai Vīrarājendraṇ vaḍa-**Kūḍal**-saṇṇamattu-ppōr-Āhavamallaṇaiyum makkaḷai-
 175 yum puṇaṇḡaṇḍu koṇḍa **Iraṭṭapāḍi-koṇḍaśōla-maṇḍalattu-pPuli-nāṭṭu-chChōṇam-ā**-
 176 ṇa śrī-Madurāntaka-śaturvēdimaṇḡalattu⁶ Brāhmaṇaṇ Ātrēya-gōṭṭattu
 177 Bahudhānya-sūtrattu⁷ Rishikēśava⁸-Bhaṭṭa-Sōmayāśi(ji)yār varḡattu Sō(Śrō)-

Sixth Plate ; Second Side.

- 178 triya-Kramavittaṇṇum Mundaya-Kramavittaṇṇum Pallaya-Kramavittaṇṇum uḷḷiṭṭārkkum
 179 ivarḡaḷ aṇvayattārkkum dānamāḡa-kkuḍuttaruḷiṇa **Chōṇam**-āṇa śrī-Madurāntaka-śa-(cha)turvvē-
 180 dimaṇḡalattukku śiṇāntaram |||-pūrvandikku Kuppōriyum paśchāt Nattuvan-kuru-

¹ Read *aḍippaḍuttu*.

² Read *Vijayādittarṇku*.

³ Read *Śaḷukki*.

⁴ Read *chakravattigaḷ*.

⁵ Jayaṇḡonḍaśōla-maṇḍalattu is similarly described in another record of Vīrarājendra dated in the 7th year from Perumbūr (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 203). For a variant see l. n. 3 on same page.

⁶ Read *śaturvēdi*.

⁷ Read *Bōdhāyana-sūtrattu*.

⁸ Read *Rishikēśa-Bhaṭṭa*.

- 181 kkaiyum paśchāt-kKottikkaṇuvāyum Puḷugiyārum Śiṛukaṇuvāyḱku mēṛku
 182 Arpūndiy-uḷḷē Śeṅgunrum paśchāt Āndimūḍakkil Vauvāl-pārai-
 183 yum adukku mēṛku Puṇarkuṇochehiyil Vaḍa-kuṛukkaiyum adukku mēṛ-
 184 ku Oḷugu-pārai-yum paśchāt Āndiyilulḷālai-kKuṇḍarai-pārai-
 185 yum paśchāt Ūshai-kkuṛukkaiyum adukku vaḍakku slukkal-
 186 lum adukku vaḍakku Vāṛaḷḡpaḍiyum adukku vaḍakku Tanimuttu-ma-
 187 ḷḡai-yum adukku vaḍakku Mōṭṭḡḡ-kuttaiyum adukku-kkilakku
 188 Trikoṇa-muttu-maḍaiyum Kammāra(ra)-śūṇaiyum paśchāt Perumbaḷḡam-u-
 189 ḷḡa-kkaḷḡatti-malaiyilē¹ kūḍittu [*] śimāntaram samāpti ||| Viśvair-vviśva-
 190 mbharādhiśair-nṇanditair²-vvandida(ta)m-idam [*] śāsanam Virarājēndra-
 Rāja-kēsariva-
 191 rmmāṇaḷ ||| [82||*] Virarājēndradēvasya vikramasya prakāśanam [*] Chāndrabhū-
 śhaṇa-Bhaṭṭē-

Seventh Plate; First Side.

- 192 na rachitam śuddha-buddhinā ||| [83||*] Tiruvāymoḷindaruḷa i-śāsanāṅ=cheyvit-
 193 tāṛ Adikāriḡaḷ tiru mēvumpāḍi-viḷaḡa-ttēr-vēndar=ḡḡi-vaṇaṅḡa paḷi-nikki
 194 ulag-āṇḡa viran Viḷra[*]rājēndran aḷiyā-ttol-Manu-neriyāl vaḷarkkinṇa
 195 Śōḷa-maṇḡalattu Kshatriḷya[*]śikāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-tTirunaṇaiyūr-nāṭṭu-pParakēśa-
 196 rinallūr kiḷavaṇ ḡuṇanidi-Aruḷmoḷiyār-āḡa Mīnavan-Mūvēndavēḷār ||| Tiru-
 197 mandira-ōlai Jayaṇḡoḇḡaḷa-vaḷanāṭṭu-kKuṇumbūr-nāṭṭu brahmadēyaṅ-Kā-
 198 yāḱkuḱi Gu(Ku)ṇḡdina-gōṭṛattu Āpastambha(ba)-sūṭṛattu Tōṇamayān Pāpanāśa-
 199 n-āna Virāśivallabha-Brahmādhiraḡan ||| Nittavinōḡa-vaḷanāṭṭu Virāśōḷa-va-
 200 ḷanāṭṭu Śēndamaṅḡalam-nḡaiyān Aruḷmoḷi Rājēndraśōḷan-āna Jana-
 201 nāda-Viḷupparaiyaṇ ||| Sāmānyō=yam dharmam=ēṭa[n*]-nṛipāṇām³ kālē kālē
 202 pāḷimiyō⁴ bhavat(d)bhīs(blūh) [*] tasmād=ētān bhāvinaḷ pāṛṭṭhivēndraṅ bhūyō bhūyō
 yācha-
 203 tē Rāmabhadraḷ[*] ||| [84||*]- Sukṛitam-idam-ajaaram rakshyatē diḡu diśān sakala-nṛi-
 [pi]ti-vandyas-ōḷ-
 204 yam-āḡaminō vaḷ [*] Hama-charuḡa-sarōṭṭvāṇsa-chūṇḡṇa mūrdhā-muḷḡaḷḡita-kara-panmō
 205 vandyatē Rājarāḡaḷ ||| [85||*] Bahubhūr-vvasudhā dattam⁵ rājabhis-Sagarādihhūḷi [*]
 yasya yasya yadā
 206 bhūmis-tasya taaya tadā phalam ||| [86||*] Paripatan-adhiśayān Madhurāntaka-Brahmā-
 dhiraḡan=a-

Seventh Plate; Second Side.

- 207 [tanva] śāsanam=ēva dēśa-madhyē sva-pati-kārya-viniśchyārtṭham buddhiḷ kṛita [Śaśi]-
 bhūśhaṇa-
 208 paṇḡḡitēna sārddham⁶ ||| [87||*] Tiruvāymoḷind-aruḷa i-śāsanu-eḷuttu vetṭi-

¹ It is possible that the expression *Kuḍatti malaiyilē*, may be the name of a hill, or it may mean 'having traversed (*kuḍattu*), it terminated (*kūḍittu*) at a hill (*malai*), which may have been a landmark in that locality, without however, having a specific name.

² Read =*nanditair*.

³ The correct reading is *dharmā-śīlā-nṛipāṇām*.

⁴ Read *pāḷimiyō*.

⁵ The verse is defective; and the following corrections may be suggested: *śikāmaḡaḷ mūrdhā; mukulita; panmō; vandatē*. The metre is *Mālinī*. [The intended reading of the first quarter appears to be: *Sukṛitam-idam-ajaaram rakshat-ēti kṛitān*.—B.C.C.]

⁶ Read *datta*.

⁷ This verse is also corrupt, but no corrections are suggested.



SEAL OF THE CHARALA PLATES.

SEAL OF THE
MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF UTTAMA-CHOLA.



From photographs (ABOUT ACTUAL SIZE).

209 nān Kuvaḷāla-nāṭṭu-kKuvaḷālatt-irukkun-Tachchāchāriyaṇ Śaṅkaraṇ Kāḷāḍi-
 210 y-āna Karuṇākara-Āchāriyaṇ ||| aṇa-maṇavaṇṭka ||*] [a*]ṛamalladu tuṇai-
 211 yillai ||| Prūṇi parihaṛikka |||

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-155)¹ — Sanskrit verses 1 to 81.

(Ll. 155-158)—Hail ! Prosperity ! *Sakalabhuvanāśraya*, *Śrīmādinicallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhottāra*, the forehead mark of the solar race (*Ravikula-tilka*), the crest-jewel of the Chōla family (*Chōlakula-tēkhara*), Death to the Pāṇḍya family (*Pāṇḍyakul-āntaka*), Death to the family of Āhavamalla (*Āhavamallakula-kāla*), the foremost of kings, who saw the back of Āhavamalla five times, *Rājāśraya*, *Rājārājendra*, *Vīra-Chōla*, *Karikāla-Chōla*, *Rājakēśari-varman śrī-Virarājēndradēva*—

(Ll. 159-167) In the seventh (regnal) year (corresponding to the) Śaka year nine hundred and ninety-one (expired), and the (cyclic) year *Saumya*, of (this) Chakravarttiḡa| *Rājakēśari śrī-Virarājēndradēva* who, with heroism as (his) help, with liberality as (his) only ornament, wielded the sceptre, and dispelled the dark *Kālī* (-age), took the head of *Tenggaṇ* (i.e., the Pāṇḍya king), levied tribute from the *Chēra* (king), subdued the *Siṅgaḷa* country, saw the back of *Āhavamalla* five times on the fierce battlefield, recovered *Vēṅgai-nāḍu* and (thus) fulfilled the vow of his elder brothers who were born with him, gave the territory to *Vijayāditya* who came and submitted to him, gave *Kaḍāram* after conquest to the (Kaḍāram) king who had approached his feet (i.e., submitted to him), routed *Sōmēśvara* so as to abandon the *Kannaḍa* country, invested the *Chālukya* *Vikramāditya* with the necklet (*kaṇṭhikai*) so as to shine in the eight directions and bestowed on him the *Irattapāḍi*-Seven-and-a-half-lakh country, after conquest, and was pleased to be seated on the throne of victory, together with (his) consort *Ulagamuḷuduḍaiyāl* :

(Ll. 168-180) while (this) warlike *Virarājendra*, the god of Death to the family of the *Raṭṭa* king, whose anger abated only after seeing the back of the obstinate *Chalukki* on (the bank of) the *Muḍakkāru*, was pleased to be seated in the frontal portion of the audience-hall called *Rājārājan* in the southern portion of the temple of god *Tiruvēgambam-Uḍaiyār* at *Kāñchi-puram*, a *naḡaram* in *Eyir-kōṭṭam*, (a sub-division) in *Jayaṅḡonḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam*, which is ruled over (by the king), having been conquered by the strength of his arm and made his exclusive property, and was pleased to offer gifts on the day of *Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti*,

(he) gave to the *Brāhman* *Śrōtriya-Kramavittan*, *Mundaya-Kramavittan* and *Pallaya-Kramavittan* and others and their descendants of the *varga* (lineage) of *Ṛishikēśava*-(*Hrishikēśa*)-*Bhaṭṭa-Sōmayājiyār* of the *Ātrēya-gōtra* and *Bahudhānya* (*Baudhāyana*)-*sūtra*, a *Brāhman* (resident) of *Chērām* alias *Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam*,

(the village) *Chērām* alias *śrī-Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam* in *Puli-nāḍu*, (a sub-division) of *Raṭṭapāḍiḡonḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam*, which was captured after seeing the back of *Āhavamalla* and his sons in the battle on the bank of the northern *Kūḍal-Saṅgamam*, when (he), *Virarājendra* of the beautiful spear started out on the auspicious moment in which he was (himself) crowned.

¹ These Sanskrit verses have been ably translated by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar in *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, pp. 150 ff. and by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao in *ante*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 48 ff.

(LL. 180-189) The boundary (*of this village*) ran to the east (*of*) Kuppēri; then Nattuvankurukkai; then Kōttikkavuvāy; then Puḷugiyāru and Śeṅgunru in Arpundi which is to the west of Śīrūkavuvāy; then (*the rock called*) Vauvālpārai in Ādimuḍakku; Vaḍakurukkai in Puḷarkuṭṭuchchi to the west of it; (*the rock*) Oṅguṇpārai to the west of it; then Kuṇḍaraipārai (*rock*) in Āndi; then Ūshaikkurukkai; to the north of it Mukkalla; to the north of it Vāraṇpaḍi; to the north of it Tagimuṭṭu-maḍai (*sluice*); to the north of it (*the pond called*) Mōṭṭān-kuṭṭai; to the east of it Trikaṇamuṭṭu-maḍai (*sluice*) and Kammāra-ṣuṇai (*spring*); and then passing through and inclusive of Perumballam, it reached the hill. The boundary (*line*) ends (*thus*).

(v. 82) This (*is the*) order of Virarājendra-Rājakēśarivarmaṇ, which is honoured by all the happy kings of this earth.

(v. 83) This (*panegyric*) illuminating the prowess of Virarājendradēva, was composed by the pure-minded Chandrabhūṣaṇa-Bhaṭṭa.

(LL. 192-196) At the order (*of the king*), this grant was caused to be issued by the officer (*Adhikārigaḷ*) Guṇanīdi-Aruḷmoliyār *alias* Mīnavan-Mūvōndavējār, the *kīlavan* of Parakēśarivallūr in Tirunagaiyūr-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaṇaṇḍu, (*a district*) of Śōḷanagalam, which was prospering in accordance with the eternal and ancient laws of Manu, under Virarājendra, the hero who is resplendent with the goddess of wealth, who is worshipped by the charioted kings and who rules the earth suppressing evil.

(LL. 197-201) The *Tirumandira-ślai* (*were*) Tōṇamayan-Pāpanāṣaṇ *alias* Viraśrīvallaḥḥa-Brahmādhīrājan of the Kuṇḍina-gōtra and the Āpastamba-sūtra of Kāyākkuḍi, a *brahmādēya* in Kuṇḍūr-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Jayaṅgaḍasōḷa-vaṇaṇḍu, and Aruḷmoli-Rājendrasōḷaṇ *alias* Jananāda-Viḷupparaiyan of Śēndamaṅgalam in Viruṣōḷa-vaṇaṇḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Nittavinōḍa-vaṇaṇḍu.

(v. 84) Imprecatory.

(v. 85) "Let this charity be protected by the future kings of all the dominions" thus does king Rājarāja, who is worshipped by all the kings and whose lotus-like hands are cooped (*in prayer*), supplicate with his head marked with the ornament in the shape of the lotus-feet of Hara.

(v. 86) Imprecatory.

(LL. 206-11) In collaboration with Śaṣibhūṣaṇa-Paṇḍita, this excellent charter was completed by Madhurāntaka-Brahmādhīrāja, so that the royal gift may be known in this territory.

I, Śaṅkaraṇ-Kāḍāḍi *alias* Karaṇākara-Āchāriyan, the Master-carpenter (*Tachchāchāriyan*) and a resident of Kuvalḷāam in Kuvalḷāa-nāḍu, cut (engraved) the letters of this royal charter.

Do not forget charity; there is no support other than charity. Let all sentient beings protect (*this gift*).

NO. 26.—DATE OF THE PANDAVA KINGS OF SOUTHERN KOSALA.

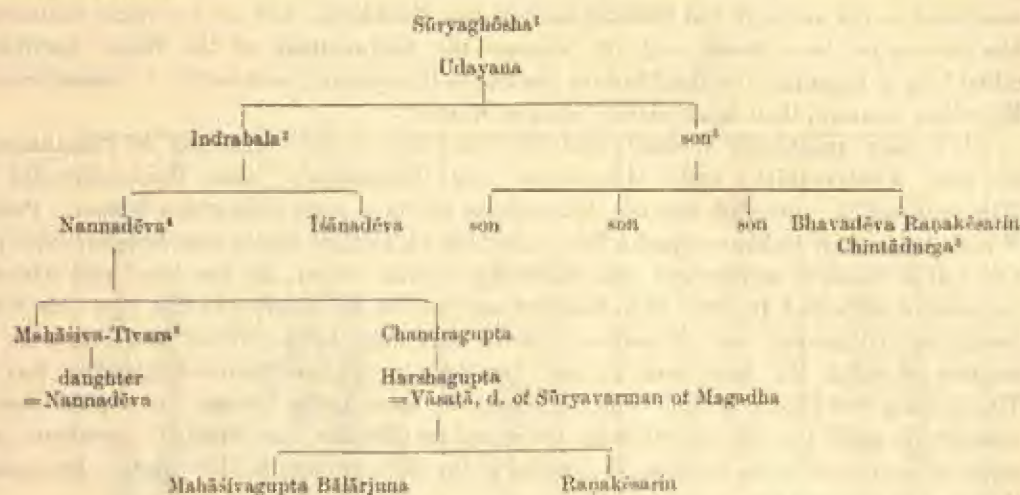
A. GHOSH, M.A., PATNA.

The dynasty of the Pāṇḍavas of the Lunar race, ruling in Southern Kōsala for about a century and a half, is known to us from eight inscriptions on stone and copper-plates.¹ It is

¹ Kanyasulkya is probably Kanyasulkya, 'a ravine between two hills.'

² To the list given in D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 229, add Mallār plates of Mahāśivagupta, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 113.

perhaps desirable for the purpose of the present note to reproduce here the genealogy derived from these inscriptions :



The date of these kings is anything but certain. Kielhorn tentatively proposed to place them in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. on some *a priori* grounds.⁷ This date has been responsible for a theory that has gained some popularity, *viz.*, the Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanjān plates of Amoghavarsha⁸ as having been defeated by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III (c. A. D. 793-814) is to be identified with the Pāṇḍava king of that name. It is overlooked that the Sanjān plates deal with the conquests of Gōvinda in a strictly chronological and regional order (more certainly than the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta). The mention of Chandragupta along with Nāgabhaṭa and the separate recounting of Kōśala make it definite that it is not the Pāṇḍava king who is intended there.⁹

Of late some scholars have tried to establish that Tivaraḍēva, an important king of the Pāṇḍava line, ruled in the first half of the sixth century A.D.¹⁰ The object of this note is to show that such an early dating is not possible on palaeographical grounds.

A main contention of the latter set of scholars is that Sūryavarman, the Varman king of Magadha whose daughter Vāsaṭā was married to Harshagupta the nephew of Tivara, was no other than the Maukhari of that name, who, as a prince, rebuilt a temple of Śiva in

¹ It is not definitely known whether he was an ancestor of Udayana.

² He is probably referred to under the veil of a metaphor in the Bhāṇḍak inscription, *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 631, n. 4.

³ There is nothing to show that he ever became king.

⁴ I am inclined to think that Nannādhirāja mentioned in the Bhāṇḍak inscription (*loc. cit.*, p. 624) is no other than this Nannadēva, his mention being necessary owing to the fact that he was ruling when his cousin Bhavadēva repaired the monasteries mentioned in the inscription.

⁵ He is referred to as *nripa* in line 10 of the Bhāṇḍak inscription.

⁶ He is probably the elder brother of Chandragupta referred to in line 5 of the Sirpur inscription, *above*, Vol. XI, p. 190.

⁷ *Above*, Vol. IV, p. 257.

⁸ *Above*, Vol. XVIII, p. 240.

⁹ Cf. Mirashi, *above*, Vol. XXII, p. 21, n. 5.

¹⁰ Mirashi, *above*, Vol. XXII, p. 19; Mirashi and Pandeya, *above*, Vol. XXIII, p. 113.

A.D. 554.¹ But, as I have said elsewhere,² this identification is highly doubtful, for (1) it is by no means certain that the Maukhari Sūryavarman ever came to the throne, as his name is not mentioned in the Aśirgaḍh and Nālandā seals of the Maukharis, and as no coins belonging to him have as yet been found, and (2) whereas the Sūryavarman of the Sirpur inscription is called king of Magadha, the Maukharis of the line of Harivarman were never a characteristically Magadhan dynasty, their headquarters being at Kanauj.

It is now practically certain³ that the Śarabhapura line, consisting of Prasannamātra, his sons Mahājayarāja and Mānamātra, and Mānamātra's sons Mahāsudēvarāja and Mahāpravararāja, preceded and not followed the Pāṇḍava kings in Southern Kōśala. Professor Mirashi holds that Mahāpravararāja (who issued his Thākuriyā plates from Śrīpura) ruled in the first half of the sixth century and was ousted by Tivara, whom, as has been said above, he proposes to place in A.D. 530. It is, however, not possible to subscribe to this view: the Khārōd inscription of Indrabala and Isānadēva⁴ shows that even before Tivara the Pāṇḍavas were masters of much the same area as had been held by the Śarabhapura kings. The fact that Tivara is the first king of his line who is known to have made Śrīpura his capital does not warrant the belief that the capital of his father and grandfather was situated elsewhere, as no copper-plate (which alone mentions the capital as the place of issue of the charter) belonging to them has as yet been found.

Having seen that there is no sure ground for placing Tivara in the second quarter of the sixth century, we may turn to an examination of the palæographical chart attached hereto.⁵ The Ārang plates of Bhīmasēna of unknown lineage are dated in the Gupta year 282=A.D. 601;⁶ it is the only dated inscription of the locality and the period with which we are now concerned, and as such affords a convenient standard of comparison. It will be seen that the characters show typical Gupta forms throughout. Comparing this record with the Bhāndak inscription of Nannadēva, which according to Professor Mirashi's chronology must belong to c. A.D. 500, we find that every letter in the latter presents a more developed appearance; in *bb* and *z* there is now a hollow wedge attached to the left corner; looped tripartite *y* has given place to the bipartite form: the right vertical of *ṣ* projects a bit above the curved top—an important development which led to the ultimate separation of the left and right limbs of the letter, leaving the left limb to develop independently into the Nāgarī and proto-Bengalī forms (which tendency of separation is already noticeable in the Sirpur inscription of Mahāśivagupta, where the horizontal cross-bar of the letter has turned into a curved inward prolongation of the left member, the right member being thus a separate entity); in *h* the left limb is no longer a vertical straight line but a curve, and the right downward stroke shows a tendency to hang below the base line. The persistent occurrence of late forms in the Bhāndak inscription marks it out as definitely much later than the Ārang plates; *a fortiori* the possibility of its being placed a century prior to the latter cannot be considered. It is also evident from the chart that the letters of the Kōṇḍāḍḍa plates of the Śailōdbhava Dharmarāja have practically the same forms as those of the Bhāndak inscription.

¹ Hārāh inscription, above, Vol. XIV, p. 110. This theory was first started by H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 1th ed., p. 312 n.

² "Two Maukhari Seals from Nālandā", above, Vol. XXIV, p. 283.

³ Cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 10.

⁴ *P.R.*, A.S.W.C., 1903-04, p. 54.

⁵ The letters in the chart have been traced out of the published impressions of the respective inscriptions. They do not claim the preciseness of mechanical reproductions but may be regarded as accurate for all practical purposes.

⁶ Above, Vol. IX, p. 342.

PALEOGRAPHICAL CHART RELATING TO THE DATE OF THE PANDAVA KINGS OF
SOUTHERN KOSALA.

	HĀRĀHĀ INSCRIPTION OF IŚĀNAVARMAN A.D. 554.	ĀRANG PLATES OF BHĪMASĒNA A.D. 601.	KŌṆĒḌĒḌA PLATES OF DHARMARĀJA	BHĀNDAK INSCRIPTION OF NANNĀHIRĀJA	SIRPUR INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀSIVAGUPTA
bh	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧
y	𑀭 𑀭	𑀭 𑀭	𑀭 𑀭	𑀭 𑀭	𑀭 𑀭
ś	𑀱 𑀱	𑀱 𑀱	𑀱 𑀱	𑀱 𑀱	𑀱 𑀱
ṣ	𑀲 𑀲	𑀲 𑀲	𑀲 𑀲	𑀲 𑀲	𑀲 𑀲
h	𑀵 𑀵	𑀵 𑀵	𑀵 𑀵	𑀵 𑀵	𑀵 𑀵

It will be readily admitted that it is not strictly scientific to compare the Hārāhā inscription with the inscriptions of the Pāṇḍavas owing to the great distance separating them; but if it were allowed, it could be easily shown that the Hārāhā inscription is distinctly earlier, so that Śūryavarman could not have been a contemporary of Harshagupta.

It is clear, therefore, that the ascription of the Bhāṇḍak inscription to a date earlier than A.D. 650, i.e. at least fifty years after the date of the Ārang plates of Bhīmasēna, is a palaeographical impossibility. Tivara, therefore, may be tentatively placed in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D.

We may now proceed to examine some incidental facts and identifications arising out of these tentative dates.

1. Some scholars have found a reference to Tivara in the Pulombūru and Ipūr grants of the Vishnukundin Mādhavarman,¹ which refer to an invasion of the city of Trivara by Mādhavarman.² But from the wordings in the inscriptions it is not certain that the expression *Trivara-nagara* should be taken to mean 'the city of King Trivara' and not 'the city called Trivara'. King Tivara of the Lunar race, who is proposed for identification with this Trivara, is not known to have founded a city of his own;³ on the other hand, the city of Śrīpura was the capital of Southern Kōsala before, during and after the reign of Tivara. It appears to me that there is much probability in the view⁴ that Trivara is a place-name, being a partial Prakritization of *Tripuri*, and giving rise in due course to *Tivar* or *Tewar*, by which name the ancient Tripuri is now known. Even assuming that Trivara in the above inscriptions is the name of some king or prince, there is little likelihood of his being identical with the Pāṇḍava Tivara, in view of the fact that the date of the Pulombūru grant is most probably A.D. 594,⁵ which is much too early for one who, according to the chronology proposed here, flourished towards the end of the seventh century.

2. The Kōṇḍāḍḍa and Nivinā plates of the Śailōdbhava king Dharmarāja say that Mādhava, the younger brother of the king, became a rebel; being defeated at Phāsikā he took shelter with another king Trivara,⁶ but was again defeated along with Trivara at the foot of the Vindhya. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the editor of the Nivinā plates, proposes to identify this Trivara with Tivara of Southern Kōsala. Dharmarāja, being the grandson of Mādhava-Sainyabhlita II, the author of the Ganjām plates of A.D. 619,⁷ must have flourished in the latter

¹ *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. VI, p. 20; above, Vol. XVII, p. 336.

² Cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 19.

³ For this reason the analogy of Pravarapura and Yayātinagara cited by R. S. Panchamukhi (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 90, n. 6.) cannot stand. Nor is it possible to agree with him (*loc. cit.*, p. 91, n. 9) that the superscript *i*-sign in *Trivara* is distinctly long in the Pulombūru and Ipūr grants. In the latter, at any rate, it is clearly short.

⁴ Cf. *Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University*, Vol. XI, p. 63.

⁵ R. S. Panchamukhi (*loc. cit.*) tries to prove that the date of the grant is A.D. 621, as 594 is too early to be the forty-eighth year of the king who was defeated in c. 631 by Pulakēśin II or his brother Kujja-Vishnvardhana. As Pulakēśin's conquest of Kālīnga, Kōsala, Puṣtapura, Kuṣāla and Kāśchīpura, recorded in vv. 26 and 27 of the Aihole inscription (above, Vol. VI, p. 6), were effected in one and the same expedition, and as Vishnvardhana was the governor of Vēṅgi from c. 616 to 633 (cf. D. C. Ganguly, *I. H. Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 442), it seems very likely that the Vishnukundins were ousted by the Chālukyas in c. 616. The fact that the son of the donee of the Pulombūru grant of Mādhavarman was the recipient of the same village in the reign of Jayasinha, the son of Vishnvardhana, (above, Vol. XIX, p. 234), does not prove that Mādhavarman just preceded Jayasinha in time; the two kings might well have been separated by two short reigns of a successor of Mādhavarman and of the Chālukya Vishnvardhana. [But Jayasinha is definitely known to be the successor of Vishnvardhana.—N. L. R.]

⁶ Or *Trivara*, as the word is spelt in the Nivinā grant.

⁷ Above, Vol. VI, p. 143.

half of the seventh century, which, according to our chronology, was also the date of Tivara. The identification proposed by Dr. Chakravarti is, therefore, highly probable.

3. Nannarāja, the son-in-law of Tivara, may perhaps be identical with the Rāshtrakūṭa chief of the same name who is known from the Tiwarkhēd and Multāi plates to have lived in the first half of the eighth century.¹ It is to be noted that both of them are said to have acquired the *pañcha-mahāsabha*.

4. Harshagupta, the nephew of Tivara, seems to find mention in the Dhulā plates of Karkarāja,² which says that the Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga won victories over [Kirtivarman] the Karpājaka (Chālukya) king, who had defeated, among others, a king named Harsha. As Harshagupta flourished in the first half of the eighth century according to our chronology, it is very likely that he was the senior contemporary of Kirtivarman II, who began his reign in c. A.D. 744.

5. Lastly, it must be admitted that we are not aware of the existence of any Sūryavarman in Magadha in the first half of the eighth century, who could have married his daughter to Harshagupta. Not much is known about the history of Magadha in the seventh and eighth centuries; but we do come across references to some chiefs whose names ended in *varman* and who therefore may be regarded as having formed a Varman dynasty. (The Sirpur inscription says that Sūryavarman was born in the Varman family.)³ The Korean traveller Hwui Lun, for instance, refers to the contemporary Magadhan king as Dēvavarman.⁴ Further, Cunningham points out that in A.D. 692 the king of Eastern India was known in Chinese as Mo-lo-pa-mo or Mahavarman.⁵ For earlier times we may recall the names of Pūrjavarman, who, according to Hiuen Tsiang, restored the Bōdhi tree at Bōdh-Gayā,⁶ and of the Maukhari *sāmanta-chūfūmaṇis* Yajñavarman, Śārdūlavarman and Anantavarman, known from the Barābar-Nāgārjunī cave inscriptions.⁷ We may prolong the list by adding the names of Sundaravarman and Kalyāṇavarman mentioned in the *Kaumudimahōtsava*, a drama which, it has been shown, cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 700.⁸ There is thus an almost continuous record of the existence of Varman rulers in Magadha who were probably usually feudatories, assuming independence under favourable circumstances.

No. 27.—NILAGANGAVARAM INSCRIPTION OF AMBADEVA-MAHARAJA: SAKA 1212.

By R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on a slab set up in Survey No. 307/3 about two miles to the north-west of Nīla-Gaṅgavāram in the Vinukonda Taluk of the Guntur District. The

¹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 279; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 234. On the date of the Tiwarkhēd plates, see Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1082 n.

² Above, Vol. VIII, p. 185: *Kūṭhāśā-Karata-narādhyakṣa-Chālo-Pāṇḍya-śrī-Harsha[-Vajra]-pañchāda-vidhāna-dakṣha* (I*) *Karpājaka* *vaibhāva-achā* (N*) *tyaga-nāṭya-mayā* (R*) *lābhītya* (B*) *vinadbhir-āpi yā saba* (ad) *jigīṣya* (II*) [This verse only refers to the Karpājaka army, responsible for the defeat of Harsha and others, as being vanquished by Dantidurga. Harsha mentioned here is identified with the Harsha of Kanauj who was defeated by Pulakāśin II. Kirtivarman II is not known to have waged wars against any king of Kōśala or Chāla or Pāṇḍya kings.—N. L. B.]

³ Above, Vol. XI, p. 191: *śatab kalā Varmanāṇāṃ*.

⁴ Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. xxxvii.

⁵ *A.S.R.*, Vol. III, p. 130.

⁶ Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 118 and 174.

⁷ Fleet, *C.I.L.*, Vol. III, pp. 221 f.

⁸ K. Chattopadhyaya, "The Date of the *Kaumudimahōtsava*," *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIV, p. 582.

⁹ No. 229 of 1933-36 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection; see *An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy*, 1936, part II, pp. 69 f.

slab is broken into two fragments both of which contain writing on the front and back sides. They are mutilated in parts and so a few letters are lost in the invocatory and imprecatory verses. The inscription consists of 66 lines and the writing is fairly well preserved. At the top of the slab are carved a couchant bull, the sun and the *liṅga* with a dagger below them. I edit the inscription below with the kind permission of Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachari, the Superintendent for Epigraphy.

The alphabet is **Telugu-Kannaḍa** of the period to which the record belongs. The hooked vertical stroke at the bottom of the letter *ḍ* to mark the aspiration, deserves notice, see *prauḍhi* (l. 24), *paribṛiḍha* (l. 25), *jāl-āvaliḍha* (l. 26), etc. **Orthography** does not call for any special comment except that a consonant before a *repha* in the body of a word is usually doubled as in *Bhārgava* (l. 18), *bhānive-arkka* (l. 31), *sarveṣ* (l. 51) etc., but in *devādaś-ārḍh-ōparāḡē* (l. 33), *sarvān* (l. 38), etc., this practice is not observed. Dental *n* is wrongly substituted for lingual *ṇ* in *zuvannaṣya* (l. 44) and palatal *ś* for dental *s* in *saṁkhyā* (l. 31). There are a few mistakes of the engraver as in *Sadar-ādibhiḥ* (l. 40) for *Sagar-ādibhiḥ*, *satraṇāmpi tṛitō* (l. 42) for *°v-āpi kṛitō*. The language is **Sanskrit** (verse) in ll. 1-51 and **Telugu** (prose) in ll. 52-60. Ll. 61-66 also contain a verse in corrupt Sanskrit the sense of which is not quite clear.

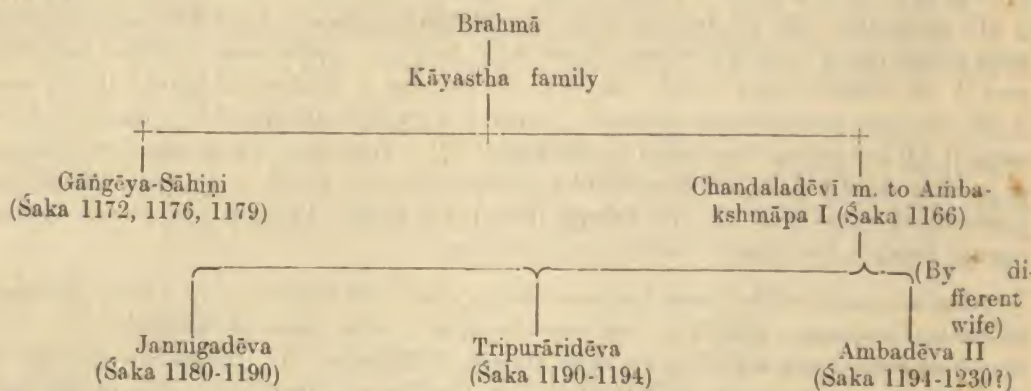
After invocation to the *Varāh-āvalāra* of Viṣṇu, the record introduces the *kshatra* clan created by Brāhmā and states that there were some heroes in it, who remained undaunted even though the whole *kshatra* race was discouraged by the acts of Bhārgava, i.e., Paraśurāma, and that they were in consequence known as Kāyasthas. In the Tripurāntakam inscription of Ambadēva, the origin of the family-name Kāyastha is explained as born of the body (*kāya*) of Druhiṇa (i.e., Brāhmā). In this Kāyastha family was born Gaṅgaya-Sāhiṇi. His sister was Chandaladēvi who bore to Ambakshmāpa two sons viz., Janārdana and Tripurārīdēva. The latter's younger brother was Ambadēva who had captured the royal glory (*sāmbrāhmarā*) *jya-lakṣmīn*, l. 29) of Guripḍāla-Gaṇādhipa a meteor to the Mālava king. The inscription further states that king Amba granted on the date specified in ll. 31-33, the village Mollakallāru alias Śivapura to the temple of god Mahēśvara (ll. 33-35). Then follow five imprecatory verses (ll. 36-38). The record was composed by Nammananandana who was dear to the goddess of speech. The Telugu portion repeats the date and adds the name of the donee as Mallināthayaṅgāru of Remḍrēvu residing at Tripurāntaka-kṣētra. The gift was probably placed in his charge to be managed on behalf of the temple. At the end is added a verse in Sanskrit which seems to refer to the construction of a flight of steps at the eastern gateway of the temple, by Kumāra-kṣhitibhrīt (i.e., Kumāra Pratāparudra).

The details of date are given in ll. 31-33 and ll. 52-54 as :—Śaka year (expressed both in chronogram and numerical figures), *bhānu* (12) and *arkka* (12) i.e., 1212, Vikṛita, Bhādrapada, ba.15, darśa, Tuesday, solar eclipse (*devādaś-ārḍh-ōparāḡē*). The eclipse probably covered twelve digits (*ardhakālā*) of the Sun. These details regularly correspond to Tuesday, September 5, A.D. 1290 when the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Phalgunī.

The inscription is important as it furnishes a specific relationship between Gaṅgapendāra Gaṅgaya-Sāhiṇi the Cavalier of Kākatīya Gaṇapati and Gaṅgapendāra Ambadēva which was not known hitherto. As stated above, Gaṅgaya-Sāhiṇi's sister Chandalāmbā or Chandaladēvi was married to Amba-kshmāpa who was the father of Ambadēva. Since the record states that she bore to Amba two sons, viz., Janārdana and his younger brother Tripurārīdēva it may be surmised that Ambadēva was probably born of a different mother. In the Tripurāntakam inscription mentioned above, the pedigree of Ambadēva is given as follows : In the Kāyastha family was

born Gāṅgēya; after him came his sister's son¹ Janārdhana (*udabhavat=tad-annu dvibhujō nripa[h*]* *svasur=apatyam=amushya Janārdhana* ll. 8 f.), his younger brother Tripurāridēva and the latter's younger brother Ambadēva 'as Upēndra was of Indra'. The names of the sister of Gāṅgēya-Sāhiṇi and her husband are furnished here for the first time. Rangachari² and Sewell³ have misunderstood the relationship between the several chiefs of the Kāyastha family and have thus given a wrong genealogy.

It may be noted that the Tripurāntakam inscription as well as the present record specify without ambiguity the connection between the four members of the family which put together stands as follows :—



The **Kāyasthas** were a powerful family of feudatory chiefs who played a prominent part in the politics of the mediæval period in the Telugu country. They started their career as **cavaliers** (*Turaga-sāadhanikas*) under Kākatīya Gaṇapati and styled themselves as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Maṇḍalika-Brahmarākshasa* and *Gaṇḍapendāra*. Ambadēva the most powerful chief of the family assumed the epithet *Ghaṇḍikōṭa-Manōrathapuravar-ādhiśvara* and ruled from his capitals Vallūrupaṭṭaṇa and Ghaṇḍikōṭa the former of which is Vallūru near Cuddapah while the latter is the modern Ghaṇḍikōṭa in the Jammalmadugu Taluk of the Cuddapah District. In order to understand the extent of their power and territory, it is necessary to study their records critically, and to facilitate such a study, a classified statement of their principal dated records is given below specifying in each case the name of the overlord under whom the chief ruled :

Date.	Chief.	Overlord.	Provenance.
Śaka 1166 ⁴	Ambayyadēva	Gaṇapati	Satrasāla (Palnad Tk., Guntur Dt.).
Śaka 1172 ⁵	Gāṅgēya-Sāhiṇi	Do.	Tripurāntakam hill (Kurnool Dt.).
Śaka 1176-79 ⁶	Do.	Do.	Tripurāntakam hill (Kurnool Dt.). Gaṅgavaram (Cuddapah Dt.).

¹ Though the Tripurāntakam inscription contains the specific relationship namely 'sister's son' (*svasur=apatyam*) between Gāṅgēya-Sāhiṇi and Janārdhana it has been missed by all writers on the Kāyasthas who nevertheless proclaim that the inscriptions do not disclose the connection between them. See also *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1905, Part II, page 63.

² *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II, p. 932, n.

³ *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 359.

⁴ No. 314 of 1930-31 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁵ No. 283 of 1905 of the same collection.

⁶ Nos. 231, 176 of 1905 and 233 of 1937-38 of the same collection.

Date.	Chief.	Overlord.	Provenance.
Śaka 1180-82 ¹	Jannigadēva	Gaṇapati	Pondalūr (Pullampet Tk., Cuddapah Dt.).
Śaka 1186 ²	Jannigadēva ruling the territory extending from Pānuṅgal to Mārajavāḍi or Kaivāra.	No mention of the overlord.	Kāreṃpūḍi (Palnad Tk.), Nandalūr (Cuddapah Dt.).
Śaka 1191 ³	Do.	Rudramahādēvī	Durgi (Palnad Tk.).
Śaka 1192 ⁴	Tripurāntaka	Do.	Poṭṭapāḍu (Darsi, Nellore Dt.).
Śaka 1194 ⁵	Tripurāri	No mention of the overlord.	Tripurāntakam hill.
Śaka 1194 to 1224 ⁶	Āmbadēva	Do.	Tripurāntākam, Attirāla, Pōli, Cuddapah and Kamalapuram Taluks.

From this tabular statement, it is apparent that a certain Āmbayyadēva was the earliest member of the Kāyastha family who governed a portion of the Guntur District round about Satrasāla where his inscription was secured. Gāṅgēya-Sāhiṇi appears to have simultaneously held service under Gaṇapati in the Cuddapah District where his records are found. Both of them are given the epithet *Dāmōdara-saṅga-diśā-paṭṭa* which is likewise adopted by the two successors, viz., Tripurāridēva and Āmbadēva along with the other epithets which they actually earned by their exploits. Āmbadēva, the younger brother of Tripurāri whose records range in date from Śaka 1194 to 1224, could not have held any administrative authority as early as Śaka 1166 which would otherwise invest him with the governorship of the territory for nearly 60 years which is far from likely. Further, this would lead to the contingency of assigning no period of rule to his elder brothers Janniga and Tripurāri who have, however, issued several records as governors under the Kākatīyas. It is therefore reasonable to think that **Āmbadēva of the Satrasāla inscription is an earlier member and different⁷ from the homonymous chief the younger brother of Tripurāridēva.** The earlier Āmbadēva may be identified with Āmbakshmāpa mentioned in the present record as the father of the three brothers. Since the earliest reference to the defeat of Dāmōdara of the west is found in connection with both Āmbadēva I and Gāṅgēya-Sāhiṇi, it is likely that both these officers had a share in the event.

Whether Āmbakshmāpa's principality was confined to the Palnad Taluk of the Guntur District or extended as far south as the Cuddapah District where his son's inscriptions are discovered, there are no means to decide. But it is quite probable that Āmbadēva I and Gāṅgēya-Sāhiṇi governed different parts of the Kākatīya kingdom separately and on the death of the latter

¹ V. Rangachari, *op. cit.*, Guntur 502, and Cuddapah 850.

² Nos. 610 of 1907 and 550 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection. See Rangachari, *op. cit.*, Cuddapah 824 and Guntur 520.

³ V. Rangachari, *op. cit.* Guntur 500 (No. 573 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection).

⁴ *Nellore Inscriptions*, Vol. I., Darsi 57, 60. The Śaka year 1151 appears to have been wrongly read for 1192 and the cyclic year Pramādi for Pramōdūta which corresponded to 1192. Śaka 1151 does not combine with Pramādi at all.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Darsi 1.

⁶ Nos. 168, 173, 174, 242 and 268, of 1905, 406 of 1911, 622 of 1907, 618 of 1907 and 414 of 1911, etc., of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁷ The identification of Āmbakshmāpa with Āmbadēva made in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1930-31, Part II, para. 18, is not tenable.

apparently without issue, his territory passed to the nearest relative, *viz.*, his brother-in-law Āmbadēva I or more probably the latter's son Janārdhana. This would account for the tracing of Āmbadēva (II)'s genealogy from Gāṅgēya-Sāhiṇi who had, otherwise, no direct lineal connection with him. Thus from Janārdhana's time the territory of the Kāyastha chiefs comprised a large area from Pānuṅgal to Mārajavāḍi or Kaivāra, *i.e.*, from the Nalgonda District (Nizam's Dominions) to the Cuddapah District.¹ From the table given above it is clear that Janniga must have come to power some time after Śaka 1179 as Gāṅgēya-Sāhiṇi's latest inscription is dated in Śaka 1179 and held the governorship till Śaka 1192 which is the earliest date for Tripurāri. Tripurāri was succeeded by his younger brother Āmbadēva II in Śaka 1194, who continued to rule till at least Śaka 1224 in which year his Lēpāka inscription is dated.² It is significant that the Kārempūḍi and Nandalūr inscriptions of Jannigadēva bearing the Śaka date 1186 do not refer to the overlord whereas his earlier inscriptions of Śaka 1180-82 introduce him as a feudatory of Gaṇapati. The Durgi and Poṭṭapāḍu inscriptions of Śaka 1191 and Śaka 1192 belonging respectively to Janniga and Tripurāri mention Rudramahādēvī as the reigning monarch. But Tripurāri's inscriptions of Śaka 1194 and almost all the records of Āmbadēva II from Śaka 1194 to Śaka 1224 are issued by the chiefs independently without acknowledging the suzerain power. This omission to mention the reigning monarch, if it signifies anything, may be taken to reflect the unsettled political conditions in the country due to weakness at the centre, particularly between Śaka 1182 and 1186 and Śaka 1192 and 1194. This is borne out by a study of the political events that happened at this period in the Telugu country. The most important document that furnishes many political synchronisms for the history of the period is the Tripurāntakam inscription of Āmbadēva-Mahārāja dated in Śaka 1212.³ It states about Āmbadēva that he (1) acquired the title of *Rāyasahasramalla* after defeating Śrīpati-Gaṇapati; (2) routed Kēsava joined by Sōmidēva and Allugaṅga; (3) vanquished Mallikārjuna who was a hater of Gods and Brāhmins; (4) gave his daughter in marriage to Rājanna son of king [Bō]laya who had celebrated several sacrifices, together with the Nandanapura country (Nandalur) as dowry; (5) reinstated Manmagandagōpāla at Vikramasimhapura (Nellore) in his kingdom which he had lost; (6) captured the treasures of the Pāṇḍya princes; (7) defeated Dāmōdara of the west; (8) took the head of Eruva-Mallidēva; (9) was honoured with rich presents by the king of Dēvagiri who was pleased at his valour; (10) destroyed Kāḍavarāya and (11) was helped by his friend king Parākramapāṇḍya with strong cavalry forces. Most of these exploits are confirmed by the contemporary epigraphical and literary evidences as shown in the sequel.

A record from Tāllaproḍutūr⁴ belonging to Jagatāpi Gaṅgeyadēvachōlamahārāju, son of Allugaṅga, and bearing Śaka date 1244 describes the chief as *Gaṇḍapendāra-Gāṅgēya-Sāhiṇi-sarvasva-bandikāra*, *i.e.*, 'robber of Gāṅgēya-Sāhiṇi's wealth and as 'one who obtained the (regal) fortune by churning the ocean of Sēvuṇa (*i.e.*, Yādava) army, indicating thereby that the Chief had rid himself of the Yādava domination by Śaka 1244. From an inscription⁵ at Nīlūru in the Gooty Taluk of the Anantapur District dated in Śaka 1137, it is learnt that Jagatāpi Daṇḍidēvachōla-

¹ This area roughly included the modern Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary, Anantapur, Nellore and Guntur Districts.

² In one of the Lēpāka inscriptions examined and copied by the Telugu Assistant of the Epigraphy Office, Madras, in 1938, Gaṇḍapendāra Tripurāridēva-Mahārāja is introduced as ruling Mulki-nāṇḍu from Vallūripattāpa in Śaka 1226, Kr̥ddhin (A. D. 1304) and making a grant of the village Lēbāka as a *sarvamānya-agrahāra* to the temple of Allājanāthadēva. This is a solitary record of Tripurāri belonging to such a late date. If he is identical with the brother of Āmbadēva II, we have to presume that he continued to rule conjointly with Āmbadēva till Śaka 1226.

³ No. 263 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁴ No. 308 of 1935-36 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁵ No. 345 of 1920.

mahārāya probably an ancestor of the above chief was a subordinate of Yādava Simhaṇa. And Gaṅgēya-Sāhiṇi is stated in a record¹ of Śaka 1176 belonging to the reign of Kākatīya Gaṇapati, to have defeated a certain Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa who may be the same person as the Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa of the Jōti inscription² (Siddhant Taluk, Cuddapah District) dated in Śaka 1169. The Telugu poem *Nirvachanōttara-Rāmāyaṇamu* records that Gaṅgeya-Sāhiṇi who had been deprived of his kingdom by a certain Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa evidently the above-mentioned chief, took refuge under Maṇma-Janapāla who restored the lost kingdom to his protégé by vanquishing Rakkasa-Gaṅga. This event must have occurred between Śaka 1169 and Śaka 1176. Allugaṅga who was probably connected with Rakkasa-Gaṅga in some unspecified way, as their names, their territory and the hostilities they both bore against Gaṅgēya-Sāhiṇi would indicate, must have taken vengeance against his opponent Gaṅgēya-Sāhiṇi, which was reciprocated by Ambadēva who as stated in his Tripurāntakam inscription, routed Allugaṅga and his allies. Thus for three generations the Kāyasthas ranged themselves against the Jagatāpi-chōḷadēvamahārājas who appear to have rebelled against their overlords the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. It is likely that Gaṅgēya-Sāhiṇi and his relatives were the friends of the Sēvupa kings and that they suppressed the rebellion of the latter's subordinates who, however, ultimately became independent by Śaka 1244 when the Yādava power was on the wane. It must probably be with the help of Ambadēva during the governorship of Jannigadēva that Yādava Mahādēva wrested from Kākatīya Gaṇapati the honour of *pañchamahāśabda* as recorded in the introduction to *Vratakhanda* of Hēmādri³. We know that this event took place in about Śaka 1183 during the last days of Gaṇapati⁴. On the death of Gaṇapati the whole country was plunged in utmost disaster and chaos and the internal rebellion and the danger from the neighbouring powers were too much for the queen *Paṇḍodhātī* Rudramahādēvi to cope with in the beginning of her reign. Accordingly several Telugu-Chōḷa chiefs such as Eṇuva-Manumilidēva, Vijayaṇḍagōpala and Siddayadēva-Chōḷa-Mahārāja are found issuing their inscriptions independently without referring to their overlord,⁵ in Śaka 1189, 1185 and 1189 respectively, *i.e.*, within a few years after her accession to the throne. Soon, however, the Kākatīya queen appears to have consolidated her power and reduced the refractory chiefs to subjection. She must have first subjugated the Kāyastha chief Jannigadēva by about Śaka 1190; for he expresses his loyalty to the reigning monarch in his inscription of Śaka 1191. Thereafter, with the help of the Kāyastha chiefs of whom Ambadēva appears to have taken a prominent part, the turbulent officers were brought down on their knees since, in the Tripurāntakam inscription mentioned above, Ambadēva boasts of having taken, evidently on behalf of the Kākatīya ruler, the head of a certain Eṇuva-Manumilidēva who must be identical with the Telugu-Chōḷa chief Eṇuva-Mallidēva. Simultaneously with or shortly after this achievement, the defeat of Allugaṅga, Sōmidēva, Kēśava, Mallikārjuna, etc., ascribed to the chief in his records appears to have happened. Kāḍavarāya, *i.e.*, Kōpperuṅjiṅgadēva II (A.D. 1243-1279) who had been reduced to subordination by Kākatīya Gaṇapati as can be surmised from his Drākshārāma inscription in which he calls himself the executor of the commands of Gaṇapati-Mahārāja (*Gaṇapati-Mahārājasya-ājñām pravartayatā*)⁶, must have attempted to throw off his allegiance to the Kākatīya banner on the death of Gaṇapati. In fact he has caused to be engraved a highly pedantic inscription at Tripurāntakam in which he glorifies his past achievements including the numerous rich gifts he had

¹ No. 231 of 1905.

² No. 563 of 1915.

³ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 273, v. 52.

⁴ See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 193.

⁵ Nos. 190, 272 and 175 of 1905.

⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1342 B.

made to the temple of Bhīmēśvara at Drākshārāma, without mentioning the Kākatīya overlord who was reigning at the time.¹ The record is unfortunately not dated. But it must be assigned to a date subsequent to Śaka 1184 in which year Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva figures apparently as a subordinate of a Kākatīya king². The defeat of Kōpperuñjiṅga called here Kāḍavarāya must have been accomplished some time before Śaka 1201 the last year of the chief³ and after Śaka 1194 when Ambadēva succeeded to the chiefdom. Ambadēva's Tripurāntakam inscription of Śaka 1194 does not refer to any of his exploits mentioned above whereas his epigraphs dated Śaka 1207, 1212, 1213, etc., narrate them in detail. Ambadēva appears to have been puffed up with the signal victory he had gained over his powerful rival Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva, proclaimed himself as a *quasi*-independent chief and to have held that position till the very last year of his rule. It is, however, certain that he did not turn a rebel against the Kākatīyas or attempt to subvert their sovereignty. For a record from Malyāla⁴ in the Nandikotkur Taluk of the Kurnool District refers itself to the reign of the Kākatīya king Kumāra Rudra-Mahārāja in Śaka 1212 and 1213, thus marking the extent of the Kākatīya rule in the territory of the Kāyastha chiefs during the same period. Tripurāntakam (Kurnool District) and Nilagaṅgavaram (Vijukonda Taluk, Guntur District) where Ambadēva's inscriptions are found, were situated within the Kākatīya dominions. It is therefore possible that though Ambadēva maintained a semi-independent status like the great Feudatory families of the Dekkan, i.e., the Western Gaṅgas, Bāṇas, etc., under the Rāshtrakūṭas, etc., in the mediæval period, the Kākatīya suzerainty was acknowledged in the territory of the Kāyasthas as shown above. In course of time, however, Ambadēva's power suffered heavily in consequence of which he appears to have been deprived of his principality, since an Upparapalle inscription⁵ of Rudradēva dated Śaka 1[2*]36, Pramādi, refers to the reduction of Ghaṇḍikōṭa by a subordinate of the king. Another fragmentary inscription⁶ in the same place, without date, states that the king appointed Goṅkaya-Reḍḍi, a servant of Juṭṭaya, to the governorship of Khaṇḍikōṭa and Mulikināṇḍu districts. This shows that Ambadēva had been subdued under the orders of the king and his territory annexed to the Kākatīya dominions some time before Śaka 1236. In one of the inscriptions⁷ at Kanāla, Nandyal Taluk of the Kurnool District, a chief (name completely damaged) is stated to be ruling over Mulkināṇḍu, Penampādi, Pottapināṇḍu, Peḍakallu and Nāntavādi under Pratāparudradēva-Mahārāja in Śaka 1230. We know that these *nāḍus* had been subject to the administration of Ambadēva⁸, but it is not definite whether Ambadēva continued to rule till Śaka 1230 or had been dispossessed of his territory by that year. But it can be affirmed that he had been either killed in the encounter or dislodged from Ghaṇḍikōṭa before Śaka 1236 as stated above.

TEXT.⁹

First Fragment : First Face.

- 1 Vārāhaṁ vapur=avyād=vō mahī-mu
- 2 harēḥ | yasya daṁṣhṭr-āgra-viśrāntā mahī

¹ No. 197 of 1905, see *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year, part ii, p. 46.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1341.

³ The chief came to power in A.D. 1243 and ruled for 36 years (*Historical Ins. of Southern India*, pp. 162 and 376).

⁴ No. 321 of 1937-38. An indirect mention of Kumāra-Kṣhitibhṛt in the present record points to the overbearing attitude of Ambadēva towards the Kākatīya monarch.

⁵ No. 328 of 1905.

⁶ No. 329 of 1905.

⁷ No. 260 of 1935-36.

⁸ No. 406 of 1911.

⁹ From ink-impression.

3 tējas-samuṃpīṣṭa
4 [jīyā]

Second Fragment ; First Face.

5 [ka] tama
6 tānśur=anātataṃ ||
7 yathā-mārgga-pravaritakam Vidhūr=vvīryaikaṇīlaya[m]
8 kshātraṃ varṇam=ajījanat¹ || Bhārggavād-bhagna-hṛida[yē]
9 kshatra-lōkē=[py]=avikriyāḥ | śauryya-pāraṇ-gatās=tatra
10 **Kāyasthāḥ** kati viśrutāḥ² || Tatr=ānvavāyē saṃ[jā]-
11 ta[h*] śrīmān **Gaṃgaya-Sāhīnīḥ** [h*] payōdhāv=iva pa-
12 ryyāpta-tājā amṛita-dīdhitī³ || Sura-śākhina iva
13 Śurabhīḥ Kamal-āv-āmpitakarasya kalyāṇi | sarvva-
14 janīnā sahaajā **Charṇadaladēvi** babbhūv=āsyā⁴ || **Arṇba-**
15 **kshṃpād**=asūt-āyam Charṇdalāmbā suta-dvayaṃ(yam) [h*]
16 Vasudēvād=iv=āsāsyam Dēvaki daivatair=api⁵ || Pratyartthi-
17 prithvipati-mauli-ratna-prabhā-pīśaṃgikṛita-pāda-pīṭha-
18 ḥ | **Janārdhanaḥ** kshṃādhipatir=janānām jā(jyā)yān=abhū-
19 t ja(j-ja)ṃgama-pā⁶ pārijātaḥ⁷ || Bāh[ā]-bala-kshurṇṇa(ṇa)
20 vipakeṣa-lōkas=tasy-ānuja[h*] **śrī-Tripurāridēvaḥ** [h*]
21 saṃdaryya-saṃdarsita-Manmatha-śrīr=vidyā-
22 vilās-āspadam=āvīrāṣṭ⁸ || **Āyushmān=Arṇbadē-**
23 **va**-kshītipatir=anujas=tasya prithvīm praśāsti prāchīna-
24 kshōṇi-pāla-praṇihita-samara-prauṭhi-pārīṇa-bāhuh |
25 prahva-pratyartthi-prithvī-paribṛi(vṛi)ḍha-makuṣa-syūta-mā-
26 ṇi[kya*]-niryya[j*]-jvālā-jāl-āvaliḍha-spu(sphu)ṭa-pada-kamala-dvaṃdva-
27 saṃdarsaṇīyaḥ⁹ || Ayaṃ mahā-bābur-anūka-raṇ-
28 gē mānya-śrīyō Mājāva-dhūmakētōḥ[h*] gurvvi-
29 m **Gurimḍāla-Gaṇādhipasya** sāmbrū(mrā)jya-lakṣmī[m*]
30 sahasō jahāra¹⁰ ||

First Fragment ; Second Face.

31 **Śākē** bhāmnv(bhānv)-arkka-saṃ(sam)khyā-vilasati **Vikṛitē** vatsa[rē]
32 **Bhādra-māsē** darśē **Bhaumasya** vārē¹¹ sukṛidini (sukṛitini ?)
33 samayē dvādaś-ārdh-ōparāgē [h*] prādād=Arṇba-kshī-
34 tīndraḥ prati(thi)ta-Śivapuram Mollakallāri-nāma-grā[ma]-
35 m **Māhēśvatāya** |¹² prakāṣita-ma¹³

Second Fragment ; Second Face.

36 yaṃ dharmma-
37 pālanīyyō(nīyō) bha-

¹ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

² This syllable is superfluous.

³ Metre : Indravajrā.

⁴ Daṇḍa superfluous.

⁵ Metre : Āryā.

⁶ Metre : Upajāti.

⁷ Metre : Sragdharā.

⁸ Metre : Sragdharā.

38 . . dbhis=sarvān=ētān bhāvipaḥ prārtthivēndrā¹ bhūyō
 39 bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachandraḥ ||² Bahubhi-
 40 r=vvasudhā dattā rājabbis=Sada(ga)rādibhūḥ | yasya
 41 yasya yadā bhūmih(mia=)tasya tasya tathā(dā) phala-
 42 ih(lam) ||³ Śatruṇāmbi(n-āpi) tritō⁴ dharmma[h⁵] pālaniyyō(nīyō) praya-
 43 tnatāḥ | śatruṇ=ēva hī śatru[h⁵] ayād=dharmmaḥ śatru
 44 r=nnā kasya-chit ||⁶ Māsham=ēkaṁ suvarnna(ṇṇa)sya bhūmē-
 45 r=apy arddham=ariga/ari(aṅgulam |) haran=narakam=āpnōti yā-
 46 vad=ābhūta-saṁplavāḥ(vam) ||⁷ Yathā chāṁdrama-
 47 sō vṛiddhir-ahany-ahani jāyatē ||⁸ tathā bhū-
 48 mi-kṛitāḥ dānaḥ sasyē sasyē vivaraddhatē ||⁹ Āyushma-
 49 tā Nammananandanēna pratyagravāpi-hṛidaya-
 50 dhamēna | samyak-kṛitāḥ śūsana-varyyam=ē-
 51 tat=sarvvē=pi śṛigvaṁtu sah-ādarēṇa ||¹⁰ Svasti śrī-
 52 Śaka-varshamṇbulu 1212 agu-nēṇṇi Vikri(kṛi)ti-
 53 sarhvatsara Bhādrapada bahuḥa 15 Maṁga-
 54 ḷavārāna sūryya-grahapa-kālamuna-
 55 [rḥ]du svasti śrīmatu Gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra Arṁbadē-
 56 va-Mahārājulu śrī-Tripurāntakaḥ-kahē-
 57 tra-vāsul-aina Remḍrēvula Mallināthaya-
 58 riṅārīki Mollalakallūru sarvva-bāda(dhā)-pari-
 59 hāramu ā-chaṁdrārka-stā(sthā)yigān-ichelina Si-
 60 vapuramu ||¹¹ maṁgaḷa mahā-śrī śrī śrī | | |
 61 [D]ēvi yasaya tvakīyyaḥ (svakīyaḥ ?) Tripura-vijayin[ē]
 62 chakshur-at(ut)-pāṇya pōjā [h¹²] śpitvā (kṛitvā) rōjē tatō=pi [dda]-
 63 .. tarām=amalaḥ Dōchā(a)y-ākhyam prasiddham ||¹³
 64 pūrvva-dvārē Kumāra-kshītibhṛid=uparitas=ta[¹⁴]- Pa-
 65 rārē[h¹⁵] purastād=ramyam sōpāna-mārgam [vuma?]-
 66 karam=amalaḥ dyuḥ pratijñam vidhāya ||¹⁶

No. 28.—BARGAON TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF SABARA.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

This inscription is incised on a broken stone slab which is still lying amidst the ruins of a temple to the north of **Bargaon**, a village situated at a distance of twenty-seven miles north by west of Murwārā, the chief town of the Murwārā *tahsil* of the Jubbulpore District, in the Central Provinces. The inscription does not seem to have been noticed by General Cunningham who visited Bargaon twice, during 1883-84 and 1884-85, and has given a fairly detailed description of the temples and mentioned three other records found there in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol XXI, Part I, p. 101 and Part II, pp. 163-64. The present inscription was briefly noticed for the first time by Rāi Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*,¹ but it has not

¹ Read *pārthivedrān*.

² Metre : *Anushubh*.

³ Metre : *Indravajrā*.

⁷ First edition, (1916), pp. 39-40; second edition (1932), p. 43.

⁴ Metre : *Śālini*.

⁵ Read *kṛitō*.

⁶ Metre : *Śrapdhari*.

been edited so far. It is edited here from good estampages supplied by the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is fragmentary. Nothing has of course been lost at the top, the bottom and the proper right side. But an indefinite number of letters have disappeared on the left side owing to the breaking away of the stone. The extant portion of the record is in a state of good preservation. It consists of five lines, of which the last, which begins at a distance of 2' from the proper right end, contains only three *aksharas*. The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. As regards individual letters we may note that *kh* consists of two triangles joined by a horizontal line at the top; *th* shows a vertical stroke on the right; *r* exhibits two forms—one with a loop as in *kṛidara*, l. 3 and the other without it in *Śabara*, l. 1. Rai Bahadur Hiralal conjecturally referred the characters of this inscription to the 8th or 9th century A. D., but they appear to be somewhat later and may be of the 10th century A. D.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The record is written in prose throughout. It is written incorrectly and contains some mistakes of *sandhi* (as in *atō arthē* for *atō=rthē* in l. 4) and of gender (as in *śapath-ēdam* for *śapathō=yaṁ* in the same line). The only **orthographical** peculiarity that calls for notice is that *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, see *Śavara* and *Valādhikṛita*, both in l. 1 and *vrahma-stamva* in l. 2.

The record opens with *Om namaḥ* and refers to a commander of the army (*Balādhikṛita*) of Śabara. His name which is partly mutilated appears to be Śiva. The **object** of the inscription seems to be to record the gift of a cess on the threshing floor together with a granary to some ascetic residing at the temple in the settlement of Brāhmaṇas for the benefit of (the god) Śaṅkara-nārāyaṇa, to whose temple the inscribed stone was apparently affixed. The record ends with the imprecation that whoever would offend against it would incur the sin of the slaughter of a Brāhmaṇa.

The preserved portion of the inscription contains no date, but, as stated above, it can, on palseographic evidence, be referred to the 10th century A.D. The illustrious Śabara mentioned here is perhaps identical with the Śabara, named Siṁha, mentioned in a fragmentary stone inscription found at Bhilsā, to which Dr. F. E. Hall has called attention in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. 2. The latter inscription states that Vāchaspati of the Kaṇḍīya *gōtra*, who was a minister of the king Kṛishṇa after defeating the lord of Chēdi and slaying a Śabara named Siṁha placed the kings of the Rālā-*maṇḍala* and Rōdapādi on the throne and repaired to the temple of Bhāillasvāmin evidently at Bhilsā where he composed a *stōtra* in praise of the god.¹ From the mention of the lord of Chēdi and the Śabara chief Siṁha together in the same line, Dr. Hall conjectured that the latter was the Chedian generalissimo. The Śabara of the present inscription, too, was no doubt subject to the contemporary Chēdi or Kalachuri king, for a much defaced inscription at Bargaon to which General Cunningham has drawn attention² refers to a Kalachuri king or kings. But as the present inscription mentions a commander of the forces of this Śabara himself, it seems that he was a feudatory chief and not a mere generalissimo of the Chēdi king. This fragmentary inscription at Bhilsā is also undated, but the date of the king Kṛishṇa, whose minister was Vāchaspati, can be approximately fixed on other evidence. At Maser, a village about twenty-five miles north of Bhilsā, Mr. M. B. Garde, Director of Archæology,

¹ See 'Chēd-īśam samarē vijitya Śabaram saṁhṛitya Siṁh-āhvayaṁ Rālā-*maṇḍala*-Rōdapādy-*avanipō*(pau) bhūmyāṁ pratisṭhāpya cha Dēvaṁ drashtum=ih=āgatō rachitavām(n) stōtram pavitraṁ paraṁ śrīmat-Kṛishṇa-nṛip-aika-mantri-pada-bhāk Kaṇḍīya-Vāchaspatiḥ ||' cited by Hall in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. †.

² Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 165.

Gwalior State, discovered in 1930 a fragmentary inscription in two pieces.¹ It mentions one Narasimha of the Śulki (or Chālukya) family, who at the command of Kṛishṇarāja initiated the wives of Kalachuri kings into widowhood. As Kēsari, the son of Narasimha, was, according to the inscription, appointed *Tantrādhipa* (Minister for home affairs) by Vākpati-Muñja (circa A.D. 972 to 995), Kṛishṇarāja can be placed about A. D. 950. This conclusion is corroborated by the date V. 1039 (A. D. 982) of a pilgrim record which Mr. Garde has discovered on a pillar of a dilapidated mediæval temple at Maser. This record states the name of the god installed in the temple as Kṛishṇēśvara.² The god was evidently so named after a king named Kṛishṇa who consequently must have flourished before A. D. 982. There is another piece of evidence which corroborates the above-mentioned date for Kṛishṇa. This Kṛishṇa is probably identical with Kṛishṇapa of the Chandēlla family, a son of Yaśōvarman, mentioned in four out of six stone inscriptions³ at Dudahi, in the Lalitpur District, about 75 miles north by east of Bhilsā. According to both General Cunningham and Dr. Kielborn this Yaśōvarman is the well-known Chandēlla king of that name, the father of Dhaṅga for whom we have dates ranging from A. D. 954 to A. D. 1002. Kṛishṇapa may, therefore, be referred to the period A.D. 960-85. From the Khajurāho inscription of Dhaṅga, dated V. 1011, we learn that the Chandēlla kingdom in the beginning of his reign extended to Bhāsvat or Bhilsā in the south.⁴ It seems, therefore, that Dhaṅga placed his brother Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇapa in charge of the south-western portion of the Chandēlla kingdom extending at least from Dudahi in the north to Bhilsā in the south.

If the identification of the illustrious Śabara of the present inscription with the Śabara chief slain by Kṛishṇarāja's minister is accepted, the Śabara chief can be referred to the third quarter of the 10th century A. D. The Kalachuri suzerain to whom he owed allegiance was probably Śaṅkaragaṇa. The name of the god Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa appears somewhat curious.⁵ It seems to suggest that the temple was dedicated to Nārāyaṇa installed by Śaṅkara, who is probably identical with the Kalachuri prince of that name mentioned in the Kārītālāi stone inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja II.⁶ It is noteworthy in this connection that he is called a *parama-vaishṇava* or devout worshipper of Viṣṇu in that record.

TEXT.⁷

- 1 सिद्धिः⁸ [१*] श्री नमः [१*] श्रीशिव(व)रसत्कवलाधीकृत⁹ [शिव]-
- 2 भ्यर्थितसमस्तब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्तुव(व)स्थानतपोधनसम
- 3 श्रीशंकरनारायणार्थं खलभिषा(क्षा) प्रदत्ता कदरं¹⁰

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, for 1930-31*, p. 10.

² I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. Garde.

³ These inscriptions were discovered by Cunningham, see his *A. S. R.*, Vol. X, pp. 94-5, plate xxxii, and edited by Kielborn in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-37.

⁴ Above, Vol. I, p. 129.

⁵ [Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa here apparently refers to an image of Haribara.—Ed.]

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff. This king must now be called Lakshmaṇarāja II in view of an earlier king of the same name; see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 255 ff.

⁷ From inked estampages.

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

⁹ Read *Balādhipāṇa*.

¹⁰ The *anuvāra* on *ra* is very faint. Some word like *cha* may have been lost after *kyidarash*.

4 कं अतो अर्थे¹ यो विभिचरति² तस्य शपथेदं³ व्र(त्र)ज्जहत्य(त्या)पातके⁴ . . .

5 स्य इति⁵ [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-3) Succes ! Ōm ! Adoration ! [Śiva], the *Balādhikṛita* of the illustrious Śabara . . . has given the cess at the threshing floor⁶ and a granary for the holy Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa to . . . , the ascetic residing in the temple (*which is the only one*) in the entire settlement of the Brāhmaṇas⁷ venerated by . . .

(Ll. 4-5) Whoever will deviate from this, for him is this (*our*) imprecation that he shall incur the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa . . .

No. 29.—JIRJINGI PLATES OF GANGA INDRAVARMAN : THE YEAR 39.

By R. K. GHOSHAL, M.A., CALCUTTA.

The plates which bear the subjoined inscription were turned up along with pieces of old pottery in course of excavation of an old temple in the village of **Jirjingi** near Tekkali in the Ganjam District of the Madras Presidency. They were secured by Sir A. P. Patro, Kt., who made them over to Mr. R. Subba Rao of the Andhra Historical Research Society of Rajahmundry. Mr. Rao subsequently published them in the Society's Journal.⁸ In view of the great importance justly attached to this record for the early history of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa, and considering its rather inadequate treatment by Mr. Rao, I re-edit the inscription from excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India.

These are **three plates** of copper, each measuring 8½" by 3". Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole through which passed a **ring**, 3" in diameter, the ends of which, however, remain un-soldered, owing to the fact that the **seal** which must have been fixed to this ring is missing. The weight of the plates is 56½ *tolas*, and that of the ring 12½ *tolas*, making a total of 69 *tolas*. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims so as to protect the inscription. The first and the third plates have writing on their inner faces only, while the

¹ Used in the sense of *asminn=arthē*.

² Read *vyabhicharati*.

³ Read *sapathō=yaṁ*.

⁴ The original perhaps contained *pātakēna saṁyuktō bhaviṣyati*.

⁵ Read *°sy=eti*.

⁶ *Khala-bhikṣhā*, lit. alms at a threshing floor, was probably a tax in kind which was paid to the state when the corn was threshed. The right to receive the contribution seems to have been transferred to the donee. Whether the cess at one or all the threshing floors in the particular locality was conferred on the donee the record does not make clear. The Kāṛitalāi stone inscription of Lakshmaparāja (II) (above, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff.) refers in line 34 to the donation of four *khala-bhikṣhās*.

⁷ *Brahma-stambha* occurs in verse 14 of the Jabalpur and Khairhā grants of Yaśaḥkarna, (above, Vols. II, p. 4 and XII, p. 212) but there, too, the correct expression evidently is *brahma-stamba* meaning 'a settlement of Brāhmaṇas.' The same verse occurs in the Kumbhī plates of Vijayasinha. Dr. Hall's transcript of it gives the reading *brahma-stambō*. See *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 117.

⁸ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 49 ff. Also noticed in the *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1935-36 (C. P. No. 9).

second one is inscribed on both sides. The plates are in a state of perfect preservation and the engraving is clear throughout. The first and third plates, which are inscribed on one side only, have seven lines of writing apiece, while the second one contains six lines on each of its sides,—thus twenty-six lines in all. The height of the letters is about $\frac{1}{3}$ " on the average.

The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets and have resemblance to those used in the Gōdāvarī plates of Prithivīmūla,¹ Gōkāk Plates of Dējja-Mahārāja,² the Srungavarapukōṭa³ and Siripuram⁴ plates of Anantavarman, king of Kaliṅga.

The script of the Jirjīngi plates has further some obvious resemblance to that employed in some of the early inscriptions from Cambodia.

The inscription under discussion furnishes examples of initial *a* in lines 1, 4, 8, 14 and 22 and of initial *ā* in l. 24 as well as of final *m* (ll. 18 and 21) and *l* (l. 25), which are so indicated by their smaller size. The northern form of *l* is employed in *-sakala-* (l. 1) and *-latā-* (l. 8).

The **numerical symbols** for 1, 9, 20 and 30 are contained in the date in line 25.

The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of two of the customary verses at the end, the whole of the record is in prose.

Among **orthographical peculiarities** deserving notice are (1) the use of the *jihvāmūliya* in l. 21; (2) the use of the guttural nasal in place of *anusvāra* in *-nistriṇṣa* (l. 5); (3) the doubling of *dh* and the change of the first *dh* into *d* in *-ānuddhyātas=* (l. 10); (4) the doubling throughout of a consonant after *r*; (5) the occasional doubling of a consonant before *r*, as in *sagōṭṭrāya* (l. 13). In *Ttattiriya* (l. 13) the doubling of the first letter is ungrammatical. Both *b* and *v* are indicated by the sign for the latter, exceptions being *saṁ(sa)mbaddha* (l. 11) and *kuṭumbina[s*=]* (l. 12). The rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in a few cases.

The object of the **inscription** is to record a grant, which is non-sectarian in character, by Mahārāja Indravarman, Lord of Trikalīṅga, 'a sun in the firmament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas'. The grant is issued from the city of Dantapura and concerns the village of Jijjika situated in the Vōṅkhara-*bhōga*, which is given away as an *agrahāra*, in equal shares, to Agnisvāmin, son of Rudrasvāmin, and the former's (*i.e.*, Agnisvāmin's) son Rudrasvāmin, who belonged to the Vishṇuvṛiddha *gōtra* and the Taittiriya *śākhā*.

The **date** is given, in figures only, as in the **Year 39** on the 21st day of the month of Vaiśākha. The year in all probability refers itself to the Gāṅga era. The present record, therefore, may be considered as the **earliest inscription of the Eastern Gaṅga kings** discovered so far.⁵

The charter was written by the king's *Sādhivigrahika* Dēvasirṇhadēva.

There has been lately some discussion over the question of identity and antecedence of Indravarman, Lord of Trikalīṅga, of the present record. Mr. R. Subba Rao identifies⁶ the donor

¹ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 114 ff.

² Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 289 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 ff.

⁵ The next oldest inscription of the Eastern Gaṅgas yet available is the Narasiṅgapalli plates of Hastivarman of the Year 79 (see Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 62 ff.). There is much uncertainty about the reading of the date in the stray plate from Tirliṅgi which has been assumed by Mr. S. N. Rajaguru (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 54 ff.) to belong to the Year 28 of the Gāṅga era. Much of this uncertainty will undoubtedly be removed when the remaining plates of the set come to light and clear impressions of them are made available to scholars. It seems therefore premature, just now, to doubt, as has been done by Mr. G. Ramdas (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 82-3), the genuineness of the Tirliṅgi plate on what appears to be very flimsy grounds.

⁶ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 72.

of this grant with *Adhirāja* Indra, who, as recorded in the Gōdāvarī plates of Prithivimūla, is said to have overthrown in battle one Indrabhaṭṭāraka¹. This latter potentate has been equated by Dr. J. F. Fleet² with the Eastern Chālukya king of the same name who was the younger brother of Jayasimha I and father of Vishṇuvardhana II; while according to Drs. Kielhorn³ and Jouveau-Dubreuil,⁴ Indrabhaṭṭāraka should rather belong to the Vishṇukunḍin dynasty. We along with Mr. Subba Rao⁵ are inclined provisionally to subscribe to this latter view.

It seems that the Vishṇukunḍins being hard pressed by the Eastern Chālukya kings pushed further northward from their original home in the Kistnā district⁶ of the Madras presidency. Their chief opponents in this direction were the Gaṅga kings of Kalinga who had then only recently eked out an independent principality in and about the Ganjām district. The two contending armies seem to have met each other in the heart of the delta of the Gōdāvarī, possibly somewhere near the modern town of Rajahmundry. As has been claimed in the Gōdāvarī plates, victory rested for the time being with the Kalinga forces. And it is quite probable that Indravarma returned in triumph to his capital at Dantapura. The victory over the Vishṇukunḍins further prompted him to assume the (then rather anomalous) title of 'Lord of Trikaṇḍa' (*Trikaṇḍādhipati*), seeing that his hold over the three contiguous districts of Gōdāvarī, Vizagapatam and Ganjām⁷ now became practically undisputed. To this victory may also be attributed his description in our inscription as 'the thousand-rayed (*sun*) in the firmament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas'. Indeed, the might of Indravarma may be said to have dispelled the threatening clouds of a dangerous foreign offensive.

At this point it becomes necessary for us to take into consideration a number of kings whose records should be placed on palæographical grounds in the period A.D. 400-500, roughly indicating the interval between the southern campaign of Samudragupta and the rise of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. These are Anantavarman of the Srungavarapukōṭa⁸ and Śiripuram⁹ plates, Śaktivarman of the Rāgōlu plates,¹⁰ Umavarman of the Bṛihatprōshthā¹¹, Dhavalapēṭa¹² and Tekkali¹³ plates, Chaṇḍavarman of the Kōmarti¹⁴ and Tirithāṇa¹⁵ plates, Ananta-Śaktivarman

¹ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 119. Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, however, assumes on the evidence of the Rāmatīrtham plates that it was the Vishṇukunḍin monarch who emerged triumphant from this struggle (*Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 91).

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 120.

³ Above, Vol. IV, p. 195.

⁴ *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 76 and 91.

⁵ In an earlier study (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 159), Mr. Subba Rao held that *Adhirāja* Indra of the Gōdāvarī plates should be identified with Indravarma of the Achyutapuram (above, Vol. III, pp. 128 ff.) and Parlā-Kimeḍi (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 131 ff.) plates. Dr. Fleet, on the other hand, was inclined to identify *Adhirāja* Indra with the Indravarma of the Chicacole plates of the Years 128 and 146 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 120 ff.).

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, p. 195.

⁷ However, no inscriptions of Indravarma expressly under his own name have turned up yet from either of the districts of Gōdāvarī and Vizagapatam. The Ganjām district on the contrary remained the stronghold of the Eastern Gaṅgas throughout their history, as can be judged from the imposing array of copper-plate inscriptions beginning from the Jirjingi plates onwards.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 ff.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 4 ff.

¹² *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, pp. 143 ff.

¹³ *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy (1934-35)*, C. P. No. 13.

¹⁴ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.

¹⁵ *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy (1934-35)*, C. P. No. 12.

of the Madras Museum plates, Nanda¹-Prabhañjanavarman of the Chicacole plates² and Viśākhavarman of the Kōrōshaṇḍā plates.³

All of these potentates, with the exception of Viśākhavarman,⁴ call themselves 'kings of Kālīṅga' (*Kālīṅgādhipati*). It is probable that these kings rose into prominence in the period following the withdrawal of the arms of Samudragupta from the south.⁵ After him the Guptas never actively interested themselves in South Indian politics, thus affording ample opportunity for these chiefs, as they originally were, to raise their heads and assume regal distinctions. Naturally, as some of them were living contemporaneously with others, they fought vehemently among themselves for control of the territory now covered by the districts of Gōḍāvarī and Vizagapatam. Their objective, at least that of some of them, was perhaps the Orissa littoral, pushing through the districts of Ganjām and Puri right up to the outskirts of Balasore⁶ and beyond that the important port of Tāmraliptī on the Bay of Bengal. This was the period which coincided with the gradual rise to power of the Eastern Gaṅgas under the capable leadership of Indravarman. It is not yet possible, in the absence of more substantial details of historical value, to make out the relation, if there were any, in which all these early 'kings' stood to one another. While some of them like Śaktivarman, Umavarman and Viśākhavarman may have flourished⁷ before the time of Indravarman, it is probable that others like Anantavarman and Nanda-

¹ *Ibid.*, No. 24.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 48 ff. Here we may in passing be permitted to dwell a little on the significance of the prefix 'Nanda' coming before the name of this king. Dr. D. C. Sircar's suggestion (*Journ. Dept. of Letters, Calcutta University*, Vol. XXVI, p. 66, f. n. 2) that it denotes "Prabhañjanavarman of the Nanda family" seems to be somewhat speculative as it is without a parallel in the early history of Kālīṅga. A simpler and more reasonable explanation would be that 'Nanda' is here used as an honorific adjective (qualifying Prabhañjanavarman) in the sense of 'one who pleases everybody'. In fact, another variant of the same word, 'Nandaka', has the significant meaning of 'one who gladdens one's family' (cf. V. S. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1912, p. 535). The names of some of the early Pallava kings like Śiva-Skandavarman, Vijaya-Skandavarman, etc., could be cited (as suggested by Dr. Sircar in *Successors of the Śātavāhanas in Lower Deccan*, pp. 166-67) as parallel instances of such honorific prefixes being in common use in South India from an early time.

³ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 23 ff.

⁴ Mr. G. Ramdas, however, advances (above, Vol. XXI, p. 24) two plausible reasons in support of his supposition that Viśākhavarman was a Kālīṅga king. These are (1) Kōrāsōḍaka-Pañchālī, mentioned in the Kōrōshaṇḍā plates, "formed a part of the Kālīṅga Country", and (2) Śrīpura from which the Kōrōshaṇḍā plates were issued may be identified with Siripuram (Vizagapatam district) which is close to the ancient district of Varāhavarmanī of Kālīṅga. Mr. G. V. Srinivasa Rao, on the other hand, suggests (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 49) that Śrīpura of the Kōrōshaṇḍā plates may rather be the Siripuram, a village near Chicacole, the find-spot of the inscription of another 'king of Kālīṅga' (*Kālīṅgādhipati*), viz., Anantavarman.

⁵ A most convincing and significant evidence of this having been the actual state of things is afforded by the Srungavarapukōṭa plates of Anantavarman (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.), 'Lord of Kālīṅga', whose grandfather, Guṇavarman, is called 'Lord of Dēvarāṣṭra' (identified with modern Yellamanchili *tāluk* of the Vizagapatam district) and who himself issued his grant from Pishtapura (identified generally with modern Pithāpuram in the Gōḍāvarī district). Both of these countries constituted two distinct kingdoms in the time of Samudragupta.

⁶ About this time the Balasore district seems to have been in the hands of a group of chiefs, of obscure antecedents and relation, who called themselves (with one exception) *mahārāja*. Four inscribed copper-plates purporting to belong to their rule have recently been published by the late lamented Mr. N. G. Majumdar (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 197 ff.). Incidentally, there is one more (rather imperfectly studied) inscription belonging to one of these chiefs which escaped the notice of Mr. Majumdar. This latter record I hope shortly to deal with in this journal.

⁷ This of course is more in the nature of a conjecture as we have no more a basis than that of the indefinite evidence of palæography of the records concerned. It seems rather distressing that some of these 'kings' did not think it worthwhile to put on record the names of their fathers.

Prabhañjanavarman lived contemporaneously with Indravarman. It is even possible that the latter was originally a petty chief of no political position, wielding his influence over a small stretch of territory in the Gōdāvarī valley. In course of time he collected a large following, with whose help he set forth to carve out an independent realm for himself. The Ganjām district conveniently abutting on the Orissan frontier and affording avenues for further northward expansion, satisfactorily answered his expectations. And while yet endeavouring to build up the nucleus of a future empire, disquieting news reached him of clashing of steel at his rear in the Gōdāvarī valley. In all haste, Indravarman prepared and launched an offensive, and, ultimately, after what must have been quite a number of fierce engagements, succeeded in maintaining his hold over the Gōdāvarī and Vizagapatam districts, while improving and fortifying his base in the Ganjām district.

Unfortunately, the material at our disposal does not permit us yet to develop in fuller details the reconstruction of the history of the rise of the Eastern Gaṅga power. What we have contented ourselves with doing is to suggest the broad outlines of a story which after all may not be quite out of tune with those hectic days in the history of Kalinga. At least, and it appears to lend some force of conviction to our line of argument, it would explain the claim, though somewhat conventionalised in form, of Indravarman in our present record (ll. 4-7) to have subdued in more than one battle many 'chiefs' by his own prowess. It does not seem to be an empty pandering to the vanities of a disillusioned patron by his scribe. No other epithet could describe the feat of this valiant soldier more aptly.

Of the localities mentioned, **Dantapura** is referred to for the first time in this record. It occurs next in the Purlē plates¹ of Indravarman (year 149). The place had a Buddhist association in that the left canine tooth of the lower jaw of the Buddha is said to have been brought over there by one of the Master's disciples and a *stūpa* built over it. Subsequently, it was taken away to Ceylon. A verse preserved in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, and incorrectly reproduced in the *Mahāvastu*, speaks of Dantapura as the capital of the Kalingas.² It is also mentioned as such in the *Mahāgovinda-suttanta*.³ The *Jātakas* refer several times⁴ to this city, which fact doubtlessly establishes its antiquity. Many suggestions have been advanced in regard to the identification of this ancient city. Sir Alexander Cunningham⁵ located it at modern Rajahmundry on the Gōdāvarī. Mr. Ramdas⁶ places it in the neighbourhood of Chicacole. Professor Sylvain Lévi identified this Dantapura with the *Paloura* of Ptolemy⁷ and was inclined to seek for it somewhere near modern Chicacole.⁸ Mr. N. L. Dey, on the other hand, suggested⁹ its identification with modern Dāntan on the river Kāsāi in the Midnapur district of Bengal. According to Mr. R. Subba Rao,¹⁰ Dantapura may be looked for in "the ruins of the fort of the same name, situated on the southern bank of the river Vaniśadharā, three miles from Chicacole Road Station" of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. According to another view,¹¹ "the place must be near

¹ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 361-62.

² *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 172-73.

³ *Dīgha Nikāya* (P. T. S.), p. 235.

⁴ See now, Ratilal N. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, Bombay 1939, p. 401, s. v. *Dantapura*.

⁵ *Geography of Ancient India* (ed. by S. N. Majumdar-Sastri), pp. 592-3.

⁶ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 361.

⁷ L. Renou, *La Géographie de Ptolémée, L'Inde* (VII, 16), Paris 1925.

⁸ P. C. Bagchi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 163 ff; especially, p. 171.

⁹ *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India*, 2nd ed., p. 53.

¹⁰ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 73.

¹¹ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 137-38.

the Chilkā Lake and the old route from Malud". Pandit Nilakantha Das, finally, believes that "Dantapur is undoubtedly the present Puri of Jagannath".¹

A like divergence of opinion prevails over the question of connotation of the geographical expression **Trikaliṅga**. According to Mr. R. D. Banerji², **Trikaliṅga** comprised within it the tracts of country anciently known as Kaliṅga, Tōsala and Utkala; while Dr. R. G. Basak believes³ that it included Uḍra (Orissa proper), Kōṅgōda and Kaliṅga. Mr. G. Ramdas lastly holds that **Trikaliṅga** denoted "the highlands intervening between the coast (*sic*) strip called Kaliṅga and the Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala or the modern Chatisgarh (*sic*)".⁴

The village of **Jijika** which was given away, is evidently, as already suggested by Mr. Subba Rao,⁵ the same as the modern village of Jirjingi, the find-spot of our record, in the Tekkali Zemindary of the Ganjām district. The **Vōṅkhara-bhōga**, in which the village granted was situated, I am unable to identify.

The **date of the record** is given as the 21st day of Vaiśākha of the year 39 of the prosperous reign [of the Gaṅgas]. The epoch of this era being still unsettled, it is hazardous to attempt at any sure estimation of its correct age. Failing all other help, we are constrained to fall back on the solitary evidence of the palaeography of the record under discussion. Taking all things into consideration and leaving a reasonable margin on either side, we would refer this record to the period **475-550 A.D.**

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁷ Svasti [[[*]]] Amara-pura-pratisparddhi-śrī(śrī)mad-Dantapurād=bhagavatas=sakala⁸-bhu-
- 2 vana-tal-ōtpatti-sthiti-pralaya-hētōḥ Paramēśvarasya satata-praṇā-
- 3 m-āvāptaḥ⁹-puṇya-saṅchaya-prabhāva-nirast-āsēsha-duritō **Gāṅg-āmala-kula-**
- 4 gagana-tala-sahasraraśmīḥ anēka-chāturdanta-samara-vijaya-
- 5 vimala-vikōśa-nistriṅsa¹⁰-dhārā-samākrānta-sakala-sāmanta-
- 6 nṛipati-maṇḍal-ādhipatiḥ¹¹-makuṭa-nihita-ruchira-padmarāga-
- 7 prabhā-prasēka-parishvaṅga-piṅgāṅgikṛita¹²-charaṇa-yugalaḥ

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 8 atula-va(ba)la-samuday-āvāpta-vipula-vibhava-sampal-latā-
- 9 maṇḍapa-chehhāyā-viśrānta-suhṛit-sādhu-vā(bā)ndhav-ārtthi-janaḥ
- 10 mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātas=**Trikaliṅg**-ādhipati-śrī-Mahā-

¹ J. A. H. R. S., Vol. II, p. 23.

² History of Orissa, Vol. I, map facing p. 49.

³ History of North-Eastern India, p. 161.

⁴ J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 16 ff.; esp. p. 23.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 49.

⁶ From ink-impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Note the northern form of l.

⁹ Read -āvāpta-.

¹⁰ Read -nistriṅsa.

¹¹ Read -ādhipati-.

¹² Better read -piṅgāṅgikṛita-.

i.

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6 6

ii, a.

8 8
10 10
12 12

ii, b.

14 14
16 16
18 18

iii.

20 20
22 22
24 24
26 26



- 11 rāj-**Ēndravarmmā** |¹ **Vōṅkhara**-bhōga-²sammbaddha-**Jijjika**-grāmē
 12 sarvva-samavētān=kuṭumbina[s*]=samājñāpayaty=asty=ayaṁ grāmō=
 13 smābhīr=Vishṇuvridha-sagōttrāya Ttai(Tai)ttirīya-savra(bra)hmachārīṇē

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 14 Rudrasvāmi-sūnavē **Agnisvāminē** tat-tanujāya cha **Rudrasvāminē**
 15 saṁvibhajy=ārdhēn=ā-samudr-ādri-śaśi-tārak-ārka-pratishṭham=agrahāraṁ kṛitvā
 16 sva-puṇy-āyū(yu)r-yyaśō-va(ba)la-varddhan-ārttha[m*] mātā-pitrōś=cha puṇy-āvāpta-
 17 yē |¹ sarvva-kara-parihārai[h*] |¹ parihṛitya ch=āyaṁ grāmaḥ
 18 prattaḥ [|*] tad=ēvaṁ bhavadbhūḥ pūrvv-ōchita-maryyāday=ōpasthēyam [|*]
 19 bhavishyataś=cha rājñō vijñāpayāmi | dharmma-krama-vikramā-

Third Plate.

- 20 nām=anyatama-yōgād=avāpta-bhūmaṇḍal-ādhirājyair=apimā(p=īmām)
 21 mahīm=anūsāsadbhūḥ kram-āgataṁ dānamī(m=i)ty=anupālaniyam ||
 22 api cha ślōkau bhavataḥ || ³Sva-dattām para-dattām mvā(vā) yatnād=raksha
 23 Yudhishṭhira [|*] mahī[m*] mahimatām śrēṣṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ-
 (nam) [|*|1*]
 24 Shashṭīm varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmida[h*] | āchchhētā ch=ānuma-
 25 ntā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [|*] **pravarddhamāna-saṁ 30 9¹ Vaiśākha-di**
 . 20 1 ||
 26 likhitam=idam mahārājñō⁵ sāndhivigrahika-**Dēvasiṅgha(simha)dēvēn=ēti** ||

TRANSLATION.

(L. 1) Ōm Hail !

From the beautiful (*city of*) **Dantapura**, which vies with **Amarāvati** (the city of gods), the glorious **Mahārāja Indravarmān**, Lord of **Trikaliṅga**—who has had all his sins removed by dint of his accumulation of religious merit obtained through his constantly doing obeisance to Śiva who is the cause of creation, preservation and destruction of the entire world ; who is a sun in the firmament of the spotless family of the **Gaṅgas** ; who has his pair of feet made tawny-coloured by their contact with the lustre of brilliant rubies infixed to the crowns of all the *sāmanta-nṛipatis* and *maṇḍalādhipatis*⁶ whom he had subdued by his stainless and unsheathed sword while winning many a battle of four-tusked⁷ (*elephants*) ; who has his friends, the virtuous, relatives

¹ The stop seems to have been indicated by a single dot. This is however superfluous.

² Read *-sambaddha-*.

³ Metre *Anuṣṭubh* ; and in the following verse.

⁴ Mr. R. Subba Rao first read the date as 309. Subsequently, however, he corrected his mistake in a slip attached opposite the title-page of the same number of the journal in which his article appeared (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, Part I). Cf. also in this connection a note by Dr. D. C. Sircar (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VII, pp. 229 ff.) also *An. Rep. on S. Ind. Epi.* for 1934-35, Part II, p. 55.

⁵ Read *mahārājasya*.

⁶ I have preferred to leave these two titles untranslated accepting the strictures passed by Dr. J. F. Fleet (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 114, n. 2) on the common practice of rendering such technical expressions into (meaningless) English.

⁷ *Chaturdanta* signifies, traditionally, the far-famed mount of Indra, viz., Airāvata. [See above, Vol. XXII, p. 178, n. 4.—Ed.]

and supplicants enjoying comfort under the shade of an arbour, as it were, of his enormous wealth obtained by his unequalled might and exertion; who is devoted to the feet of his parents—issues (*the following*) order to all the assembled householders of the village of **Jijjika** belonging to the **Vōṅkhara-bhōga**¹ :—

(L. 12) “ We have granted this village, in two equal shares,—after making it an *agrahāra* which is to last as long as the ocean, the mountain, the moon, the stars and the sun, and freeing it from all impositions, for the increase of Our own religious merit, life, fame and strength as well as for the acquisition of religious merit of Our parents—to **Agnisvāmin**, son of Rudrasvāmin and to his (*Agnisvāmin*’s) son **Rudrasvāmin**, who belong to the Vishṇuvṛiddha *gōtra* and are religious students of the Taittiriya *śākhā*.

“ Therefore, you should abide by this (*order*) according to usages obtaining heretofore.

“ I also exhort the future kings :— Even having obtained possession of the entire world by means of right, inheritance, or conquest, while ruling on this earth, they should always preserve this gift.’

“ And there are also two verses :

(Verse 1)—O Yudhishṭhira ! Most excellent among the possessors of land ! diligently preserve (*a gift of*) land given by yourself or given by somebody else. Maintenance (*of a donation*) is more meritorious than donation (*itself*).

(Verse 2)—A donor of land enjoys himself in heaven for sixty thousand years. A confiscator (*thereof*) and one who consents (*to the confiscation*) remain in hell for the same number of years.”

(L. 25) The increasing Year **30 9** ; the day **20 1** of (*the month of*) Vaiśākha.

(L. 26) This has been written by the king’s *Sāndhivigrahika*² **Dēvasimhadēva**.

¹ For a note on *bhōga*, see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 59 and 64.

² Dr. A. C. Burnell quotes (*Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, 1st ed., Mangalore, 1874, pp. 64-66) passages from old texts like the *Yājñavalkya Dharmaśāstra*, the *Mitāksharā*, the *Smṛitichandrikā*, etc., to show that common usage required that the *Sāndhivigrahika*, among other officials of the same rank, should be entrusted with the task of drafting a royal grant (*rājaśāsana*).

No. 30.—POONA PLATES OF CHALUKYA VINAYADITYA; SAKA 612.

BY MADHO SARUP VATS, M.A.

This grant, consisting of three copper-plates each measuring $9\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ in. and held together by a big ring, was purchased by me in 1936 at Poona as Superintendent of the Western Circle. To the ring, which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, is affixed a projecting seal, somewhat oval ($1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ in.), of which the countersunk surface is relieved with the figure of the boar (incarnation of Vishṇu) as is usually found on grants of the Western Chalukyas of Badāmi. The seal is however without any legend. The weight of the three plates together with the ring and the seal is about 3 lbs. and 14 oz.

The first and the third plates, as is usual with such grants, are inscribed on the inner face only and the second or the middle one on both. The inscription, which I have edited from the original plates, is in an excellent state of preservation and consists of 35 lines of writing, i.e., nine on each face except the last one which has only eight lines. The orthography is generally regular, though in a few places the rules of sandhi are not observed, e.g., in *Viśṇuḥ Vārāhaḥ* (l. 1), *śmābhīḥ dvādaś* (l. 23). It is wrongly observed in *bālindu* (l. 18). A consonant followed or preceded by *r* is generally doubled as in *kṣābhīḥ-ārṇava* (l. 1), *vartamānā* (l. 24), *paurṇamāsyām* (l. 25), etc., and in *śaṅṭirāṇām* (l. 2), *putrāṇām* (l. 3), *pavitrīkṛta-gāṭrasya* (l. 6), *mātra* (l. 11), etc.

Except the grantee, the property granted and the date, the present record agrees very closely with the published grants of the Chalukya sovereign Vinayāditya.¹ It opens with the stereotyped description of the Chalukya family in which Pulakēśin I, Kīrtivarman, Satyāśraya (Pulakēśin II), Vikramāditya and Vinayāditya Satyāśraya ruled as direct descendants. When Vinayāditya was encamped at the village Mañchōha,² which is probably no other than Manchhar in the Poona district on the road to Nāsik, he issued the grant at the request of his queen on the full moon day of Vaiśākha, Śaka year 612 expired, corresponding to his 10th³ regnal year in favour of two Brāhmapas named Durgasārman and Raviśārman of the Kāśyapa gōtra⁴. This date corresponds to Friday, 29th April 690 A.D. The property granted consisted of a field measuring 50 *niṣartanas* of land in the village of Tōravē, presumably the same as the modern village Torve in the Bījāpur District. The record closes with the name of its writer Śrī-Rāmapuṇyavallabha, the high minister of peace and war who is mentioned in all other grants of the king.

As several inscriptions of dates earlier and later than that of the present grant have already been found, this record adds very little to our knowledge of the history of the Chalukya family.

¹ Cf. Togarchēdu plates of Śaka 611 (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 242-44) and Sorab grant of Śaka 614 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 146-52).

² (See p. 291, n. 1 below.—Ed.)

³ The difficulty of reconciling the dates given in Śaka Samvat with the regnal years of Vinayāditya has already been referred to by J. F. Fleet in editing the Sorab copper-plate grant of this king, cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 148-49.

⁴ [The gift was made *kanyā-dharm-ārthan* which I take in the sense of *kanyā-dāna-dharm-ārthan*, i.e., 'for the merit accruing from the gift of a girl (in marriage)'. Apparently the girls were given in marriage to the two Brahmin donors by the queen. The 'gift of a girl' to a learned Brahmin entails great merit and according to Dharmadāstra this should be accompanied by grant of lands among other gifts. See Hēmadri, *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*, *Dānakhṇḍa*, Pt. II (ed. S. A. Deekshita, Benares), pp. 649-50.—Ed.]

TEXT.

First plate.

- 1 स्वस्ति [॥*] जयत्वाविष्कृतं विष्णीः वाराहं¹ श्रीभितार्कवं(वम्) [॥*] दक्षिणीवतदंष्ट्रा-
ग्रविद्यान्तभु-
- 2 वनं वपुः [॥*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसमीक्षाणां हारितौपु-
- 3 क्षाणां सप्तलोकमादृभिस्सप्तमादृभिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्या-
- 4 णपरम्पराणां भगवन्मारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षयव-
- 5 शीलताशेषमहीभृतां चलुक्वानां कुलमलङ्करिणीरश्मिधामशृङ्गानप-
- 6 विल्लीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपुलकेशिवल्लभमहाराजस्य स्तुः पराक्रमाक्रान्त-
- 7 वनवाखादिपरमपतिमण्डलप्रणिबद्धविशुद्धकीर्तिः कीर्त्तिर्वर्मापृथिवीवल्लभम-
- 8 हाराजस्तस्यात्मजस्यमरसंसक्तसकलीतरापथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवहेनप-
- 9 राजयोपलब्धपरमेश्वरापरनामधेयस्तत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभम-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्तत्रियस्तस्य विक्रमादित्यपरमेश्वरभ-
- 11 ष्टारकस्य मतिसहायसादृशमात्रसमधिगतनिजवर्गसमुचितचि-
- 12 तराज्यविभवस्य विविधरसितसितसमरमुखगतपुनरपतिविजयस-
- 13 सुपलब्धकीर्त्तिपताकावभासितदिगन्तरस्य त्रिमकरकरविमलकुलप-
- 14 रिभवविलयहेतुपञ्चवपतिपराजयानन्तरपरिगृहीतकाशीपुर-
- 15 स्य प्रभावकुलिशदलितचोक्रपाण्डुरकेरकधरणीधरत्रयमानमान-
- 16 शृङ्गस्य अनन्यसमवनतकाशीपतिमणिमकुटकुटकिरणसलिला-
- 17 भिषिक्तचरणकमलस्य त्रिसमुद्रमहावर्त्तिभुवनमण्डलाधीश्वरस्य स्तु-
- 18 तः पितृराज्या वाजि(ले)न्दुशेखरस्येव सेनानीहैत्यवल्लभमसिमुद्रतं

¹ Read. Vāṣṭhō-vāṣṭhā.

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Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 चैराज्यपल्लववलमवष्टभ्य समस्तविषयप्रशमनादिहिततन्मनोनु-
 20 रञ्जनः अत्यन्तवत्सलत्वादुधिष्ठिर इव श्रीरामत्वादासुदेव इव नृपांकुश-
 21 त्वा(त्वा)त्परशुराम इव राजाश्रयत्वाद्भरत इव विनयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृथि-
 22 वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्त्वर्चानिवमाज्ञापयति वि-
 23 दितमस्तु वीरमाभिः द्वादशीत्तरषट्कु(ट्श)तेषु शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु प्रव-
 24 र्त्तमानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे दशमे वर्त्तमाने 'मञ्चोद्गममधिवसति विज-
 25 यस्कन्धावारि वैशाखपौर्णमास्यां महादेवीविज्ञापनया कन्याधर्मार्थं
 26 काश्यपसगीक्षस्य(चाभ्यां) दुग्मा(र्गा)शर्मरविशर्मभ्यां राजमानेन तोरवेग्रामे पञ्चाश-
 27 त्त्रिवर्त्तनपरिमाणं पश्चिमदिग्भागे सर्वभोगा(ग)परिहारो दत्त[:*]

Third Plate.

- 28 तदागामिभिरस्मदंशैरन्यैश्च राजभिरायुरैश्चर्यादीनां विलसित-
 29 मचिरांशु[चं]चलमवगच्छद्भिराचन्द्रार्कधराखर्वस्थितिसमकालं
 30 यशश्चिचीषुभिः[.] स्वदत्तिनिर्व्विशेषं परिपालनीयमुक्तं च भगवता वै-
 31 दव्यासेन व्यासेन [I*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्व्व्यस्य^१ य-
 32 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) [II*] स्वन्दातुं समहच्छक्यं दुः-
 33 खमन्यस्य पालनं(नम्) [I*] दानं वा पालनं वेति दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) [II*]
 स्वदत्तां प-
 34 रदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) [I*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते
 क्रिमिः [II*]
 35 महासान्धिविग्रहिकश्रीरामपुण्यवल्लभेन लिखितमिदं शासनं [I]

¹ [I read *Mañchu-grāmam* =.—Ed.]² Read =*Sagar-ādibhiḥ/yaśya*.

No. 31.—ANJANERI PLATES OF GURJARA JAYABHATA III; K. 461.

BY MADHO SARUP VATS, M.A., AND D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.

This grant consists of **two plates** which are held together by two copper-rings, one of which has an oval **seal** containing the letters *śrī-Jayabhāṭa* embossed below a peculiar symbol resembling a flying *Garuḍa*. They were found with a Marāṭhā family surnamed Shid of **Anjaneri** village in the Nāsik District along with two copper-plate grants of Prithivīchandra Bhōgaśakti, dealt with above¹, and measure $12\frac{7}{8}'' \times 9\frac{3}{8}''$. The first plate contains 18 lines of writing and the second 21.

The **characters** belong to the southern variety and closely resemble those of the Nausārī² and Kāvī³ plates of Jayabhāṭa III and IV issued in the years 456 and 486 respectively. With the exception of the attestation in the last line, its palaeography is similar to that of the Chalukya and Rāshtrakūṭa grants of the seventh century A.D. found in Gujarāt. The characters in the attestation are cursive and differ from the rest of the inscription. Often a dot has been used in the record to denote a mark of punctuation.

The record is dated the **11th day of the dark half of Āsvina**, Tulā-saṅkrānti, (Kālachūri) **Samvat 461** corresponding to A.D. 709-10⁴ and was issued from **Bharukachchha** (Broach). The introductory portion, containing the description of the family of Jayabhāṭa, agrees with that given in the two grants mentioned above. The genealogy starts with **Dadda (II)** who was born in the lineage of **Mahārāja Karna** and who protected the lord of **Valabhī** who was defeated by **Harshadēva** (identified with Dharaśēna IV who suffered defeat at the hands of Harshavardhana of Kanauj). His son was **Jayabhāṭa (II)** and his son **Dadda (III)**-Bāhusahāya. The latter's son was **Jayabhāṭa (III)**, the donor, who was a great devotee of Mahēśvara and had obtained the five great sounds (*samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda*).

The beneficiary in the present grant was a Brāhmaṇa named **Nārāyaṇa** son of Vasusvāmin of Dābhilya **gōtra** and Chhandōga-Kauthuma *śākhā* and a resident of **Brahmapurī**.

The property granted consisted of three pieces of land totalling 60 *nivartanas* in and around the village **Taurāṇaka**⁵ situated in the **Nāndīpura Vishaya**: the first measuring 52 *nivartanas*, the second 5 *nivartanas* and the third 3 *nivartanas*.

The **importance** of this grant lies in the fact that it extends the date of Jayabhāṭa III from the year 456 of the Nausārī plates to the year 461.

The grant mentions certain places situated in the **Nāndīpura vishaya** which has already been identified with Nandod situated on the Karjan river in the Rajapipla State. The places mentioned are the villages of **Taurāṇaka**, **Jayapura**, **Vidvēraka** and **Bhūtishohī**⁶ and the river **Karillinī**. **Taurāṇaka**,⁷ in and around which were situated the three plots of land granted, seems to be the modern Toran (also called Toranmal) on the Karjan river which seems to be the river **Karillinī** of our grant situated about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Nandod. It is possible that **Jayapura** is the same as modern Jitpur, 6 miles east of Nandod and about 8 miles south-east of Toran or **Taurāṇaka** of the grant. **Bhūtishohī**⁸ and **Vidvēraka**, however, cannot be identified but should not be far away

¹ See above, pp. 225 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 113 ff. Professor Mirashi has since proved that this grant is referable to Jayabhāṭa IV, cf. above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 176 ff.

⁴ [The date would correspond to Tuesday, 23rd September A.D. 710, when the sun seems to have entered the Tulā-rāśi.—Ed.]

⁵ [See below p. 294, n. 2.—Ed.]

⁶ [This is apparently identical with the modern village of Bhuchhād, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west of Toran the western bank of the Karjan.—Ed.]

from the neighbourhood of Nandod.¹ It is interesting to note that the present topography of the place agrees fairly closely with the description given in the grant.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ² स्वस्ति [॥*] श्रीभरुकच्छात् सततलक्ष्मीनिवासभूते दृष्टासन्तापहारिणि दिननाथ-
विस्तारितानुभावे द्विजकुलोपजीव्यमानविभवशा-
- 2 लिनि महति महाराजकर्णान्वये कमलाकर इव राजहङ्गः(हंसः) प्रवलकलिकाल-
विलसिताकुलितविमलस्वभावो³ गम्भीरो-
- 3 दारचरितविस्मापितसकललोकपालमानसः परमेश्वरश्रीहर्षदेवाभिभूतवलभीपतिपरिचाणीपजा-
तभ्रमद-
- 4 दम्भशुभ्राभ्रविभ्रमयशोवितानः श्रीददस्तस्य सूनुरशङ्कितागतप्रणयिजनोपभुक्तविभवसंचयीप-
चीयमानम-
- 5 नोनिर्वृतिरनेककण्टकवङ्ग(वंश)संदोहदाहदुर्ललितप्रतापानलो निशितनिस्त्रिङ्ग(स्त्रिंश)धारादा-
रितारातिकरिकुम्भमुक्ताफलच्छ-
- 6 लोक्लसितसितयशोङ्ग(शींश)कावगुण्ठितदिग्धधूवदनसरसिजः श्रीजयभट्टस्तस्यात्मजो महामुनिम-
नुप्रणीतप्रवचनाधिग-
- 7 मविवेकस्वधर्मानुष्ठानप्रवणि(णी) वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थोन्मूलितसकलकलिकालावलेपः प्रणयिजनम-
नोरथविषयव्यतीतविभव-
- 8 संपादनापनीताशेषशेष'पार्थिवदानाभिमानो मदविवशांकुशातिवर्तिकुपितकरिनिवारणप्रथित-
गुरुगजाधिरो-
- 9 हणप्रभावो विपत्प्रपातपतितनरपतिशताभ्युदरणनिखिललोकविश्रुतपरोपकारकरणव्यसनः प्राच्य-
प्रतीच्याधि-
- 10 राजविजृम्भितमहासंग्रामनरपतिसहस्रपरिवारितानेकगजघटाविघटनप्रकटितभुजवीर्यविख्यातवा-
हुसहाया-

¹ [There is a Virampura about a mile to the west of Jetpur or Jitpur which may be the Brahmapuri, the place of residence of the donee.—Ed.]

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Should be *-vilasit-ānākulita-*.

⁴ *Śeṣha* has been repeated.

- 11 परनामा ।¹ परममाहेश्वरस्ममधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दयोदहस्तस्य सूतुरनेकसमरसंघट्टवनघटित-
गजघटापाट-
- 12 नपटुरसहिष्णुवनगहनदावानली दीनानाथातुरसुहृत्त्वजनवन्धुकुमुदाकरकौमुदीनिशाकरी भागी-
रथीप्रवाह इ-
- 13 व विपक्षलोभक्षमः शान्तनुरिव समुद्रूतकलकलारावमहा[वा]हिनीपतिरादिवराह इव
स्वभुजवलपराक्रमीदृतध-
- 14 राधरः परममाहेश्वरस्ममधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दयोजयभट्टकुशली ।¹ सर्वानिव राजसा-
मन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराट्ट-
- 15 ग्राम[म*]हत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु वस्त्रंविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोरात्मन-
यैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभि-
- 16 वृद्धये ।¹ ब्रह्मपुरीनिवास्येतच्चातुर्विद्यसामान्यडाभित्यसमीचक्र(च्छ)न्दोगकौयुमसब्रह्मचारिब्रा-
ह्मणवसुस्त्रामिपुत्र-
- 17 ब्राह्मण[ना]रायणाय ।¹ बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञादिह(क्रि)योत्सर्पणार्थं ।¹
नान्दीपुरविषयान्तर्गत-
- 18 तौरणकग्रामस्य² पूर्वोत्तरदिग्विभागे ।¹ हापञ्चाशद्विवर्तनप्रमाणं भूखण्डं यस्या-
घाटनानि ।

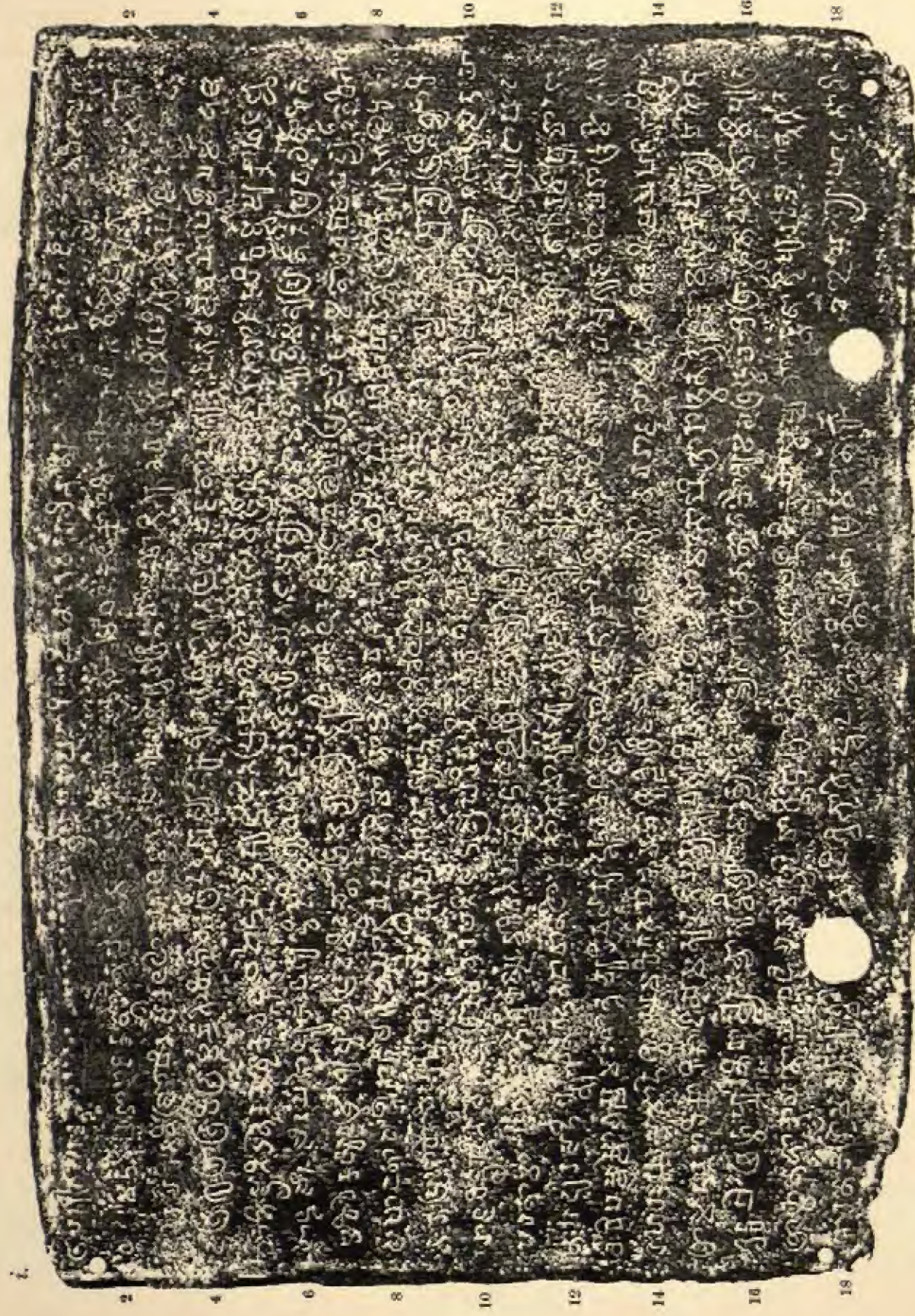
Second Plate.

- 19 पूर्वतः जयपुरग्रामयायी पत्न्या हस्तिनिकागर्तासंलग्नः(ग्नं) सरो(रः) [।*] दक्षिणतः
[कु(के)]दमीवृक्षोपलक्षितमैरान्तरि-
- 20 तं कुटुम्बिदीपसत्ककौटुम्बक्षेत्रं मैरान्तस्त्र(स)मुत्थितो दक्षिणाभिमुखो वहस्य । तथा
अपरतः तौरणकया-²
- 21 मात् विहरेकग्रामयायी पत्न्या तथा क्षेत्रमदिरार्थिनो अमिश्चार वृक्षः तथा
धम्माणगर्तागामी वहस्य । उत्तरतः धम्माणखण्डा ।
- 22 एवमे[त*]क्षत्रराघाटनोपलक्षितं भूखण्डं [।*] तथास्यैव ग्रामस्य दक्षिणदिग्विभागे
कच्छे पंचन्नि(नि)वर्तनप्रमाणं भूखण्डं । यस्याघाटनानि । पू-

¹ Mark of punctuation unnecessary.

² [The plate reads Tōraṇaka.—Ed.]

i.



The image shows a close-up of a dark, heavily textured surface, possibly a book cover or a piece of ancient parchment. The surface is covered in numerous small, light-colored, irregular marks and scratches, suggesting significant wear and tear. There are three distinct circular holes or indentations along the left edge. The overall appearance is aged and weathered.

- 23 अंतः वरदकर्म्यादान्तरितकुटुम्बिरेवत्सत्कौटुम्बचेत् । दक्षिणतः करिञ्जिनी नदी ।
अपरतः लम्बुपूलचित्तवरदकर्म्या-
- 24 दान्तरितकुटुम्बिवीजधर्मसत्कौटुम्बचेत् । उत्तरतः ब्राह्मणदामोदरसत्कब्रह्मदेयचेत् ।
राजकीयचरिका च । यदेवं चतुराघाट-
- 25 नोपलक्षितं भूखण्डं । तथास्यैव भूखण्डस्य दक्षिणदिग्दिग्भागे कच्छे । कच्छिका-
प्रतिवदनिवर्त्तनचयप्रमाणं भूखण्डं यस्याघाटनानि
- 26 पूर्वतः करिञ्जिनी नदी । दक्षिणतीरै(तस्मै)व करिञ्जिनी नदी अपरतः भूतिधोहीशाम-
गामीसीमास्थिः [1*] उत्तरती(तः) कौष्ठचोपलक्षित-
- 27 करिञ्जिनीनदीवितटी । एवमेतच्चतुर्चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितभूखण्डचयावस्थितं षष्टिनिवर्त्तनप्रमाणं
चेत् । सीपरिकरं । समुत्-
- 28 पा(वा)तप्रत्यायं । सधान्यहिरण्यादेयं । सदशापरार्धं सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकं । सर्वराज-
कीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयं । पूर्वप्रत्त-
- 29 देवब्रह्मदायरहितं । भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्काणवस्थि(त्ति)तिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीनं । पुत्र-
पौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यं । गृहस्थाव-
- 30 रतटाकसहितमद्याग्वयुजवहुले(लै)कादद्यां तुलासंक्रान्ते रवावुदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपा-
दितं । यतीस्त्रीचितया ब्रह्मदायस्त्रित्वा भुं-
- 31 जतः कृपतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैचिद्दशासिधे वर्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपति-
भिरस्मदंश्चैरन्यैश्चायमस्मदायीनुमन्तव्यः
- 32 पालयितव्यश्च । यथाज्ञानतिमिरपटलादृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमीदेत स
पञ्चभिर्महापातकैश्छोप-
- 33 पातकैश्चयुक्तः[1*] स्यादित्युक्तं च भगवा(वता) वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि
स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च ता-
- 34 न्नैव नरके वसेत् ॥ विन्ध्याटवीप्वतीयासु शुष्ककीटरवासिनः [1*] कृष्णाङ्गयो हि
जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता
- 35 राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः(त(मिस्त))स्य तस्य तदा फलं-
(लम्) ॥ अग्नेरपत्यं प्रयमं सुवर्णं भूर्वर्णावी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [1*]

- 36 लोक्क(क)वयं तेन भवेत्तु दत्तं ।¹ यः काच(ञ्च)नं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैः दा(न्दैर्दा)नानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि । नि-
37 भुक्त्वात्प्रतिमानि तानि ।¹ की नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥*॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
वा यद्वाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर ।¹ महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दाना-
38 च्छेयीनुपालनमिति² ॥ लिखितमिति बलाधिकृतदुर्गभटसूनुना बलाधिकृतसहभटेनेति ॥
बलाधिकृतवावुस-
39 दूतकं ॥ सं ४०० ६० १ आश्वयुज व १० १ निवहम् ॥ स्वहस्तो मम
श्रीजयभटस्य ॥

TRANSLATION.

(L. 1.) Ōm. Hail! From the illustrious **Bharukachchha** :—

(Ll. 1-15) [Common to Gurjara grants. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 79-80.]

(Ll. 15-30) Today on the 11th day of the dark fortnight of the month of **Āsvayuja** while the sun was in the **Tulā Saṅkrānti**, I have given with libation of water to the **Brāhmaṇa Nārāyaṇa**, son of the **Brāhmaṇa Vasuśvāmin**, resident of **Brahmapurī**, of the **Chāturvidya** community and **Dābhilya gōtra**, a student of **Chhandōga-Kaṭhuma (śākhā)** for the performance of the five *mahāyajñas*, viz., *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihōtra* and *atithi*, a piece of land measuring 52 *nivartanas* in the north-east of the village **Taurāṇaka**³ included in the **Nāndīpura vishaya**, bounded on the east by the path leading to **Jayapura** village and the pond adjoining the **Hastinikā** streamlet, on the south by the proprietary field belonging to the householder **Dīpa**, which is comprised in the marsh indicated by the **Chhēdamī** tree, and also by the streamlet rising from the fringe of the marsh and flowing southwards; in the west by the path leading from the village **Taurāṇaka** to the village **Vidvēraka**, and the **Amiāra** (?) tree as well as the streamlet flowing into the **Dhammāṇa** stream; and in the north by the **Dhammāṇa** stream—this piece of land thus bounded on all the four sides; and a plot of land measuring five *nivartanas* in the marshy tract to the south of the same village (**Taurāṇaka**) bounded on the east by the proprietary field of the householder **Rāvalla** included within the limits of **Baradaka**; on the south by the **Karillīnī** river; on the west by the proprietary field belonging to the householder **Vijadharmā** comprised within the limits of **Baradaka** marked by **Laggustu** (?), and on the north by the donated land belonging to the **Brāhmaṇa Dāmōdara** and by the royal pasture land—the land thus bounded on all four sides; and (lastly) another plot of land measuring 3 *nivartanas* in the marshy area alongside the embankment and situated to the south of this plot of land, bounded on the east and south by the **Karillīnī** river; on the west by the boundary line leading to the village **Bhūtishōhī**; and on the north by the *vitāṭī* (?) of the **Karillīnī** river marked by the **Kaulla** tree—these plots of land with the boundaries detailed above and measuring in all sixty *nivartanas* together with the *uparikara*, *bhūta*, *vāta*, *pratyāya*, etc.

(Ll. 27-38) [Are common with the published Gurjara grants, especially the **Nausāri** plates. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 80-81.]

(Ll. 38-39) Written by the army chief **Sahabhāṭa** son of the army chief **Durgabhāṭa**. The army chief **Bāvulla** (acted as) the **Dūtaka**. Recorded in the year 461, 11th day of the dark fortnight of **Āsvayuja**. This is the sign manual of myself—the illustrious **Jayabhāṭa**.

¹ *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

² Read °ch-*chhrēyō-nupālanaṃ* || *iti*.

³ [See above, p. 294, n. 2.—Ed.]

From a photograph.



No. 32—THE PUNJAI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNADEVARAYA.

BY PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, MADRAS.

This epigraph (No. 184 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) is a copy of an order issued by king **Kṛishṇadēvarāya** of Vijayanagara while he was camping on the banks of the river **Kṛishṇavēṇī** some time after his conquest of the **Kaliṅga** country. So far copies of this order have been found engraved in twenty different places in the **Chōlamanḍalam** which formed part of the Vijayanagara empire and to which the order relates. These places are: **Śēṇḍamaṅgalam**,¹ **Tirthanagari**,² **Elavānāsūr**,³ **Neyyavai**⁴ (S. Arcot District), **Tiruvīśālūr**,⁵ **Tirukkandīśvaram**,⁶ **Perumuḷai**,⁷ **Korukkai**,⁸ **Tirunagiri**,⁹ **Paraśālūr**,¹⁰ **Puñjai**,¹¹ **Ākkūr**,¹² **Tillaiyāḍi**,¹³ **Tirukkadaiyūr**,¹⁴ **Śēṇḍalai**,¹⁵ **Iluppappattu**,¹⁶ **Talaiṇāyar**,¹⁷ **Tirumaṅgalakkuḍi**¹⁸ (Tanjore District), **Tiruppalātturai**,¹⁹ and **Kaṇṇanūr**²⁰ (Trichinopoly District). Though they are all copies of the same royal order, certain variations are found in them not only in the details of the order but also in their record of the achievements of the king.

The inscription is edited with the aid of the impressions and transcripts of all its copies kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari, Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. Mr. T. V. Mahalingam, M.A., rendered much invaluable assistance in collating the numerous copies and preparing the text and translation of the record, in the verification of the geographical data, and in many other ways.

The **script** of all the copies is in mixed Grantha and Tamil, and Sanskrit words are often transliterated into Tamil. The **language** is Tamil; there are however two Sanskrit verses, one at the beginning and the other at the end. The engraving of the inscription appears to have been the work of persons of mediocre ability, and hence many mistakes are found in each copy. The defective nature of these inscriptions is, for instance, in striking contrast with the excellence of workmanship found in the **Chōla** inscriptions from the same area. Of the twenty copies of the epigraph only four are complete, these found at **Paraśālūr**, **Puñjai**, **Ākkūr** and **Tillaiyāḍi**; and the chief variations among these have been noticed in the footnotes to the text.

The inscription opens with an invocation to **Gaṇapati** and **Śiva**, and records the date and the purpose of the royal order together with the titles of the king; it then gives an account of the conquests of **Kṛishṇadēvarāya** in the eastern country till the date of the record, and states that the king while he was halting on the banks of the **Kṛishṇavēṇī** in Śaka 1439 (A.D. 1517), remitted 10,000 *varāḥan* (gold pieces) in favour of the **Śiva** and **Vishṇu** temples in the **Chōlamanḍalam**. The remission comprised the dues called *jōḍi* and *araṣupēru*; other copies mention in addition, one or more of the following: *śūlavari*, *śūlavāḷi* and *marṇam pala piṇṇavarigalum*.²¹

There is a like difference among the copies in the number and names of the temples enumerated as the beneficiaries of the remission, only a few (like the one that is being edited) mentioning almost all the places. Generally each of the copies mentions the place where it is found and a few

¹ No. 74 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.² No. 125 of 1904.³ No. 142 of 1906.⁴ No. 381 of 1908.⁵ No. 355 of 1907.⁶ No. 80 of 1911.⁷ No. 210 of 1917.⁸ No. 235 of 1917.⁹ No. 406 of 1918.¹⁰ No. 167 of 1925.¹¹ No. 184 of 1925.¹² No. 226 of 1925.¹³ No. 235 of 1925.¹⁴ No. 251 of 1925.¹⁵ No. 214 of 1926.¹⁶ No. 137 of 1927.¹⁷ No. 157 of 1927.¹⁸ No. 223 of 1927.¹⁹ No. 288 of 1903.²⁰ No. 511 of 1905.²¹ See n. 4, p. 305 below.

others. Hence to draw a list of all the places in favour of which the remission was made, a comparative study of all the copies is essential. Here the four complete copies have been closely compared for being edited while the others have been referred to wherever necessary. The full list obtained is given further down.

The inscription is of more than ordinary interest to the student of Vijayanagara history. Firstly, it gives a detailed list of the conquests of Krishṇadēvarāya in the Telugu country up to the date of the record though it does not state the dates of the different campaigns and conquests. Secondly, on account of the use made of this record by H. Krishna Sastri, it has a bearing on the identification of "Catur" of Nuniz, a difficult problem for which no satisfactory solution has been offered so far. Lastly it gives us some idea of a few of the taxes and the revenue administration in the empire.

The campaigns of Krishṇadēvarāya against the Gajapati ruler of Orissa and his confederates which are briefly mentioned in this record have been dealt with in detail by H. Krishna Sastri¹ in the light of other inscriptions of the reign and the evidence drawn from contemporary literature, and there is no need, therefore, to consider them at any length here. There is, however, one point on which the opinion tentatively expressed by Krishna Sastri seems to be open to further consideration. This relates to the expedition against Catur mentioned by Nuniz and the location of that place. Some inscriptions of Krishṇadēvarāya's reign, like the one now edited, trace the course of the king's northern campaign up to Sihhāchalam and Poṭṭunūru, where he planted a pillar of victory. Telugu works of the reign seem to extend the range of the campaign: "From the *Pāriṣāṭāpaharaṇamu* and other Telugu works, however," says Krishna Sastri, "we learn that Krishṇarāya did not stop with the setting up of the pillar of victory at Poṭṭunūru, but went further north, even into the interior of the Gajapati's dominions, devastated the country of Odḍādi and burnt his capital town of Kaṭaka (i.e., Cuttack) thus forcing the Gajapati to make peace by offering the hand of one of his daughters". He then points out that we have no epigraphical evidence enabling us to decide if this raid into Odḍādi took place in continuation of the campaign commemorated by the pillar of victory at Poṭṭunūru or occurred later as part of another campaign, and proceeds: "This much, at any rate, becomes certain from the Sihhāchalam records, viz., that Krishṇarāya was at Sihhādri at the beginning of Śaka 1438, and that in Śaka 1441 he made over to the temple at Sihhāchalam certain villages which were granted to him by the Gajapati king. Whether these latter were the voluntary gifts of the Gajapati ruler on behalf of his ally Krishṇarāya or were wrung from him by a regular raid on his capital, are points which cannot be decided at present. Nevertheless there appears to be a clue to some historical event—not yet discovered—in the conquest of Catur which is mentioned by Nuniz next, perhaps, in chronological order, after making peace with the king of Orya. The name Catur cannot be traced either in epigraphical records or in Telugu literature. Nor is Nuniz himself very clear in his statements about this place and the expedition against it. He says that Catur is situated on the Charmādel side and that it is surrounded by a river which at the time of Krishṇarāya's capture was in flood. Besides, the account does not state against whom the attack was directed; nor does it disclose any proper names that could lead to the identification of Catur. Sewall thinks that there is in this a possible reference to Vellore. But as Telugu literature has so far been found to confirm the facts related in lithic records or registered by Nuniz, it may not be altogether improbable to suppose that the 'Catur' of Nuniz is identical with Kaṭaka (Cuttack) mentioned in Telugu literature, and that Krishṇarāya, according to the latter authority, must have finally compelled

¹ *Annual Report, A. S. I., 1908-9*, pp. 176-82.

the Gajapati king to flee and burnt his capital before accepting from him the terms of peace and the hand of his daughter in marriage. Very likely Nuniz took 'Catuir' to be situated in a country different from that of the Gajapati's and thought that the peace with Gajapati was concluded before Krishnarāya started against Catuir".

It is true Nuniz's account of Krishnarāya's expedition against Catuir is vague and leaves many things doubtful; but if any one fact emerges clearly from his account, it is that Catuir was not in Orissa. For he begins his account of this expedition with the categorical statement: 'After Krishnarao had made peace, and had married the daughter of the king of Orya, and had restored to him his wife and land beyond the river, as has been mentioned above, he made ready a large army and prepared to attack Catuir', and he also says: 'after the king returned from Orya he never went again thither'.¹ These statements show clearly that Nuniz was clear that the expedition against Catuir had nothing whatever to do with the Orissa campaign. And it is not easy to accept the identity of Catuir with Kataka.

Phonetically more plausible is the suggestion of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya that Catuir should be sought in Kayattār in the Tinnevely District. The Pandyā ruler of Kayattār was, he thinks, besieged at Kāyal by Krishnadēvarāya, and Nuniz's account of the siege of one of the principal cities where the lord of Catuir was has reference to this. He points out that Krishnarāya is said to have conquered Ceylon in an inscription at Pirānmalai, and that some time between A.D. 1514 and A.D. 1522 the ruler of Quilon must have lost control of the eastern part of the Tinnevely District including the sea-coast, and Krishnarāya's expedition must have brought this about.² But apart from the inconclusive character of the evidence cited which does not seem quite to sustain the conclusion reached, one serious objection to this reconstruction lies in Nuniz's statement that the land of Catuir 'is on the Charmiodel side'. The term Coromandel coast is generally applied to the coast between say Point Calimere and the Krishnā river, and even if it be loosely extended a little more to the south, it is extremely doubtful if it could be made to cover the whole of the Eastern coast down to Cape Comorin, and if, further, a town so far inland as Kayattār which is at least 25 miles from the sea as the crow flies and much more by the road from Kāyal, can be said to be on the Coromandel side by an author who is using the expression from the standpoint of Vijayanagar.

The suggestion made by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar that Catuir must be taken to be a variant of Kādavar³ ignores the direct statement of Nuniz that Catuir is a geographical name—'Catuir, which is the land of a lord who had been in revolt for fifty years'. It is perhaps unnecessary to follow the further stages of the argument built upon such a slender hypothesis.

Now in the contemporary Dutch records of the beginning of the seventeenth century, there is frequent mention of a place called Katoer. This is described as a fortress within a mile of Pulicat. I draw my information not directly from the Dutch records to which I have no access, but from the excellent summaries of them provided by N. McLeod in his *De Oost-Indische Compagnie als Zeemogendheid in Azië* (2 vols., 1927). We first hear of the place in 1610 under the

¹ Sewall, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 320, 322.

² *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, pp. 447-52.

³ A yet remembered ruler of a long forgotten empire, pp. 8-11. Dr. Aiyangar's statement that Nuniz's description of the capture of Catuir 'is exactly the description that is given of the siege and capture of Śīvanasamu-dram in the *Krishnarājaviṣṇu*' (p. 9) is not supported either by the text or by the summary of it in *Sources*, pp. 130-31. His other citations from literature, e.g., *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* are not more helpful. The *Koṅḍiśārājākhaṇḍi* contains a good account of the Ummattūr campaign, but it has no resemblance to Nuniz's account under reference.

name Anai-Kāṭṭūr on the river of Pulicat granted to the Dutch for purposes of trade by Obberāja, a captain of the Vellore army, i.e., of the kingdom of Vijayanagar.¹ Again we find Singama-Naik entrenched in the same place at a distance of $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Geldria (the Dutch fort at Pulicat) on the 11th August 1625.² Passing over unimportant references to the place³ we may note that in the civil war that was raging in 1632, Śrīraṅga, a nephew of the ruling king Veṅkaṭa II, sent an army of 3,000 men against the fort of Kāṭṭūr (within sight of Geldria) which was then in the hands of Timarāja, the chief of the rebellion.⁴ We seem to have then in Kāṭṭūr ('Katoer' of the Dutch records) a fortified place located on a river and 'on the Coromandel side' which by its name, situation and historical associations seems to answer very well to Nuniz's Catuir. A reference to the survey map sheet No. 66 C/SW (D-2) (scale 1 inch=2 miles) will show that Kāṭṭūr is situated in the midst of swampy and difficult country and besides the river already mentioned, there is also a tank and other waterways, all likely to be flooded easily in the rainy season.

It may be noted that Nuniz counts Paleacate among the countries paying tribute to Vijayanagara under Dēvarāja II, that is, some time about 1440 A.D., and Sewell, after rightly identifying this place as Pulicat, near Madras, adds a note saying: 'This was an important province of Vijayanagar in later years'.⁵ It seems probable that 'the lord who had been in revolt for fifty years' and in whose land Catuir lay, was the lord of this province. The words of Nuniz as rendered by Sewell are: Crisnarao "prepared to attack Catuir, which is the land of a lord who had been in revolt for fifty years; this land is on the Charmādel side. And he went against it, and laid siege to one of the principal cities where the lord of the land was; and it is called and is surrounded with water".⁶ The last sentence and the blank in it do seem to create a difficulty; but the categorical statement at the beginning that the king prepared to attack Catuir may well be taken to mean that this was the 'principal city' in his land where the rebel lord was at the time of Krishnarāja's war.

Referring to the grant now being edited, Krishna Sastri has observed: 'The choice of the bank of the river Kṛishṇā for making a grant in favour of the temples of Chōla-maṇḍala in the south, cannot be reasonably explained except by supposing that Kṛishnarāja was about this time, viz., the end of Śaka 1439, again on his march for a second time to the Kaliṅga country against 'Catuir', which, as noted above, is very probably Cuttack'.⁷ Two considerations may be urged against this view. First, there is the categorical statement of Nuniz cited already, that after Kṛishnarāja returned from the expedition to Orissa which resulted in his marriage with the Gajapati's daughter, he did not go back to Orissa. Secondly, there is a definite statement in an inscription⁸ dated Śaka 1438 that Kṛishnarāja had already accomplished the conquest of the Kaliṅga country as far north as Kataka, which sufficiently accounts for the literary evidence cited by Krishna Sastri without the necessity for postulating another Orissa campaign in Śaka 1439.

We do not know the particular reason for which Bezvada was chosen as the scene of this comprehensive grant to the numerous temples of the Tamil country. But we know that in the preceding year (Dhātṛi),⁹ the monarch had attended the *mahāmahām* festival in Kumbhakōṣam

¹ McLeod, i, p. 96.

² *Ibid.*, i, p. 473.

³ *Ibid.*, i, pp. 467 and 492; ii, pp. 171, 179.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, p. 13.

⁵ *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 302.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 321.

⁷ *Annual Report, A. S. I.*, 1908-9, p. 182.

⁸ No. 824 of 1922. See also pp. 177-81 of *Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report*, by Sadhu Subrahmanya Sastri, who accepts the identity of Catuir with Cuttack.

⁹ No. 493 of 1907, the Śaka date 1440 must be wrong.

and utilised the occasion for making an extensive tour to the various shrines in the south. The most detailed account of this tour is furnished by the *Rājavāchakamu*.¹ Evidently, after his return to home country, he wanted to commemorate in some striking manner the pilgrimage he had just concluded. The administrative consultations necessary before the monarch's idea could be implemented must have taken some months as in all probability the local officers in charge of the different parts of the Tamil land had to be consulted. When the final decision had been taken, the monarch must have chosen a suitable place and occasion for making the actual proclamation of his decision. The time chosen was Makara-saṅkrānti of the Īvara year, and the visit to the Kṛṣṇā-river and the shrines of Anantaśāyin of Uṇḍavilli and Mallikārjuna of Bezvada on such an occasion is easily understood. The date of the record corresponds to 28th December, A.D. 1517.

It is possible that Kṛṣṇarāya's presence at Bezvada was connected with one of the numerous campaigns of the reign fought against the Sultān of Golkonda, Kūli Kutb Shāh. Late in his life the Sultān boasted of having reduced the infidels of Telingana from the borders of Warangal to Masulipatam and Rājahmundry, having taken between sixty and seventy forts by force of arms.² The anonymous historian who has recorded this fact also mentions a war directed by Kṛṣṇadevarāya himself after the capture of Dēvarakonda by Kūli Kutb Shāh.³ The date of the particular campaign cannot be determined with precision, and the anonymous historian does not give any date. But once more, it is possible that this campaign is identical with that mentioned by Nuniz as having occurred after Kṛṣṇarāya's capture of Catuir, and having been directed against a Muslim captain most probably of the army of Kūli Kutb Shāh of Golkonda.⁴ If these suggestions are accepted, the presence of Kṛṣṇarāya at Bezvada receives a simple and natural explanation as being connected with the regular course of the military campaigns of the reign.

The taxes that were remitted in favour of the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples of the Chōlamanḍalam were *Jōḍi*, *Sūlavari*, *Nīlavali* (*Nīlavari*), *Araḍupēru*, and other taxes (*piṇavari*).⁵ These taxes were due to the king (palace) from the temples themselves (l. 30). All these taxes are not mentioned in all the copies of the inscription. It is difficult to specify the exact nature of all of them, but the following suggestions may be made: *Jōḍi* is explained by Wilson as a favourable quit rent on *inām* lands.⁶ It is also the name of a tenure under which a person reclaims a certain portion of waste land, settles on it, and pays half or quarter of the gross value of the produce to the Government.⁷ In the Vijayanagar epigraphs it is found used generally in the former sense, and was in many respects similar to the *mānyakōṇike* which the holders of *inām* lands like Brāhmins and Fakirs paid to the State.⁸ Thus *Jōḍi* was a small quit rent, paid by the temples, on their *inām* lands. The rate is unknown.

Sūlavari is more difficult to explain. One of the meanings given under the word *Sūlam* in the *Tamil Lexicon* is: 'Brand-mark on cattle, usually trident-shaped'. No authority is cited in the *Lexicon*, but the meaning suits the context of our inscription very well and seems to show that

¹ *Sources of Vijayanagar History*. (Madras University Historical Series, I), pp. 125-9.

² Briggs: *Firishka* (Cambray & Co., 1910), iii, pp. 352-3.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 355-6. I owe this reference to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.

⁴ *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 322.

⁵ No. 288 of 1903.

⁶ H. H. Wilson: *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue terms*, p. 214, col. 1.

⁷ Narasinga Rao: *A Kannada Glossary of Kanarese Words*, p. 91, cited by Salstoro, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, ii, p. 440.

⁸ Cf. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya: *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, pp. 229-30.

the *Sūlavari* was perhaps a small tax or fee paid on the cattle belonging to the temples, each head of cattle being branded at the time of registration in the nearest public office.

Nilavāḍi seems to be only a variant of the usual *Nilavari* land tax, levied on lands which were not *ināms*, but held in ordinary tenure by the temples concerned.

Araṣupēru is another difficult term. Wilson¹ notes that *Araṣu* means 'privileges allowed for watching', and '*Araṣukkāran*'—a person holding certain privileges for performing police duty'. '*Pēru*' is an abstract noun from Tamil *peṇḍal*, 'to get', and means 'receipts'. *Araṣupēru* then may be taken to stand for the fee collected by the State for the performance of police duties and the maintenance of security. This was perhaps different from the wages of the village watchmen. It must have been a levy by the central government for our inscription contains the specific statement that all the dues remitted by this grant were due to the palace, i.e. to the king—*araṇ-manaiḱku iṟuttavarugira* (l. 30); or *araṇṇanai kaṇakkil paḍindu varugira* (No. 238 of 1903).

The proclamation was not given effect to even so late as in 1521 which is mentioned in an epigraph dated Śaka 1443, Vikrama, Mithuna, bā. 'Tṛitīyā, Friday, Tiruvōṇam. It states that one Kariyā Maṇikya Bhaṭṭar Āpatisahāyar waited on Kṛishṇadēvarāya at Vijayanagara and got ratification of the order of the remission of *Jōḍi* and *Sūlavari* on certain villages which had been remitted already in favour of the temple at Tirukkāṣiyūr, but was not given effect to till then.²

The Śēḍanāṅḍalam copy of the epigraph describes the boundaries of the Chōḷamaṇḍalam, the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples in which were benefited by the remission.³ Chōḷamaṇḍalam comprised the region south of the Gaḍilam, west of the sea, north of the Vellāru (south) and east of the wall at Kōṭṭaikkarai.⁴ This copy also says that the beneficiaries of the grant were in the heart of the Chōḷa country.

According to the epigraph the region was divided into three districts or *ṭimai*s. They are the Irappārupparru Bhuvanaḱaviran (Bhuvanagiri)paṭṭana-*cheḱīrmai*, Taṇjāvūrpattana-*cheḱīrmai* and Tiruchchināppalli-*cheḱīrmai*. In the Vijayanagara days a *ṭimai* was a smaller division than a *rājya*, and its exact relation to the more ancient *kōḷṭam* or *nāḱu* is difficult to find, though it seems probable that the *ṭimai* was a larger division than the *nāḱu* or *kōḷṭam*. The Bhuvanaḱavirapaṭṭana-*cheḱīrmai* covered the northern part of the Chōḷamaṇḍalam, with its headquarters at Bhuvanagiri, a big village on the northern bank of the Vellāru (north) in the Chidambaram taluk. There is to be found at the place even in the present day a fort in a fairly good condition. It appears to derive its name from Bhuvanaḱavira, a title borne by two Pāṇḍyan kings, Māravarman Kulāśekhara I and Māravarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya,⁵ who were contemporaries in the latter part of the thirteenth century A.D. The region is called in the epigraph as Irappārupparru Bhuvanaḱavirapaṭṭana, perhaps on account of the fact that it was bounded by two rivers, the Gaḍilam and the Vellāru. Taṇjāvūrpattana-*cheḱīrmai* is probably all the territory covered by the present Tanjore and had its headquarters at Taṇjāvūr. To the west of this was the Tiruchchināppalli-*cheḱīrmai* with its headquarters at Trichūnopoly.

While almost all the copies mention the above three divisions, a few mention some others. They are Rāśāsura-*cheḱīrmai*, mentioned before Taṇjāvūr-*cheḱīrmai*,⁶ Viramaḱakku-*cheḱīrmai*

¹ *Glossary*, p. 31, col. 1.

² No. 246 of 1925.

³ No. 74 of 1903.

⁴ There is a verse in Tamil which gives practically the same traditional boundaries substituting for Gaḍilam the Northern Vellār which enters the sea near Porto Novo. See *The Chōḷas*, I, p. 22.

⁵ *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, pp. 186, 189-90.

⁶ No. 311 of 1905; Nos. 226 and 233 of 1925.

and Perambūr-chīrmai and Kulittaṇḍanai-chīrmai, mentioned after Tiruchchirāpalī-chīrmai.¹ It is difficult to identify all of them. Perambūr-chīrmai is perhaps the territory covered by parts of the Perambalūr taluk, and the Kulittaṇḍanai-chīrmai that covered by the modern Kulittalai taluk both of the Trichinopoly District.

We have a list of a large number of places in favour of which the remission was made; and arranged by taluks they are the following :—

Kāṇāṭṭāmpullūr	Chidambaram taluk.	S. Arcot District.
Mannārkōyil	Ditto.	Ditto.
Nāraiūr (Tirunāraiūr)	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruchchonnapuram (now Tiruchchinnapuram)	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirumuttam (now Śrīmushṇam)	Ditto.	Ditto.
Uḍaiyārkōyil	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirumāṇikkūḷi	Cuddalore taluk.	Ditto.
Tiruppādirippuliyūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruttiṇṇainagar	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvantirapuram	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tyāgavalli	Ditto.	Ditto.
Śendavaṇmaṅgalam	Tiṇḍivanam taluk.	Ditto.
Iraivānāśūr	Tirukkōyilūr taluk.	Ditto.
Tirunāmanallūr (Tirunāvallūr)	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirunarūṅkoṇḍai (now Tiruniraṅkoṇḍai)	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiṭṭaikūḍi	Vṛiddhāchalam taluk.	Ditto.
Peṇṇāgaḍam	Ditto.	Ditto.
Kuruchchi	Kumbakonam taluk.	Tanjore District.
Pandaṇanallūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Śiṟukūḍi	Ditto.	Ditto.
Sūryadēvanāyaṇārkōyil	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirukkōḍikā (now Tirukkōḍikāval)	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirundutēvaṅkūḍi (Tiruttēvaṅkūḍi)	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirumaṅgalakkūḍi	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruppanandāḷ	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvellīyaṅkūḍi	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruveṇṇagar (now Uppiliyaṇkōyil)	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvīśalūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Vaigal	Ditto.	Ditto.
Agalaṅgaṇ	Māyavaram taluk.	Ditto.
Ākkūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Ṇāṅgārakkūḍi	Ditto.	Ditto.
Iluppappaṭṭu	Ditto.	Ditto.
Irāśurāmapālayam (now Irājasūryanpēṭṭai)	Ditto.	Ditto.
Korukkai	Ditto.	Ditto.
Kurrālam	Ditto.	Ditto.
Paḷuvūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Pariyalūr (Tiruppariyālūr)	Ditto.	Ditto.
Perumṇai	Ditto.	Ditto.
Talaichchaṅgaḍu	Ditto.	Ditto.
Talaṇāyaṇ	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tillaiyāḍi	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirukkaḍaiyūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirunaṇipallī	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvāḷundūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvāḷiputtūr (Tiruvānputtūr)	Ditto.	Ditto.

Tirukkoṇḍisvaram	Nannilam taluk.	Tanjore District.
Tirumarugaḷ	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirumēchchūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruppattūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruppugaḷūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvāṇchiyam (now Śrīvāṇchiyam)	Ditto.	Ditto.
Vīrkūḍi	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tēvūr	Negapatam taluk.	Ditto.
Nallūr	Pāpanāśam taluk.	Ditto.
Āchchāpuram	Shiyālī taluk.	Ditto.
Śrīrāmavinnagar	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tāḍanaṅkōyil	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirukkuraiyaḷūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirthanagari	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirunagari	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirunāṅgūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruppuṅgūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Chandralekai (Sendalai)	Tanjore taluk.	Ditto.
Taṅchāvūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirumalipāḍi	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruppunturutti	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvaiyāru	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirukkāṭṭupalli	Ditto.	Ditto.
Vallam	Ditto.	Ditto.
Kaṇṇanūr	Musiri taluk.	Trichinopoly District.
Āṇḍārkōyil	Trichinopoly taluk.	Ditto.
Tiruppalātturai	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruchchirāpalli	Ditto.	Ditto.
Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōlapuram (Gaṅgaikoṇḍam)	Uḍaiyārpālayam taluk.	Ditto.
Paḷuvūr	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tillaiyālivittam	(not identifiable.)	

TEXT.

- 1 Śubham=astu¹|| śrī-Gaṇāti²patayē namaḥ | Namaḥ=tuṅga-[śi]-
 2 raś-chumpi³ta⁴-chantīra⁵-chāmara-[chāravē*] trailōkya-nakar⁶-ā[ra*]mpa⁷-mula⁸.
 3 stampāya⁹ Śampuvē¹⁰[|*] Śubham=astu | Svasti Śrī Vijayāt-
 4 bhuta¹¹. Śāli[vāha*]na-śa [ka*]-varusham 1439¹² mēl-chchel-
 5 lāni[ṇra I]śvara saṁva[tsa*]rattu Pushya¹³ śpaya¹⁴ Paurṇamaināḷ(nāḷ)¹⁵ śrī[ma]-
 6 n-mahārājādhirāja rājaparamēśvara hariya(ari)rāya-vibhātan¹⁶ bhā-

¹ Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925 omit this.

² Read Gaṇādhi°.

³ Read -chumbi.

⁴ Here ta is superfluous; it is, however, found in Nos. 167 and 226 of 1925 also.

⁵ Read chandra-. In Nos. 167 and 226 of 1925 it is chantra.

⁶ Read -nagar-.

⁷ Read °mbha.

⁸ Read -mūla-.

⁹ Read stambhāya.

¹⁰ Read Śambharē. In No. 226 of 1925 it is °bhuvē.

¹¹ The same reading is found in Nos. 167 and 226 of 1925; in No. 235 of 1925 it is °bhutaya. The usual form is Vijayābhūdaya.

¹² Śaka 1409 in No. 235 of 1917, a mistake for Śaka 1439.

¹³ No. 74 of 1903 and No. 80 of 1911 give Māgha.

¹⁴ Probably stands for śuddha; clearly given in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925. In No. 214 of 1926 the reading is Pushyamāsattu pūrvapakshattu.

¹⁵ Paurṇami nāḷ in No. 226 of 1925, and gāḷ in No. 235 of 1925. Paurṇamiyinmēl in No. 235 of 1917, and °yilē in No. 214 of 1926.

¹⁶ In No. 167 of 1925 it is ariyārāya-vibhāṭa, while in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925 it is vibhātan.

7 shaikku-ttappuva-rāyar¹-gaṇḍa² Yavaṇarāsa³-sthāpanāchāriya⁴ Pratā-
 8 parudra-Geja⁵pati-saptāṅga-haraṇa śrī-Virapradāpa⁶ śrī-Vira-Kṛishṇadēvarāya-ma-
 9 hārāyar Sōlamanḍalattu Viṣṇusthānam⁷ Śivasthānam mudalāna
 10 dēvasthānaṅgalukku śōḍi araśupēru⁸ śaravam⁹[ā]nyam-āga viṭṭa taṇ-
 11 ma¹⁰-sātāṇa irāyasam śrī(nā)¹¹mum Vijayaṇnagara¹²-ppaṭṭaṇattil¹³ irundu pūruva-¹⁴
 12 dikku viśai[ya*]-yātrai āga purappaṭṭu Udayagiri-tturkamum śādichehu¹⁵ Tirumalai
 13 Irāguttama¹⁶-rāyanaiyum piḍittu koṇḍu Viṇikkōṇḍai¹⁷ Nāgār-
 14 rchīṇakoṇḍai¹⁸ Vellamukoṇḍa¹⁹ Koṇḍaviḍu Koṇ[ḍa*]ppalli²⁰ Irāśa-
 15 mavēntirapuram²¹ mudalāgiya du[rga]ṇga[luṅ=gaṭṭikkōṇḍu²² Pratāparutti[ra*] Geśa-
 pati²³
 16 kumāran Virabhadrasēṇaṇ²⁴ Geśapati²⁵ Pratāṇapūpati²⁶ Prakalātaṇ²⁷ Śirachchantiraṇ²⁸
 Malluk-Kān²⁹

¹ Reading is *tappurāya* in No. 235 of 1925.

² The reading is *rāyaragaṇḍa* in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925.

³ The reading is *rājya* in Nos. 74 of 1903, 125 of 1904 and 80 of 1911.

⁴ In a few other copies Kṛishṇarāya takes two more titles. In Nos. 235 of 1917 and 214 of 1926 is found the title *mūvarāyaraṅgaṇḍa*; in No. 511 of 1905 are found the titles *muvvarāyaraṅgaṇḍa* and *aṣṭadikkurāya-manō-bhayaṅkara*, while in Nos. 74 and 288 of 1903, 80 of 1911, 210 of 1917, 167, 226 and 235 of 1925 are found the titles *aṣṭadikkurāya-manō-bhayaṅkara* and *mūvarāyaraṅgaṇḍa*.

⁵ Read *Gaja*°.

⁶ Same in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925; read °*pratāpa*.

⁷ Viṣṇu temples alone are mentioned in No. 381 of 1908.

⁸ In No. 288 of 1903 the taxes are said to be *jōḍigaḷ śūlavari nilavaḷi araśupēru marṭṭum pala piṇa-varigaḷum*. No. 511 of 1905 reads: *śōḍi śūlavari araśupēru piṇavari uṇḍāna yellām*. In No. 355 of 1907 only *jōḍi* and *śūlavari* are legible. No. 235 of 1917 mentions *śōḍiyaḷ, nilavaḷi* and *araśupēru* while No. 214 of 1926 has *śōḍi, śūlavari* and *araśupēru*.

⁹ Read *sarva*°.

¹⁰ No. 74 of 1903 reads: *viṭṭupālittu aruḷina dharmma-śāsana rāyasam*; 125 of 1904 *sarvvaṁ ānyam-āga-ppā-litta dharma*, 511 of 1905 as *āga tiru uḷamparriṇa tanma*, 80 of 1911 *viḍachchittēśi pālitta dharmma*. In Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925 we have the word *dharmma-sādhana-rāyasam* in Grantha.

¹¹ No. 226 of 1925 reads *nāmum*.

¹² The letter *ṇ* is superfluous.

¹³ *Ppaṭṭaṇattil*[l] in No. 226 of 1925 and *ppaṭṭaṇatt-irundu* in No. 235 of 1925.

¹⁴ Read *pūruva*-.

¹⁵ The reading is *yātraiyāga śittēśi Udayagiri-durggamum sādhattu* in No. 74 of 1903.

¹⁶ No *ma* in 167 of 1925.

¹⁷ The reading is *Vinikoṇḍa* in Nos. 167 and 235 of 1925.

¹⁸ Read *Nāgārjunakoṇḍai*; °*koṇḍa* in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925.

¹⁹ *Vellamkoṇḍa* in No. 167 of 1925 where *Vella* is repeated but the subsequent words are missing.

²⁰ *Tōṇḍappalli* in No. 235 of 1917.

²¹ Read: °*maḥēndrapuram*.

²² *Sādhattu vāṅgikkoṇḍu* in No. 74 of 1903; *vāṅgikkoṇḍu* in Nos. 511 of 1905 and 80 of 1911 and [*sādhi*] *ttu=kkatti-kkoṇḍu* in No. 167 of 1925.

²³ Read *Gajapati*.

²⁴ Perhaps stands for *śēṇaṇaiyum* as in No. 511 of 1905: *jaṇaṇ* in No. 226 of 1925 and *jaṇaṇa* in No. 235 of 1925.

²⁵ Read *Gajapati*.

²⁶ Read *pradhānabhūpati*.

²⁷ *Prahalātan* in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925.

²⁸ Read *Śirachchandraṇ* as in No. 235 of 1925.

²⁹ *Kānan* in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925, while in No. 235 of 1917 it ends with *Karnaṇ*, and in No. 511 of 1905 with *Kānu*.

- 17 Uttanḍakāṇa¹ mudalāna pāṭṭi²-śāmantargaḷaiyum śivikkīṇamamāga³-ppidittukkoṇ-
 18 ḍu Prataṭaparuttira Geśa(Gaja)patiyaiyum muṇayakkutti⁴ Śiṅgāttirikkū⁵ eḷundaruḷi
 Poṭṭaṇṇūril
 19 jayastampa(bha)mum niṇi(ru)tti⁶ Śōḷamaṇḍalam⁷ dēvastānam⁸ Tiruchchirāpaḷli⁹
 Śantalagai¹⁰ Tirukkā-
 20 tṭuppaḷli Tirunagira¹¹ Tirunāṅgūr T[i*]ruveḷundūr¹² Tēvūr Tiruveṇṇagar¹³ Aḷaḷaṅgaṇ
 21 Tiruvantiṇapuram¹⁴ Tirumāṇikuḷi¹⁵ Tirupattūr¹⁶ Vaiygal Tirumuṭṭam Tiruppādiripuli-
 22 yūr Tiruttiṇaiṇagar Iraivānāśūr¹⁷ Śēndavaṇmaṅgalam Tirunāvallūr Tiṭṭaikudi¹⁸
 Tirunā-
 23 raiyūr¹⁹ Kāṇāṭṭampullūr²⁰ Tiyaḡavalli²¹ Śīrāmaviṇṇagar Tiruveḷḷiyaṅguḍi Pan-
 24 daṇanallūr²² Talaichechaṅḡuḍu²³ Kuṇuchchi²⁴ Tiruppuṇḡūr Koṇukkai²⁵ Talaināya[ka]n²⁶
 25 Tirumaṅgalakkudi Tiruviśalūr Tirutēvaṅkudi²⁷ Sūriyadēvanayaṇārkōyil²⁷ Ti-

¹ Read *Uddanḍa*.^o

² Read *pātra*.

³ Read *jivagrāhamāga*, *jivagrahaṇamāga* in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925.

⁴ In No. 511 of 1905 it is *muṇiyaveṭṭi*.

⁵ i. e. *Siṃhōdrikkū* as in No. 226 of 1925.

⁶ The reading is *pōḍuvittu* in Nos. 74 of 1903 and 80 of 1911, and *sthāpittu* in No. 125 of 1904.

⁷ *Śōḷamaṇḍala-naḷuvil* in No. 74 of 1903.

⁸ In No. 125 of 1904 the word *Tiruttiṇaiṇagar* follows the word *dēvastānam*.

⁹ No. 511 of 1905 has the following :—*Tiruchchillāp[paḷli]-chchimai vaṇṇarai Irājarāja-vaḷanāṭṭu Maḷanāṭṭu Paḥchillikūṇṇattu kiḷ Pālāṇṇu-kKaṇṇaṇṇūr nāyaṇār Pōḷaliśēvaramuḍaiya-nāyaṇār kōyil śāḍi śūlvāri piṇṇavari araṇu-pēru utpaḍavum Tirumaḷapāḍi Vallam Taṇjāvūr Tiruppūndurutti Tiruvaḷṇūru Tiruveḷundūr Irāśūrāmapāḷayam Tiruvāṇṇiyam Tiruppuḷlūr Paḷuvūr Paṇḍananallūr Tiruppaṇṇaiṇḍāl Tirunagiri Tirunāṅgūr Tāḍāḷankōyil Śiḡāḷi mudalāna Iraṇḍāṇṇuparṇu-śīrmai, etc.* No. 288 of 1903 has *Tiruchchirāppaḷli uśāvaḍi teṇkarai Irājaḡambhira-vaḷa-nāḍu Tirupparāṭṭurāi mudalāḡiya Śōḷamaṇḍalattu iraṇḍu...pparṇu-śīrmai-āna Kirippaṇṇaṭṭu śīrmai Rada-uvattu śīrmai Taṇjāvūr śīrmai paḷṭu mudalāna Viśṇuśthānam Śivasthānam, etc.*

¹⁰ Read *Chandralēkai*.

¹¹ No. 167 of 1925 reads *Tirunagari* clearly.

¹² Followed by *Tiruppariyālūr* in No. 125 of 1904.

¹³ No. 355 of 1907 reads *Rāśēntiraviṇṇagar*.

¹⁴ *Tiruvayintirapuram* in Nos. 125 of 1904 and 226 of 1925.

¹⁵ *Tirumāṇikuḷi* in Nos. 235 of 1917 and 226 and 235 of 1925. In No. 125 of 1904 this precedes *Tiruvan-tirapuram*.

¹⁶ *Tiruppuḷlūr* in Nos. 210 and 235 of 1917, 226 and 235 of 1925.

¹⁷ Before this two other places are found in No. 125 of 1904, viz., *Korukkai*, *Tiyaḡavalli*.

¹⁸ Before *Tiṭṭaikudi* we have : *Tiruna[ru]ṅṇḍai* and *Tirukkōḍigā* in No. 125 of 1904; in No. 226 of 1925 it is *Tiṭṭaikudi*. After *Tiṭṭaikudi* we have *Peṇṇāḡaḍam* in No. 125 of 1904.

¹⁹ *Tirunāyayūr* in No. 226 of 1925.

²⁰ *Uḍaiyārkōyil*, *Mannārkōyil* and *Tiruchchṇapuram* before *Kānāṭṭumullūr* in No. 125 of 1904; *Kānāṭṭam-pullūr* in Nos. 210 of 1907 and 226 of 1925. *Kānāṭṭupullūr* in No. 235 of 1925.

²¹ Mentioned earlier in No. 125 of 1904.

²² *Kānāṭṭumullūr* is followed by *Pandaṇanallūr*, *Achchāpuram* and *Kuṇuchchi* in No. 125 of 1904.

²³ Mentioned after *Tiruveḷḷiyaṅguḍi* in No. 125 of 1904.

²⁴ *Kuṇuchchi* in Nos. 167 of 1925, 226 and 235 of 1925.

²⁵ *Talaināyakam* in No. 125 of 1904, *Talaināyakaṇ* in No. 235 of 1917, *Talaināḷar* in No. 226 of 1925 and *Talaināyaṇ* in 235 of 1925.

²⁶ *Tirundudēvaṅkudi* in Nos. 355 of 1907, 226 and 235 of 1925.

²⁷ *Sūriyānāyaṇār-kōyil* in No. 355 of 1907; *Sūriyadēvanayaṇār* in No. 235 of 1917 and *Sūriyanayinār* in No. 235 of 1925.

- 26 rukkoḍikā Kurḷālam Śirukudī¹ Tirukkuraiyaḷūr Viṭṭudi Āchchāpuram² Tiruvāḷput-
 27 tūr³ Nallūr Āṇḍārkoṇḍam⁴ Tirumēchchūr⁵ Tirunaiyāḷḷi⁶
 28 mudalāgiya Chōḷamaṇḍalattu yiraṇḍārrupparū Buvanēkaviraṇḍapattāṇa-śirmai⁷
 29 Taṇḱāvūrpattāṇa-chchēṅ(r)mai⁸ Tiruchchirāḷḷi-chēṅ(r)mai- uḷ[pa*]ḷḷa⁹ Śivatānam¹⁰ Viśh-
 30 ttiṇatānam¹¹ mudalāgiya dēvattāṇaṅgaḷḷi¹² pūruva-mudalāgiya¹³ varaimaṇai¹⁴ irut-
 31 tu-varugiṇa¹⁵ ēḍi¹⁶ araṣupēru¹⁷ patināyira varāṅṇ inḍa varāṅṇ patināyiramum
 an-
 32 danda dēvatānamkaḷukkum¹⁸ makara-śaṅkīraṇṭi puṇṇiya-kālattilē Kivittipavēṇi¹⁹
 33 ttiṇattilē Uṇḍavillī²⁰ Apantaśāyi śaṅgatiyūm²¹ Goṣavādai²² Mallukāchchinadēvar²³
 śaṅ-
 34 ṇatīyilum²⁴ āga-ttārāpūruvamāga²⁵ chcharuvamāṇiyammāga viṭṭu tanma-śādāṇa
 yirāyatamum²⁶
 35 pāḷittōm yinda yirāyida²⁷ piramāṇattilē ellā-ttēvattāṇaṅgaḷḷum²⁸
 36 śilā-śādanamum²⁹ paṇṇi ellā-ttēvattāṇaṅgaḷukkum³⁰ pūḷai³¹ punaṅkāram³² aṅga-
 raṅga³³

¹ Śirukudī in No. 210 of 1917.

² This is followed by another Viṭṭudi in Nos. 210 of 1917, 226 and 235 of 1925.

³ Tiruvāḷputtūr in No. 210 of 1917; Tiruvēḷḷiputtūr in No. 226 of 1925.

⁴ Gaṅgaikōṇḍāḷḷapuram in No. 125 of 1904.

⁵ Tirumēyēchchūr in No. 125 of 1904. The list stops with this in it and No. 355 of 1907.

⁶ This place is not mentioned in the other copies. But No. 210 of 1917 adds Perumalai; No. 167 of 1925 Parigalūr, No. 226 of 1925 Akkūr; and 235 of 1925 Tūḷaiyāḷḷiṇṇam and Iḷaṅḱārikudī, 74 of 1903 has: Chōḷamaṇḍala naḍuvil maṇḍalam Śēndanamāṇḱalam uḷaiyār. Arattakkāttarūḷḷiṇṇamāyir tiruvāṇṇuttukkaṅḱi Kīḷaimāṇḱar Mēḷaimāṇḱar Naḱ[arā]ṇa-mēḷuragaṇḱasallār Kamban marṇam uḷpattā dēva-ēḷḱaṇḱaḷ Iṇḱiṇḱaraiḱūr uḷpattā Śivattānam Viśhvaśāstāṇaṅgaḷḷil pūruva mudalāga araimaṇaiḱku iruttuvāruḱiḱa jōḷi poṇ paḱināyiramum.

⁷ Chiraiyapattāṇa-chchēṇṭi in No. 235 of 1925; Pongiripattāṇa-chchēṇṭi in No. 235 of 1925.

⁸ Rāḷ[ta*]pūḷai³¹ puna-śirmai mentioned before Taṇḱāvūr in No. 226 of 1925; mudalāgiya after it in Nos. 22 and 235 of 1925.

⁹ Chiraiyapattāṇa in No. 235 of 1925.

¹⁰ Read "ātānam.

¹¹ Read: Viśhvaśāstānam; Viśhvaśāstānam in No. 235 of 1925.

¹² Read: dēvatāṇaṅgaḷḷi.

¹³ Read: pūruva mudalāgiya. Pūruva mudalāga in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925.

¹⁴ Read: araimaṇaiḱku as in No. 235 of 1925.

¹⁵ araimaṇai [kapa]ḱil padinda varugiṇa in No. 235 of 1903.

¹⁶ Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925 mention only this tax.

¹⁷ Paṇḱarumai is found in No. 355 of 1907.

¹⁸ Read: dēvatāṇaṅgaḷukkum; m is superfluous; dēvatāṇaṅgaḷḷi kūtṭu in No. 80 of 1911.

¹⁹ Read: Kivittipavēṇi; Kivittipavēṇi in No. 235 of 1925.

²⁰ Uṇḱai in No. 235 of 1925.

²¹ Should be "tiyilum.

²² Goṣavādai in No. 226 of 1925; Deśavādai in No. 235 of 1925.

²³ Read: Mallikārjunadēvar; Mallikārjunadēvar in No. 226 of 1925, and Mallukāchchinadēvar in No. 235 of 1925.

²⁴ Reading is sannadhiyilum in No. 226 of 1925.

²⁵ Reading is dārāpūruvakamāga in No. 226 of 1925.

²⁶ Read: dharmasāḷḱana rāṇamum as in No. 226 of 1925.

²⁷ Read: rāṇam.

²⁸ Read: dēvatāṇaṅgaḷḷum.

²⁹ Read: śādanamum.

³⁰ Read: dēvatāṇaṅgaḷukkum; dēvatā³⁰ in No. 226 of 1925; dēvatāṇaṅgaḷḷum in No. 167 of 1925.

³¹ Read: pūḷai.

³² Reading is punaṅkāraṅgaḷu(u) in No. 167 of 1925.

³³ This precedes pūḷai in No. 167 of 1925.

- 37 vaiy(vai)bōgam tiruppaniḡalum ā-chandirāttiyātāyuvāga¹ śānan[ga]māga² naḡattik-
koṇḡu³ su-
38 ga⁴ttilē yirukkavum [||*] yinta tanmattukku⁵ yiyā⁶doruttar ayitam⁷ paṇṇiṇavarga⁸ *
taṅga⁹
39 taṅga⁹ m[ā*]tā-pitāvaiyuz. kō-pparāmaṇaraiyum¹⁰ Vāraṇāsiyilē¹¹ koṇṇa pāvattilē¹²
pō-
40 ga-kkaḡavargaḡāgavum 6. Svadattāt(d)=dviguṇaṁ puṇyaṁ paraḡatt-ānupālanam | para-
41 datt-āpahārēṇa svadatta[m*] [ni]shphalaṁ bhavēt¹³ ||

TRANSLATION.

Let there be prosperity. Obeisance to the blessed Gaṇādhpati. Salutation to Śiva who is beautiful with the moon kissing his lofty head like the *chāmara* and who is the main pillar (the cause) of the creation of the city of the three worlds. Be it well! Hail! Prosperity! This is the royal order issued **on the day of the full moon in the bright half of the month of Pushya of the year Īśvara** which was current after the expiry of the prosperous and victorious year **Śālivāhana-Śaka 1439**, by the glorious *Mahārājādhirāja, Rājaparamēśvara*, the conqueror of hostile kings, the destroyer of those kings who break their word, the establisher of the kingdom of the Yavanas, the confiscator of the kingdom¹⁴ of the Gajapati king Pratāpa-Rudra, the glorious Vira-Krishṇadēvarāya-Mahārāya, conveying the charitable edict to remit *jōḡi* and *araḡupēru* as *sarvamānya* to the Śiva, Viṣṇu and other temples in the Chōḷa country. We (the king) started from Vijayanagara to the eastern region on a tour of conquest, took the fort of Udayagiri, captured Tirumalai Rāhuttarāya, took Vinikoṇḡai, Nāḡarjunakoṇḡai, Vellamukoṇḡa, Koṇḡaviḡu, Koṇḡapalli, Rājamahēndrapuram, and other forts, captured Virabhadrasēna Gajapati, son of Pratāparudra Gajapati, Pradhānabhūpati, Prahlātaṇ, Śirachchandraṇ, Mallu Khān, Uddaṇḡa Khān, and other feudatories as prisoners, and defeated and killed Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati. We then went to Siṁhādri and set up a pillar of victory at Poṭṭanūru. On the auspicious day of the Makara-saṁkrānti on the banks of the river Krishṇavēṇi and in the presence of Anantaśāyin of Uṇḡavilli and Mallikārjunadēvar of Gajavāḡai, We issued with libation of water a royal order evidencing a *sarvamānya* grant to the respective Śiva and Viṣṇu temples of 10,000 *varāhans* being the contributions of *jōḡi* and *sūlavari* payable by them. The temples were those viz., of Tiruchchirāppalli, Śantalagai, Tirukkāṭṭuppalli, Tirunagari, Tirunāṅgūr, Tiruvalundūr Tēvūr, Tiruveṇṇagar, Aḡalaṅgaṇ, Tiruvantirapuram, Tirumāṇikuḷi, Tirupattūr, Vaigal, Tirumuttam, Tiruppādiripuliyūr, Tiruttiṇainagar, Iḡaivānāśur, Śēndavaṇmaṅgalam, Tirunāvallūr, Tiṭṭaikuḡi, Tirunāraiyyūr, Kāṇāṭṭampullūr, Tiḡāḡavalli, Śirāmaṇṇagar, Tiruveḷḷiyaṅḡuḡi, Panda-

¹ Read : ā-chandr-āditya-sthāyuvāga ; in No. 226 of 1925 it is ā-chandr-ārka-sthāyuvāga.

² Should be śāṅgamāga as in No. 226 of 1925.

³ The reading is naḡattukkoṇḡu in 235 of 1925.

⁴ No. 226 of 1926 has sukhattilē.

⁵ The reading is dharmattuku in No. 226 of 1925.

⁶ The syllable yi is superfluous.

⁷ Should be aḡitam as in No. 235 of 1925.

⁸ The reading is paṇṇiṇa pērgaḡ in No. 235 of 1925.

⁹ Followed by another taṅgaḡ in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925.

¹⁰ Read : ḡō-brāhmaṇaraiyum.

¹¹ Vāraparāśi in No. 226 of 1925.

¹² The reading is dōshattilē in No. 226 of 1925.

¹³ Followed by the words kubbam=astu and śri-Virūpāksha in No. 226 of 1925, and śri-Virūpāksha only in Nos. 125 of 1904 and 235 of 1925.

¹⁴ Saptāṅgaṁ rājyaṁ=uchyatē—Kāmandaka.

ṇanallūr, Talaichchanṅāḍu, Kuṛuḥchi, Tiruppuṅgūr, Koṛukkai, Talaiṇṣyakan¹, Tirumaṅgalakkuḍi, Tiruṣālūr, Tirutēvaṅkuḍi, Sūryadēvanāyaṅkōyil, Tirukkōḍikā, Kurrālam, Śirukūḍi, Tirukkuraiyaḷūr, Viṛkūḍi, Āchchāpuram, Tiruvāliputtūr, Nallūr, Āṇḍārkōyil, Gaṅgaikoṇḍam, Tirumāchchūr, Tirumanipalḷi and other places in the Chōḷamaṇḍala which consisted of the Irappāruppattu Bhuvanāikaviraṭṭana-chīrmai, Taṇjāvūrpaṭṭana-chēḷīrmai and Tiruchchirāppalḷi-chīrmai. According to this royal order which is to be engraved in stone in all the temples, the worship, festivities, celebrations and repairs shall be executed properly and without shortcomings in all the temples as long as the sun and moon endure. He who acts against this charity shall incur the sin of having killed his mother, father, cows and Brahmins at Vārāṇasī.

The protection of another's gift is twice as meritorious as making one's own. By the robbing of another's gift, one's own gift becomes devoid of merit.

No. 33—JUBBULPORE STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIMALASIVA : THE [KALACHURI] YEAR 926.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

The stone bearing this inscription was found at Jubbulpore, the headquarters of a district of the same name in the Central Provinces and is now preserved in the Nagpur Museum. The record has been referred to several times, e.g., by Dr. F. E. Hall in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VI, p. 533, by Dr. F. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 210, n. 2, and again in this journal Vol. V, Appendix I, p. 60, n. 4, and by Rāi Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, (second ed.), p. 42, but owing presumably to its very bad preservation none has so far attempted a transcript or even an abstract of its contents.² A careful and patient examination of the original has enabled me to prepare the subjoined transcript and while I have not been able to decipher or restore the complete text, I hope I have been able to make out almost all that can be deciphered in the present condition of the original.

The writing covers a space 2' 7" broad and 1' 8½" high. The average size of letters is 5". The surface of the stone, which was originally made none too smooth, has been further damaged by exposure to weather, and several letters in the middle as well as on the right hand side of the first fourteen lines and some more in the middle of lines 19-24 have become illegible. The characters are Nāgarī. The letters were beautifully written and carefully executed. It will suffice to draw attention to the proper sign of *b* as an independent letter in *bīḥrat*, l. 25 and in its superscript form in *°r-bcabbhūra*, l. 9, and also to the form of the initial *i* in *iti*, l. 12, of the initial *ri* in *richūm*, l. 15, and of *ś*, the left member of which resembles the English figure 8, as in *Śivāya*, l. 1. The language is Sanskrit and except for the obeisance to Śiva in the beginning of the first line and the date in the last, the inscription is in verse throughout. The verses are not numbered, but they appear to be fifty in all. The orthography does not present anything calling for special notice except that *v* and *b* as well as *ś* and *s* are confounded in some places.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of the moon-crested god (Śiva) by Vimalasīva, the religious preceptor of the king Jayasīrṇha of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripurī. The god was named Kirtīśvara after Vimalasīva's guru Kirtīśiva. The

¹ For various forms of this name see n. 25, p. 306 above.

² Hiralal remarks in his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (Second ed.), p. 42, that 'this is a pretty big record but is too much defaced to yield any useful information.'

inscription also records that the king Jayasimha endowed the temple with three villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse. It is dated in words as well as in numerical figures in the year 926, without any specification of the month, fortnight, *tithi* or week-day. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. It corresponds, for the expired Kalachuri year 926, to A.D. 1174-75. In this year there was only one solar eclipse,¹ viz., that which occurred on the *amāvāsyā* of the *pūrṇimānta* Pausa, on Tuesday, the 26th November A.D. 1174. This is, therefore, probably the date of Jayasimha's grant if it was made in the same Kalachuri year in which the record was put up. It does not admit of verification, but it falls in the reign of Jayasimha, who, we know, was ruling at least from K. 918² to K. 928³.

After three *māṅgala-sloka*s in praise of Śiva, we are told that the god revealed the Śaiva doctrine for the realization of the self by the worlds. Some Śaiva teachers were named in lines 4-7, but the names of Vimalaśiva⁴ and Vāstuśiva⁵ only are now completely legible. In line 8 we read the name of Puruṣaśiva who is described as the cause of Yaśaḥkarṇa's prosperity. Next is mentioned Śaktiśiva in connection with Gayakarṇa. His disciple was Kīrtiśiva⁶ who is said to have contributed to the prosperity of the king Narasiṃha. Five verses (22-26) are devoted to his glorification. The next eighteen verses refer to Vimalaśiva. He belonged to the *gōtra* of Viśvāmitra and was the son of Madhusūdana and Umā. Having paid off his debt to gods and others by performing religious rites at Prabhāsa, Gōkarṇa, Gayā, and other *tīrthas*, he was initiated in the Śaiva doctrine by Kīrtiśiva. He was very handsome, learned and liberal and exercised great vigilance in looking after all affairs of the king. The earth, being adorned with gardens, tanks, charitable houses, temples and dwellings for Brāhmaṇas constructed by him, is said to have vied with heaven in splendour. The king Jayasimha devoutly bowed to him. We are next told that Vimalaśiva built a temple of Śiva under the name Kīrtiśvara for the glory and religious merit of his spiritual preceptor Kīrtiśiva. The king Jayasimha endowed it with three villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse. One of these villages which was named Tēkabharā, was situated in the *viśhaya* (district) of Navapattalā and the other two named Kaṇḍaravāḍa and Vāḍōha in Samudrapāṭa which was apparently another district.

The importance of the present inscription lies in the information it furnishes about the spiritual preceptors of the Kalachuri kings of Tripurī from Yaśaḥkarṇa downwards. It may, how-

¹ I take *varṣe pārtvaṇi* in line 26 to mean 'on the occasion of a solar eclipse'. *Pārtvaṇi* also means 'a *sankrānti*', but in that case the particular *sankrānti* would have been specified.

² Above, Vol. XXI, p. 95.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 18.

⁴ This Vimalaśiva is probably different from the Śaiva ascetic who put up the present inscription.

⁵ I examined the name of this ascetic carefully to see if he could be identified with Vāmaśambhu mentioned in the Malkāpuram inscription (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 147 ff) in view of the suggestion recently made that the latter was the spiritual teacher of Karṇa and represents Vāmadēva on whose feet several Kalachuri kings from Karṇa downwards are described as meditating. (See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 96 ff.). A Śaiva Āchārya named Vāmarāśi is also mentioned as living in Benares in the Sārṇāth inscription of Mahāpāla, dated V. 1083. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 140. The Śaiva ascetic mentioned in the beginning of line 6 in the present record may have been a contemporary of Karṇa; for the next legible name is that of Puruṣaśiva who was the *guru* of Karṇa's son Yaśaḥkarṇa. But the second *akṣara* of the aforementioned name does not at all appear like *ma*. Besides the *guru* of this Śaiva pontiff was apparently Vimalaśiva, mentioned in verse 8, while the *guru* and the *paramaguru* of Vāmaśambhu were Sōmaśambhu and Sadbhāvaśambhu respectively. I have shown elsewhere that Vāmadēva was a Kalachuri king and not a Śaiva ascetic. See *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies*, pp. 152 ff.

⁶ Śaktiśiva and Kīrtiśiva may be identical with Śaktiśambhu and his disciple Kīrtiśambhu respectively mentioned in the Malkāpuram inscription.

ever, be noted in this connection that the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal plates of Gōvinda-chandra² mention the Śaiva Āchārya Rudraśiva, not Purnahśiva, as the *Rājaguru* of Yaśaḥ-karṇa. Perhaps Yaśaḥkarṇa had two *Rājagurus* in succession. The name of Vimalasiva, the *guru* of Jayasimha, occurs in his Jubbulpore Kōtwāli plates also.³

The present *prasaṁsi* was composed by the poet Śasidhara, who was a Brāhmana of the Maunya⁴ *gōtra*. He composed also the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Alhaṇadēvi, while his elder brother Prithvīdhara was the author of the Tēwar inscription of Gayakarna. The present record was incised on the stone by Nāmadēva, the son of Mahidhara. His father was the engraver of the aforementioned stone inscriptions of Gayakarna and Alhaṇadēvi.

As for the localities mentioned in the present record, Tēkabhara may be identical with Tikhārī, 5 miles south by west of Jubbulpore. The *vishaya* (district) of Navapattalā⁵ in which it was situated may have comprised the territory round the modern Nayākhērā which lies about 8 miles west of Tikhārī. Samudrapāṭa is probably Samand Pipāriā, 4 miles south of Jubbulpore. There are several villages named Kunda or Kundan near Jubbulpore, one of which may represent the ancient Kaṇḍaravāḍa. No place exactly corresponding to Vaḍōha can, however, be traced in the Jubbulpore District.

TEXT.⁶

[Metres: Vv. 1, 18, 28, 35, 36, 38, 41, and 44 *Sārdūlanikrīḍita*; vv. 2 (A) and 6 *Upēndravajrā*; vv. 3, 4, 7, 9, 11-15, 20-22, 24, 27, 29-32, 37, 42, 43, 45, 48, and 49 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 5 *Paṁsastha*; vv. 8, and 47 *Upajāti*; vv. 19 and 46 *Indravajrā*; vv. 16 and 26 *Aupachchhandarika*; vv. 17, 25 and 33 *Upajāti*; v. 19 *Vijōgini*; v. 23 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 34 *Praharahini*; v. 39 *Mālini*; v. 40 *Sragdharā*; v. 50 *Āryā*.]

1 सिद्धिः⁷ [१*] श्री नमः शिवाय ॥ उच्चैल्लक्ष्मलावलम्बि(म्बि)तरतिर्वन्द्यदिनेन्द्रस्रितिर्त्रि।—
दौषा [म]हितप्रकाशवसतिः [कारणपूर्वोद्भूतिः] । सम्यन्वर्जित[संयिता]हित-
कृतिः [यौषर्व ?]देहोद्भूतिर्भूत्वा पुण्यकदामजः

2 शुभकृतिर्विष्णुस्तदैवोद्भूतिः ॥[१*] हयपतिष्ठः श्रितवारिजयौ ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ
ॐ — ॐ — — । ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ — — ॐ — — ॐ — —
ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — ॥[२*] ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ
ॐ — ॐ ॐ । ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ —

3 न्यं पश्यन्ति तं तुमः ॥[३*] जगतामामसं[सि]द्धै शिवः शैवमकलयत् । ॐ
ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ
— ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —
— ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —

² J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, pp. 123 ff.

³ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 95. Vimalasiva is also mentioned in the recently discovered Rewah plates of K. 963, above, Vol. XXV, pp. 1, ff.

⁴ This is also the spelling of the name in the Bhērā-Ghāt stone inscription of Alhaṇadēvi, but the *Gōtra-prasaṁsi* of the Kaṇḍaravāḍa spells it as *Maunya*.

⁵ There is a larger village named Nayāgaon in the former Narsinghpur (now Hoshangābād) District, but it is too far from Jubbulpore, being situated about 45 miles south by west of it. Besides, no places corresponding to Tēkabhara, Samudrapāṭaka, etc., can be traced in the vicinity of it.

⁶ From the original stone and inked stampings.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol. This word is clearly written in the beginning of the unpublished British Museum plate of Kanya.

- 4 सञ्जलितानुभूतयः ॥[५॥*] तदन्वये शिष्यपरम्परायाः क्रमादि वंशः] — — — — —
 — — — — — ॥[६॥*] — — — — — दिगो चक्र — — —
 — — — — —
- 5 शः ॥[७॥*] शिष्यं विमलग्निवाभिधमाधायासौ पदे स्त्रीये ।
 ॥[८॥*] — — — — —
 — — — — — यत्कोत्तिर्व[ज्ञभा ?] — — — — — ॥[९॥*]
 — — — — —
- 6 वास्तुशिवाभिधानः ज्ञेयः प्रकर्षम्परमाधानः । यथेदिपानां वि[षये] — — — — —
 — — — — — ॥[१०॥*] — — — — —
 — — — — — ॥[११॥*] — — — — — शिवः शिष्यः [पुरुषार्थाय] सम्य-
- 7 दम् । गुणानां च धनानां च परोपकृतये पर(रा)म् ॥[१२॥*] शासनं — — — — —
 — — — — — ॥[१३॥*] — — — — —
 — — — — —
- 8 गुणगणानिव ॥[१४॥] प्रीतिः पात्रे रतिस्त्रीये स्थितिः पथि मते सताम् । भक्ति-
 र्विभवत्तस्य समस्य — — — — — ॥[१५॥*]
 ॥[१६॥*] पुरुषशिवः पुरुषोत्त-
- 9 मोक्ष शिष्यः ॥[१६॥*] यस्माद्यशःकर्णनराधिपस्य प्रादुर्ब्ध(र्व)भूवाभ्युदयप्रगल्भा ।
 धर्मार्थकामेषु तथा सञ्चरित्यथा गिरां पत्न्युर्मर्त्यभर्तुः ॥[१७॥*] [शक्ती] श्री-
 गयकर्णदेवनृपतेः — — — — —
 — — — — — अन्विताः ।
- 10 शिष्यः शक्तिशिवोस्य कोत्तिपटलैः प्रज्ञाप्रकर्षैरिवाकार्षीद्विम्बन्तयं तथातिविशदं विद्या-
 समुद्रं यथा ॥[१८॥*] गयकर्णनृपप्रताप — — — — — हेरिनराधिपे व(व)न्तात् ।
 — — — — — ॥[१९॥*] सुमनोगण[नै]क-

* About 18 aksharas are gone here.

* About 30 aksharas are lost here.

- 11 स्व सुमनोभूषणचयः । गौर्यते चरितं यस्य सद्भिः कल्पतरोरिव ॥[२०]*]
 सत्कीर्तिकल्पलतिकावटभाहुतभूरुहः । तस्य कीर्त्तिशिवः शिथ्य[स्तिथ्य ?] ८
 ८ [बभूव सः] ॥[२१]* [येन देव ?] ८ — — ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ —
 ८ ८ । नरसिंहनरेन्द्रस्य बभूवा-
- 12 भ्युदयाय सः ॥[२२]* ॥ न स्वन्दनं वसुमती न च चंद्रसूर्यौ चक्रे न सारथिर-
 भूत्स च विश्वयोनिः । नेषुर्हरिः परपुराणि तथापि भस्म चक्रे यतः स
 इति कीर्त्तिशिवः स्फुटं सः* ॥[२३]* यशोभिरिदुविश्वदैस्तथैवारिविकर्षितैः ।
 अपूपुरत्स सर्वाणां विवे-
- 13 ककुसुमैरिव ॥[२४]* दृष्टौ च विपुष्टमनोभवोपि प्रसन्नचंद्रप्रतिमाननोपि । हृष-
 प्रतिष्ठोपि शिवावसक्तोप्यभूत्स नोद्यो न च सद्भिजिह्वः ॥[२५]* कलचुरिकुल-
 'यन्ति प्रदीपाः ' । स यथैव तद्येन्द्रियाणि
 सर्वा-
- 14 खपि विश्रामसुरदुर्दिदरायाः ॥[२६]* विश्रामिचजगन्निचगोत्रे मैद्यादलंकृताः ।
 प्रापुर्विप्राः किर्यंतो न प्रतिष्ठां परमेष्ठिनः ॥[२७]* येषां सम्यगधीतवेद-
 विययज्ञानार्थमत्थादरात्* [येषां] — ८ ८ — [रदायनमभू] — — ८
 — — ८ — । येषां [चार्थमन्त्रिभिः समभव-
- 15 बिष्टानि पूर्त्तानि च प्राशस्त्वेन महीभृतामिव सदा यायावराणामपि ॥[२८]*
 क्रमात्तवाभवतोत्रे मैत्रीं सत्ते(र्व्वं)षु संदधत् । कृचां पदक्रमाधीती वो(वो)दा
 च मधुसूदनः ॥[२९]* दक्षिणाशावतंसस्य कुंभयोनेरिवाधिकम् । व(व)भूव
 यस्य विवु(वु)वोहो(वो)धाय म-
- 16 हिमीदयः ॥[३०]* हिजेन्द्रभूषणात्तस्मादुमेवोमाभिधा वधूः । अलंचक्रे तनूजेन
 स्कन्देनैव जगत्तयम् ॥[३१]* सोधीत्य वेदान्वेदार्थानधिगम्य व्रतं वहन् ।
 ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ — — ८ नमस्तानिव दक्षिणः ॥[३२]* प्रभासमोकर्ण[ग]-
 यादितीर्थेष्व-
- 17 नृत्थमापद्य सुरादिवर्यै । शैवं व्रतं कीर्त्तिशिवाद्भार समप्रमुप्रादुपमन्वुवद्यः
 ॥[३३]* कल्यायुर्व्विमलशिवः स एष [तस्मा]दि(दि)भ्राणः कलियुगकल्पपाद-
 पत्नम् । [यच्छा]यां विवु(वु)धगणोधिगम्य धत्ते वैधुर्यं न खलु [महीश]वोदयेषु
 ॥[३४]* जा-

* About 5 aksharas are missing here.

* About 7 aksharas are gone here.

- 18 तिः सज्जनपूजिता रतिपतेर्व्यावर्तनायाकृतिर्व्यक्तिः कांतिसुहृद्व्यशांतिसुतपा¹ स्फीतिर्गुणानां
गुरुः । रीतिः [प्रीति]करी सतामतितरां नीतिः सदा तदिदां [मीनं मङ्गल]-
सुद्यमैकसरणेरस्यैव संदृश्यते ॥[३५]*] वाणी सद्गुणनैपुणप्रण-
- 19 यिनो व्र(व्र)ह्मास्यपद्माश्रया श्रीः श्रीवत्सविभूपवत्सवसतिप्रेमेति [लो]कोक्तयः ।
एतस्मिन्पुनरुक्तं इयमिदं सानन्द[सुद्यो(द्यो)तते² तादृग्यादृगजीजन[कु]मनसां चेत-
सु — — — ॥[३६]*] विद्यासमुद्रचंद्रस्य तपःश्रीसरसीरुहः । सत्यो-
त्सवादेः स-
- 20 वृत्तमित्रस्यास्याहुतं न किम् ॥[३७]*] यस्यार्थिद्विजराजदर्शनवशादानाम्बु(म्बु)-
[भिर्व्वर्धते] अद्या [रात्रिदिवं] वरेण विधिना धर्मस्य तन्वीरिव³ । यो दर्श-
स्वपि सादरं द्विजपतीनक्षीणशोभाभरान्दक्षो योजयते सुवर्णविकशत्सद्रोहिणीनां
स(श)तैः ॥[३८]*]
- 21 सकलनृपतिक्लृप्त्यप्रत्यवेक्षासु दाक्ष्यं समधिकमधि — — — — — जयधुर्यः ।
द्विजपतिरपि पूर्णः कोमलाभिः कलाभिः कलयति व(व)ल्लीलां योरि —
— — — ॥[३९]*] लक्ष्मीलीलाकटाक्षैरतिकुतुकतया संततं लक्ष्यमाणो-
- 22 प्यक्षाणां न क्षमो यः कचिदपि सहते स(श)क्तिमुत्सेचयिचोम् । पृ[थ्वीपा]लेन
नित्यं [व(व)हुल]समुचिते कार्यजाते नियुक्तोप्यादत्ते नैव जाद्वं [कह्न⁴]पि
विधिवन्नित्यनैमित्तिकेषु ॥[४०]*] [नित्यं] [वासनया] — — — — —
— — — — — संजज्ञे न विचा-
- 23 रपूर्वकविधि[ईत्तं] न यन्नास्ति तत् । पात्रं तन्न यदर्चितं न व(व)हुशस्तीर्थं
न तद्भूतले दानस्नानतपोभिरहुततमैर्यन्नामुना संस्कृतम् ॥[४१]*] साधीयांसि
महीयांसि स्थेयांसि स्थाणुरूपिणः । श्रेयांसि यस्य वर्धते महांसीव यशां-
- 24 सि च ॥[४२]*] उद्यानसरसी[सच्च]प्रासादद्विजवेश्मभिः । भूमिः परिभवत्यस्य न
कैर्भूपाभरैर्दिवम् ॥[४३]*] यो मंचैः करवर्त्तिनः समकरोल्लोकान् परेभ्यः परान्
— — — — — र्जयसिंहदेववृत्तिर्भक्त्यातिनम्रोपि सन् । स श्रीमान्विमलेश्वरः
कलिमलप्र-

¹ The *sisarga* is dropped here according to the *Vārtika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36.

² The second *vatsa* here means 'the breast'.

³ [The form *udyōtatē* can also be correct. In that case the root is *yut* and not *dyut*.—B. C. C.]

⁴ *Tantri* seems to be used here in the sense of 'a sinew'.

⁵ *Vikāśa(sa)t*, (blooming) seems to be used here in the sense of *vīlāsa* (shining).

⁶ Read *krachid=api*.

- 25 चालनैकक्षमां कीर्त्तिं देव[नदीमिव] त्रिभुवने विस्तार[येन्द्रनीम्] ॥[४४॥*] [अ-
चीकरच्चंद्रमौलिर्भृदि'रमादरात् । गुरोः कीर्त्तिशिवस्यैतत्कीर्त्तये' सुकृताय च ॥[४५॥*]
देवाय कीर्त्तिश्वरसंज्ञिताय प्रादादमुष्मै जयसिंहदेवः । विभ्रद्भवे भक्तिभरं
गुरौ
- 26 च ग्रामान्रवेः पर्वणि न[व्य ?]दायान् ॥[४६॥*] टेकभराख्यस्तेषामेको नवपत्त-
लाविषये । अन्यौ समुद्रपाटे कंडरवाडो वडोहस्व(च) ॥[४७॥*] मौन्यान्वय-
दिजेंद्रग्रीधरणीधरनंदनः । प्रशस्तिमकरोदेताम्नीत्या शसि(शि)धरः कविः ॥[४८॥*]
सूत्रधारशिः
- 27 [रोरत्न]महीधरतनूद्वजः । शिलामलंकरोदेतां^१ नामदेवोऽक्षरैर्वरैः ॥[४९॥*] सम्ब-^३
त्पडिंशत्युत्तरनवशताङ्केपि ८२६ ॥ यावत्सूर्याचंद्रौ यातायातं नभस्तले तपतः ।
तावत्कीर्त्तनमेतत्कीर्त्तये' कर्त्तुः स्थिरं भूयात् ॥[५०॥*]^४ ॥

TRANSLATION.

Success ! Ōm ! Obeisance to Śiva !

(Verse 1.) Having become a meritorious person's son of righteous deeds, (Śiva) who takes delight in blooming lotuses, who abides in venerable Brāhmaṇas, who dwells blamelessly in honoured lustre, rises from the Kāraṇḍavati river^१ (?), and completely destroys the (evil) actions of the enemies of those who take refuge with him, annihilates the arrogance of demons.

(V. 2.) Śiva, who is mounted on the bull, who has the beauty of lotuses.....

(V. 3.) We praise [Śiva], whom they see.....

(V. 4.) For the realization of their self by the worlds, Śiva revealed his doctrine.....

(V. 5.) Those whose direct knowledge failed.....

(V. 6.) In his lineage in the succession of disciples in course of time, the family.....

(V. 7.)

(V. 8.) Having installed his disciple, Vimalaśiva, in his own place, he.....

(V. 9.) Whose dear fame.....

(V. 10.) (He) who was named Vāstuśiva, who caused great bliss, who.....in the country of the lords of Chēdi....

(V. 11.)

(V. 12.) His disciple named....śiva, who acquired a great excellence of merits and wealth in order to oblige others (and) to attain the aims of human life,

(V. 13.)

(V. 14.)like multitudes of merits.....

^१ Two aksharas are inadvertently omitted here. Read —*maulē ramyaṁ mandiram.*

^२ *Alaṅkāra* is grammatically incorrect. Read —*alaṅkāra-aitām.*

^३ Read *Samvat śaḍvīṁśaty-uttara-nava-kāṭē=akē'=pi.*

^४ There is an ornamental figure here.

^५ There is some allusion here, which is not clear to me. Monier-Williams gives *Kāraṇḍavati* (which is perhaps intended here by *kāraṇḍa-pūrṇā*) as the name of a river.

(V. 15.) He, (*though*) possessed of equanimity, bore love towards worthy persons, was attached to holy places, followed the path approved by good people (*and*) was devoted to Śiva.....

(V. 16.) **Puruṣaśiva**, the best of men, who was conversant with.....was his disciple

(V. 17.) On account of whom there arose as much abundance—great with prosperity—in religious merit, wealth and enjoyment of **Yaśaḥkarma** as that of (*Indra*), the lord of immortals, through **Bṛihaspati**.

(V. 18.) His disciple, **Śaktiśiva**,.....(*who augmented*) the (*two*) royal powers of the illustrious king **Gayakarna**, made the circle of regions very bright with the mass of his fame as he did the ocean of learning with the excellence of his intellect.

(V. 19.)the prowess of the king **Gayakarna** the hostile king forcibly.....

(V. 20.) The deeds of him, who is pre-eminently counted among good people and whose wealth is an ornament of his good heart, are sung by wise men like those of the celestial wish-fulfilling tree.

(V. 21.) The disciple of him—a marvellous tree entwined by the creeping plant of noble fame —(*was*) **Kirtiśiva**.....

(V. 22.) He caused the prosperity of the king **Narasimha**....

(V. 23) (*Unlike Śiva*) he had not the earth for his chariot, nor the sun and the moon for its wheels, nor **Brahmā** for his charioteer, nor **Viṣṇu** for his arrow.¹ Still he reduced to ashes the cities of the enemies (*as Śiva did those of the demons*). Hence he (*was*) clearly **Kirtiśiva** (*Śiva in glory*).

(V. 24.) He filled all regions with his glory which he wrested from the enemy and which was as bright as the moon, as with the flowers of discrimination.

(V. 25.) Though he had burned the feeling of love in his glances, though his face resembled the bright moon, though he was firmly attached to religion² and was devoted to Śiva³ (*even as Śiva burned the god of love by his glance, has a bright disc of the moon on his forehead, is mounted on the bull and is attached to Pārvatī*), he was (*unlike Śiva who is called Ugra⁴ and wears serpents*) neither dreadful in appearance nor attended by backbiters.⁵

(V. 26.) The great lights.....the **Kalachuri** family.As he, so all his sense-organs were the celestial tree of rest to the goddess of fortune.

(V. 27.) In the *gṛha* of **Viśvāmitra** which is the friend of the world, how many **Brāhmaṇas**, adorned with benevolence⁶ and other (*virtues*), have not attained the pre-eminence of **Paramēśhthin** (God) ?

(V. 28.) Their.....with great regard for the understanding of the contents of the **Vēdas** which they had studied in the right manner.....Though they were vagrant mendicants, their sacrificial rites and charitable works were performed with abundance of wealth and in a praiseworthy manner like those of kings.

¹ For the equipment of Śiva in his fight with the demons of the three cities, see *Mahābhārata*, *Dṛoṇaparvan*, *adhyāya* 202, vv. 71-78 (Chitrakūṭi Press ed.).

² There is a play on the word *śrīṣṭa* meaning (1) religion and (2) the bull Nandi.

³ *Śivānukṣipta* is to be interpreted in two ways: (i) *Śiva-anukṣipta* meaning 'devoted to Śiva', and (ii) *Śivāḥ-aroṣṭa* meaning 'attached to Pārvatī'.

⁴ *Ugra* is a name of Śiva.

⁵ *Dvijāṣṭra* (two-tongued) means (i) a serpent, and (ii) a backbiter.

⁶ *Maitrī* is one of the four *dāśarudra* which *Yōginas* cultivate.

(V. 29.) In course of time there was born in that *gōtra* **Madhusūdana** who bore benevolence towards all, had studied the *pada* and *krma* texts of the Riks and understood their meaning.

(V. 30.) The rising greatness of him, who was an ornament of the southern regions, led greatly to the awakening of learned men, even as the rise of the star Agastya,¹ the ornament of the southern direction causes the awakening of the gods (*from slumber*).

(V. 31.) Through him who was an ornament of the foremost among Brāhmaṇas, (*his*) wife named Umā, who resembled Pārvatī, was adorned by a son even as the three worlds were by Skanda.

(V. 32.) Having studied the Vēdas and understood their contents, he, observing vows, [pleased all people] like the southern breeze.

(V. 33.) Having paid off his debt to the best of gods and others at Prabhāsa, Gōkarpa, Gayā and other holy places, he received (*initiation in*) the Śaiva vow from Kīrtiśiva even as Upamanyu did from Ugra (*i.e.*, Śiva).

(V. 34.) (*May*) this **Vimalasiva**, who has consequently become the wish-fulfilling tree of the Kali age, live to the end of the world!—(*the tree*), having come under the shade of which a multitude of Brāhmaṇas does not indeed feel distressed on the approach of great festivities!

(V. 35.) In the case of only this (*Vimalasiva*) who is solely devoted to exertion are seen (*the following*), viz., birth in a caste (*viz.*, Brāhmaṇa) which is honoured by good people, a (*handsome*) form which can turn back the god of love (*in discomfiture*), a personality attended by lustre, a large increase of merits accompanied by great tranquillity and excellent austerity, a mode of behaviour which is exceedingly pleasing to good people, political wisdom which is always pleasing to the politicians (*and*) blessed silence.

(V. 36.) (*The goddess of*) speech who is fond of proficiency in merits dwells in the lotus which is Brahmā's face, and the goddess of fortune loves to live on the breast of (*Vishṇu*) who is adorned with Śrīvatsa.—This is what people say. But, what a wonder! this pair shines forth so joyfully in him that it has caused.....in the minds of magnanimous people!

(V. 37.) What thing concerning him is not marvellous!—(*him*) who is the moon to the ocean of learning, a lotus to the goddess of austerities, a pleasure-mountain to the truth and a friend of virtuous conduct!

(V. 38.) At the sight of the best of Brāhmaṇas (*who approach him*) as supplicants, his piety increases in an excellent manner, day and night with the libations of water (*poured at the time*) of making gifts like a sinew of religion. Vigilant² as he is, he confers respectfully on the best of Brāhmaṇas, whose splendour has not decreased, hundreds of red cows shining with gold even on new-moon days.

(V. 39.) Showing great vigilance in looking after all royal affairs, the indefatigable leader The foremost among Brāhmaṇas (*viz.*, *Vimalasiva*), though proficient in fine arts, shows the play of his power against the enemies.....³

¹ The star Canopus which appears on the horizon just before the commencement of Śarad or autumn. [There is also a veiled reference to the sage Agastya who is associated with the propagation of Aryan culture in the south.—Ed.]

² There is a play on the words *dakṣha*, *devīja-pati* and *rōhiṇī*. Dakṣha gave only one Rōhiṇī (*i.e.*, the star Aldebaran) to the moon and that too on the full-moon day, while Vimalasiva gives hundreds of *rōhiṇīs* (red cows) to Brāhmaṇas even on the new-moon day. The star Rōhiṇī is personified as the daughter of Dakṣha and the favourite wife of the moon.

³ In this verse also there is a pun on words like *devīja-pati*, *kālā*, etc.

(V. 40.) Though he is ever looked at with great eagerness by the goddess of fortune with sportful glances, he nowhere suffers the sense-organs to have the power of making him vain. Though he is always employed by the king in many worthy affairs, he nowhere shows slackness in (the performance of) obligatory and occasional religious rites.

(V. 41.) (There was) no discriminating action which he did not perform; (there was) no gift which he did not confer; (there was) no deserving person whom he did not honour many times (and there was) no holy place on the earth which he did not sanctify with marvellous gifts, bathing and austerities.

(V. 42.) Of him who is like Śiva, the exceedingly good, great and lasting blessings and glory increase like his lustre.

(V. 43.) With what ornaments (supplied by him) does not the earth surpass heaven?—(the earth, which has) gardens, tanks, charitable feeding houses, temples and houses of Brāhmaṇas?

(V. 44.) May that illustrious Vimalaśiva—who by his counsels has made (even) the most distant people pay taxes,¹ (to whom) the king Jayasīmaha [bows] becoming very humble through devotion spread in the three worlds his delightful fame which, like the celestial river, is capable of washing away the taint of the Kali age!

(V. 45.) He caused a temple of the moon-crested (Śiva) to be constructed for the fame and religious merit of his teacher Kīrtiśiva out of reverence for him.

(V. 46.) To this god named Kīrtiśvara, Jayasīmahadēva, through devotion to Śiva and his teacher, has made new grants of villages on (the occasion of) the sun's eclipse.

(V. 47.) Of these, the village called **Ṭṣkabhara** is situated in the *vishaya* (district) of **Nava-pattalā** and two others (viz.,) **Kaṇḍarāvāḍa** and **Vaḍōha** in (the district of) **Samudrapāṭa**.

(V. 48.) The poet **Śaśidhara**, the son of the illustrious Dharapadhara who is the foremost among Brāhmaṇas, born in the family of Maunya, has composed this *prastā* with pleasure.

(V. 49.) **Nāmadēva**, the son of Mahādihara, the crest-jewel of artisans, has adorned this slab with excellent letters.

(In) the year nine hundred increased by twenty-six, in figures, 926.

(V. 50.) May this temple endure firmly for the fame of the builder as long as the sun and the moon, going and coming, shine in the firmament!

No. 34.—CONJEEVERAM INSCRIPTION OF BRAHMA-TANTRA-SVATANTRA-JIYAR : SAKA 1282.

By A. S. RAMASATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

Kāñchīpuram in the Chingleput District was an important place of pilgrimage from very early times. Portions of this town and its environs were in the olden days known according to their religious associations, as the Buddha-Kāñchī, Jina-Kāñchī, Śiva-Kāñchī, and Viṣṇu-Kāñchī.* The inscription[†] published below is engraved on the north wall of the second *prākāra* of the Varadarāja temple at Little Conjeeveram, otherwise called Viṣṇu-Kāñchī, which is very sacred to the Vaiṣṇavas of the south.

¹ *Kara-murti* means also 'one who is near at hand.' The statement 'Vimalaśiva makes most distant people near' involves contradiction, but it is only apparent, the intended sense being as given above. The figure is *Vīrōhākhila*.

² Buddha-Kāñchī is referred to in No. 15 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1934-35 (*Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1934-35, para. 56). Jina-Kāñchī is represented by Tirupparuttikkunru near Conjeeveram; Śiva-Kāñchī and Viṣṇu-Kāñchī are respectively the modern Big and Little Conjeeveram.

³ No. 574 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1919.

The characters in which the record is engraved are **Tamiḷ** and **Grantha**, the latter being employed for the Sanskrit words. The language is **Tamiḷ** with an admixture of Sanskrit words, and is somewhat illustrative of the type of Vaishṇava composition prevalent in this period and locality. The record is very well preserved, and its orthography does not call for any comment.

The record does not quote any king's name but is simply dated in **Śaka 1282** and contains the astronomical details—**Vikārin**, Mēsha, śu. 1, Friday and **Āsvati**—which yield the equivalent **A.D. 1359, March 29**. It states that a certain **Vaishṇavadāsa** who had been given the title of **Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar** by the god (Hastigiriśa), was put in charge of a **maṭha** evidently at Kāñchīpuram in Śaka 1282. This information is of interest for **Vaishṇava religious history**, as it enables us to identify this first pontiff of the **maṭha** with the **direct disciple of the great Vēdānta-Dēśika**, the erudite scholar, keen controversialist and deeply venerated Vaishṇava **āchārya**, whose literary and religious activities are said to have extended over a major portion of the 14th century A.D.

As mentioned above, the inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, but it is somewhat peculiarly worded, in that it purports to have been issued by the deity himself. In the Tamiḷ records of this temple, the god is called **Arulāpperumāl** or **Tiruvattiyūr-nīṇṇarūliya-Paramasvāmin**, or 'the great Lord who was pleased to stand at Tiruvattiyūr'. The village-name **Tiruvattiyūr** having been Sanskritised into **Hastigiri**,² the god came to be known to Sanskrit authors as **Hastigiriśa**, by which name he is referred to in the opening verse of this epigraph. It is stated that on the representation made by the agent **Perumāltāṇ** and other **Bhaṭṭas**, the god, while seated in regal pomp with his consorts in the **abhishēka-maṇḍapa** of the temple on the throne named **Viravallāṇ** under the canopy called the **Ariyeṇavallāṇ-pandal** listening to the chanting of the songs of **Śaṭhakōpa**, was pleased to confer the title of **Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar** on a certain **Vaishṇavadāsa** and to put him in charge of a **maṭha** and its properties, so that he may propagate the tenets of the **Rāmānuja-darśanam**³ to the Vaishṇava laity, and maintain the **library** which he had collected, probably in the **maṭha** premises. A sentence at the end adds that this divine order (**tirumugam**) was engraved on stone by the temple-accountant.

In regard to the particular style of wording in this inscription, couched as if the orders had emanated directly from the deity himself, it may be mentioned that this convention was adopted by some of the Vaishṇava temples in the Tirunelvēli District in the 14th and 15th centuries A.D., and in some instances in the South Arcot and Chingleput Districts also. Some Śaiva temples also appear to have sparingly copied this procedure in drafting their documents at this period. In such cases, the occasion when and the place wherefrom the orders⁴ were issued are given at some length. Some instances may be quoted.

1. Śakābdam 1463 nāl . . . Mullināṭṭu brahmadēyam śrī-Śeravaṇ-mahādēvi-chaturvēdimāṅgalattu vaḍapāl śrīmad-Dvārakānāthaṇ arulāl Āyirattenmaṇ-pandaṇ-kil Virakēraṇ-piṭhattu nāmum nam penḍugaḷoḍuṇ kūḍi-irundu, etc.—(Shermādēvi, No. 186 of 1895 of the Madras Epigraphical collection—S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 750).

¹ Dēśika is believed to have been born in A.D. 1269, Śukla, and to have died in A.D. 1370, Saumya. The present record is of help in confirming the period of his literary activity as the second half of the 14th century A.D.

² The artificial ramp formed by an enclosed **maṇḍapa** is called the '**Tirumalai**' or '**giri**', on top of which the shrine of **Varādarāja** is located.

³ Compare the verse composed in praise of this Jiyar :

इत्तीशं लोकविख्यातं कौण्डिन्यं विदुषा वरम् ।

रामानुजार्यसिद्धान्तस्यापनाचार्यमाश्रये ॥

⁴ This is analogous to the instances in which kings are described as having been seated in particular halls of their palaces and on particular seats, while issuing the orders contained in the respective epigraphs.

2. Nāyaṇār Tiruviḍaikaḷi-Nāyaṇār Ādi-ayaṇa-ttiru-mañjaṇam śeydaruḷi Irāmānujaṇ-tirumaṇḍapattu Nālukavipperumāl-Vīrasimhāṣaṇattu śrī-Śaṭhakōpaṇ tirumuttiṇ-pandal-kkīḷ Nāchchimāruḍaṇ chēndaruḷi-irundu eṇḡalai aruḷappāḍittaruḷi nammudaiya aḍiyārīl . . . nammudaiya kumāraṇ Hariyaṇaṇ kumāraṇ Hariyaṇaṇ, etc.—(Tirukkōyilūr, No. 356 of 1929 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).
3. Nam bhaktar Malai-maṇḍalattu Tāḷaikkuḍi Śēndapirāṇ-Periyāṇāṇa Yāḍavarāyaṇukku nam-aḍukkaḷaippuram śēlvadāga nam magāṇār Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēvarkku eṭṭāvadu, etc.—(Tirunelvēli, No. 127 of 1894 of the Madras Epigraphical collection—S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 416).

The reigning king of the time is referred to in these records as *nam pillai* or *nam kumāraṇ* 'the god's son or favourite', and in response to his formal petition that a particular transaction may be made, the god is described as sanctioning it and issuing a ratificatory order to that effect to the officials concerned. This convention does not, however, appear to have been in vogue for a long time. Ādi-Chaṇḍēśvara, one of the sixty-three Nāyaṇmārs, is considered to be the steward-in-chief (*mūla-bhṛitya*) of Śaiva temples, and the documents relating to them are drafted in his name. Similarly also Vishvaksēna or Sēṇai-mudaliyār is looked upon as the Manager of Vaishṇava temples. It is one step further to assume that the orders were issued directly by the god himself.¹ Such divine mandates are called *aruḷappāḍu*; and in the Śrīraṅgam temple, god Raṅgarāja is even now conventionally considered to look after the affairs of his temple himself and issue the necessary orders through the mouth of his temple-officials.

Before proceeding to examine the contents of this record, a few expressions occurring in it may be explained.

(L. 2). *Vīravallāṇa simhāṣaṇam* and *Ariyeṇavallāṇ-pandal* are the names respectively of a throne and a canopy. The first was probably presented to the temple by the Hoysala king Vīra-Ballāja III², while the second may have been named after some one having the title 'he who is as powerful as a lion,'³ but whose title it was is not known.

Nam peṇḍugaḷ—viz., Vishṇu's two consorts, Śrī and Bhūmī.

Śaṭhakōpaṇ-pāṇu kēḷānīṇka—Śaṭhakōpa is the name of the Vaishṇava saint Nammālvār, whose *Tiruvāymoli* is considered equal to the Vēdas in sanctity and is chanted in the presence of the deity on particular occasions. Endowments made for this service in Vishṇu temples are often mentioned in inscriptions.⁴

(L. 3). *Perumālṭāṇa*—Perumālṭāṇa or Perumālḍāsaṇ would ordinarily mean 'a devotee of Perumāl (Vishṇu)'; but in this context it appears to have been the name of the agent, super-

¹ In these instances, the records commence with a Sanskrit verse specifying that the orders emanate from the god himself—

(a) सर्वलोकसमुत्पत्तिस्थितिसंहारकारणम् ।

शासनं शान्तं शंभोः श्रीव्रीहृदितवासिनः ॥ —No. 127 of 1894 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

(b) एतत् वैलोकनिर्माणवाणसंहारकारणम् ।

श्रीमत्श्रीरङ्गनाथस्य शासनं शान्तं परम् ॥ —No. 51 of 1938-39 of the same collection.

² Ballāja III was camping at Kāñchipuram in Bhāvaka (Śaka 1256)—No. 401 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. In two other records from the same temple, one of which is dated in Śaka 1283, in the regime of Sālūva Maṅgu, the god is described as seated in a similar manner while issuing the orders.

³ A liquid measure called 'Ariyeṇavallāṇ-nāli' was current in this temple at this period—(No. 343 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).

⁴ Madras Epigraphical Report for 1908, part II, para. 35.

vising the sacred business of the temple (*nam viṭṭu karumam kētkum*), in whose presence and that of the *Bhaṭṭas* of the temple, the order is stated to have been promulgated. The name 'Vaishṇava-dāsa' occurring in the same line has to be considered as meaning 'the servant-devotee of Vaishṇavas' rather than as the personal name of the donee in the record; for according to the *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*, the original name of Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar was Pērarulā-layyan of Viravalli¹ and his *dāsyānāma* on becoming a *saṁnyāsin* was Pērarulāla-Jiyan.

(L. 4). *Samārādhanaṁ adukku vēṇḍum muṭṭukkaḷum*—seems to refer to the worship to be conducted to the deities kept in the *maṭha* itself and the requirements therefor. It is usual for every *maṭha* to have images of some deities for worship. In this connection, it may be noted that on the eve of the demise of Vēdānta-Dēśika, some images are said to have been bequeathed to his disciple Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar.²

Postakaṅgaḷum idukku vēṇḍum upakaraṅgaḷum—By *postakaṅgaḷ* (*pustaka*), manuscript bundles are apparently meant. The *upakaraṅgas* are the accessories and paraphernalia required for running a library—such as probably racks for the accommodation of the manuscript bundles, spare sets of *cadjan* leaves for copying work, and stylus and other scribal apparatus.

Rāmānuja-darśanam—is the Viśiṣṭādvaita-siddhānta as codified and expounded in his *Śrī-bhāṣya* by the great Vaishṇava apostle Rāmānuja (A.D. 1017-1137). It was he who had raised this system to an unassailable eminence and had arranged for its propagation in true missionary style, by the training of a number of able exponents and *śiṁhāsanādhipatis*³ from among his numerous disciples.

(L. 5) *Nam Rāmānujam-udaiyārum nam samayattil uḷḷārum*—Rāmānujam-udaiyār appears to mean the 'followers of Rāmānuja'.⁴ The idea seems to be that the selection of Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar as the pontiff was to receive the acceptance of Rāmānuja's followers and the Vaishṇava laity (*samayattil-uḷḷār*).

(L. 6) *Ivaṇukku nām muḍittapaḍiyum uḍuttapaḍiyum pūṣiṇapaḍiyum kuḍuttōm*—means that the flowers worn by the god, the clothes used by him and the sandal-paste and unguents utilised for his worship were presented to the Jiyar as a mark indicative of the god's love to the recipient. This expression is found used in some inscriptions⁵ and in Vaishṇava literature.

As regards Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar, the donee of the record, some information is available from Vaishṇava literature. Among the South Indian religions, it was Vaishṇavism alone that had developed the 'historical sense' to an appreciable extent, and there are therefore several biographies of the Vaishṇava *āchāryas* available, collated under the names of *Vaibhavas* and *Guruparamparās* of varying volume.⁶ One such work dealing with the life of the great Vaishṇava reformer Vēdānta-Dēśika is the *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*⁷ in Tamil prose by Tṛitīya-

¹ *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam* (Tamil, Madras.), p. 114; see also f. n. 3 on p. 319.

² *Ibid.*, p. 138.

³ There were 74 *śiṁhāsanādhipatis* who were selected. Their names are given in the reply to question No. 24 of the *Trīṁśatpraśnōttaram*, *Paḷanaḍaivijakkam*, p. 30.

⁴ The following expression from No. 51 of 1938-39 from Śrīraṅgam may be compared—*Koḍavar kōvaṇavar nam bhaṭṭakal . . . nam Rāmānujaṇai-udaiyār nam pāḍuvār*, etc.

⁵ Compare No. 567 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁶ There are many biographies of Dēśika available. The *Vēdānta-Dēśika-vaibhava-prakāśikā* by Doḍḍay-āchārya is in Sanskrit.

⁷ Published in Madras in several editions. Dvītiya-Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar, the *āchārya* of the author of this work is said to have written the *Paṇṇīrāyirappaḍi-Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*, which is not extant.

Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar. Shorn of the few miraculous elements that are inevitable in an orthodox hagiography, this work compiled by an author who lived only a few generations later than Dēśika, may be considered as fairly reliable. From it we gather the following details about Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar, the first of that name, who was a disciple of Vēdānta-Dēśika :

Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar belonged to the Kaundinya-gōtra and was originally called Viravalli Pērarulālayyaṇ. Well-versed in all the *śāstras*, he became an ardent disciple of Dēśika and assumed the *saṁnyāsa* garb under the name of **Pērarulāla-Jiyar**. When the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam was looted by the Muhammadans in the first quarter of the 14th century, Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar fled along with his *āchārya* to Satyamaṅgalam (in the Coimbatore District) and returned to Śrīraṅgam only after some years. He was taught the *Bhagavad-vishayam* (*Ārāyirappaḍi*) by Varadāchārya *alias* Nayaṇārāchārya, the son and disciple of Vēdānta-Dēśika, in **Kali 4440, Bahudhānya, Āvaṇi, śu. 2, Hasta** (=A.D. 1338, August 18). On one occasion, he vanquished a pandit of North India in a polemical contest at Śrīraṅgam and was honoured by Dēśika with the title of '**Brahma-tantra-svatantra**'¹ 'he who is a master in Brahma-tantra'. That accounts for the origin of the name by which he was popularly known. On another occasion during the régime of Tirumalai-Śrīnivāsāchārya² who had been installed by Dēśika as the *Śrīkārya-dhurandhara* of the Kāñchīpuram temple, Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar overcame a Kashmirian pandit in a philosophical discussion and earned the title of '**Paryāya-Bhāshyakāra**'³. Some time later under the direction of god Veṅkaṭēśa in a dream, he accepted the **Trusteeship of the Tirupati temple**, and during his tenure of office there, he installed an image of Vēdānta-Dēśika in a *maṭha* built by him at Tirumala, as well as in a *maṇḍapa* in the Gōvindarāja temple at Lower Tirupati. He stayed at Tirupati for a long time expounding the Vaishṇava philosophy to his disciples Ghaṭikāśatakam-Ammāḷ, Kiḍāmbi-Nayaṇār, Kōmāṇḍūr-Āchchāṇ, Pillaiy-Appai, Pērarulālayyaṇ-Appai, Kandāḍai-Āṇḍāṇ, Viravalli-Pillai and others. After his demise he was succeeded by Pērarulālayyaṇ-Appai. Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar was the author of two small works—the *Divyasūri-stuti*⁴ and the *Āchāryavātāra-ghaṭṭārtha*.⁵

Though these biographical details may, in the main, be accepted, a few omissions may be noticed. The *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam* does not contain a reference to the founding of a *maṭha* at Kāñchīpuram and to the installation of Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar in it as its first pontiff for the propagation of the Rāmānuja-*darśanam*, as stated in the present record, nor do the Tirupati inscriptions corroborate his Trusteeship of the Tirupati temple. But these points notwithstanding, Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar of the record under review may be identified with the disciple of

¹ The present record conventionally states that god himself gave the title.

² *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*, p. 138. He was the author of a religious work called the *Prabandha-nirvāṇam*.

³ A verse composed by Ghaṭikāśatakam-Ammāḷ in praise of this Jiyar reads—

पर्यायभाष्यकाराय प्रणतानि विभून्वते ।

ब्रह्मतन्त्रस्वतन्त्राय द्वितीयब्रह्मणं नमः ॥

⁴ The colophon reads—ब्रह्मतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रोक्ता दिव्य प्रसिद्धिः ।

⁵ Its colophon reads—ब्रह्मतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रेण परकालयतीन्दुना ।

शाचार्यवतारचंद्राद्यै संयोज्य प्रकाशयते ॥

Vēdānta-Dēśika, because of the fact that the investiture of this unique title of 'Brahma-tantra-svatantra', herein attributed to the god himself, had been made more than a decade prior to the demise of Dēśika and that this *āchārya*'s name figures in three important 'pontifical lists'.¹

The *maṭha* which was thus started at Kāñchīpuram under the pontificate of this Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jīyar in A.D. 1360 grew in importance and appears to have latterly removed its headquarters to Mēlkōṭe in the Mysore State, where it became popular under the name of the Parakāla-maṭha². There were several scholars among the subsequent heads of this *maṭha*, and a short sketch of its history has been given in the *granth-ōpasamhāra* of the *Alaṅkāra-maṇihāra*,³ a work on rhetoric composed recently by one of its pontiffs also called Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jīyar.

At about this time in Śaka 1300 there was in the Varadarāja temple at Kāñchīpuram, a minor *maṭha* called the Vēda-maṭha, which was presided over by a certain Vēdēndrasāgara-śrīpāda and which probably specialised in the teaching of the Vēdas.⁴ Another important Vaishṇava *maṭha* which came into existence in this period was the Ahōbala-maṭha,⁵ whose founder Śrīnivāsa, son of Kiṭāmbi Kēśavāchārya of Tirunārāyaṇapuram, is, according to orthodox tradition, believed to have assumed the *Samnyāsāśrama* in Śaka 1320 (A.D. 1398) under the name of Ādivaṇ Śaṭhakōpa-Jīyar and to have been its first pontiff for a period of sixty years till A.D. 1458.

Vēdānta-Dēśika is stated in the *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam* to have been the contemporary of a certain Telugu chief named Sarvajña-Śiṅgabhūpāla and to have composed the *Subhāshita-nīri* for his delectation.⁶ The same chief is said to have honoured Nayaṇārāchārya, the son and disciple of Dēśika, with the gift of a palanquin and other paraphernalia, when this *āchārya* went to the northern parts in his religious tours. It follows therefore that Brahma-tantra-svatantra was also a contemporary of this Śiṅga. According to the *Velugōṭivāri-vaṁśāvali*⁷ dealing with the history of the Rēcherla chiefs, there were three chiefs of the name of Śiṅga. Of these, Śiṅga III who came to power in A.D. 1425 had the title of Sarvajña.⁸ The author of the work on rhetoric called the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*⁹ was a Śiṅga, son of an Annavōta; and he has been identified with Śiṅga II and has been assigned to about A.D. 1380.¹⁰ There was another earlier Śiṅga I who flourished about this time and was killed by a certain Tammaḷa-Bommayya in A.D. 1360. It is no

¹ In this connection the following orthodox three-fold 'lists' may be noted:

- (a) *Mantrārtha-guruparamparā*—Emberumāṇār, Kiṭāmbi-Āchēhān, Kiṭāmbi Rāmānuja Appuḷḷān, Śrī-raṅgarājār, Appuḷḷār, Dēśikār and Brahma-tantra-svatantrar.
- (b) *Śrībhāshya-guruparamparā*—Emberumāṇār, Tirukkurugaipprān-Piḷḷān, Eṅgaḷāḷvān, Nāḍādūr-Ammāl, Appuḷḷār, Dēśikār and Brahma-tantra-svatantrar.
- (c) *Bhagavad-vishaya-guruparamparā*—Same as in (b), Dēśikār, Nayaṇārāchāryar and Brahma-tantra-svatantrar.

² See *Paṇanadairiḷakkam*, Part II, p. 28.

³ Published in the *Mysore Sanskrit Series*.

⁴ No. 32 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1890—*S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 355.

⁵ Vide *Tirupati Dēvasthānam Report* (1930), p. 214, where these traditional dates are questioned and are post-dated by a cycle of sixty years.

⁶ *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*, pp. 120 and 139. Two other works named the *Tatvasandēśa* and the *Rahasya-sandēśa* are also stated to have been composed for the same purpose.

⁷ Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, *Velugōṭivāri-vaṁśāvali*, Introduction.

⁸ Vasantarāja, brother of the latter Śiṅga III, made a gift of four *dvārapālaka* images to the Varadarāja temple at Kāñchīpuram (No. 683 of 1919) in Śaka 1359.

⁹ श्रीमदध्वमखलाधीश्वर-प्रतिगच्छमेव-श्रीयज्ञवीतनरेन्द्रनन्दन-भुजबलभीम-श्रीशिवभूपाल-विरचितं रसार्णवमुपाकरणं—

¹⁰ His date has been discussed in *Śrīṅgāra-Śrīnāthamu* (Telugu) by Prabhākara Śāstrī, p. 179, etc.

doubt tempting to identify the author of the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, with the chief who honoured the two *āchāryas*.¹ As Vēdānta-Dēśika is believed to have passed away in A.D. 1370,² and as Nayaṇārāchārya had also attained to literary fame before A.D. 1360, their contemporary has been considered to have been Śiṅga I of A.D. 1360, who lived within the life-time of Dēśika but who is not known to have had the title of Sarvajña or more appropriately, Śiṅga II who actually began to rule later, but who may have been a young chieftain at the time of Nayaṇārāchārya's visit administering a portion of the territory in conjunction with his father Anavōta, for whom, however, records up to Śaka 1307 are found.

The existence of one other Śiṅga at this period may also be noted. In the Śrīraṅgam plates of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka³ dated in Śaka 1280, only two years earlier than the date of the present record, it is stated that a village which had been granted by one of the chiefs of Kōrukoṇḍa to a Parāśara-Bhaṭṭa, the seventh of that name, was transferred to the temple of god Raṅganātha by his mother, on the death of the latter without issue. This grant indicates that the Kōrukoṇḍa chiefs were devout Vaishṇavas and that a descendant of the famous Bhaṭṭar family of Śrīraṅgam was honoured by one of them. This Mummaḍi-Nāyaka is stated to have had two younger brothers, one of whom was a Śiṅga who was ruling over a portion of his brother's territory with headquarters at Kōtipura in the Godavari District. His father was a Kūna. But the chief, to whom Dēśika⁴ had dedicated the three works referred to above, is said to have been the son of a Mādhava-Nāyaka. If this is so, he cannot be identified either with the Rēcherla Śiṅga, son of Anavōta, or the Kōrukoṇḍa Śiṅga, son of Kūna. His identity must therefore remain undetermined for the present.

Another point of interest in this epigraph is the reference to a **collection of manuscripts** (or a library) which was kept in the *maṭha* and a stipulation made for its proper upkeep, as envisaged in the expression '*iva tēḍiṇa postakaṅgaḷum idukku vēṇḍum upakaraṇaṅgaḷum*'. It is well-known that in the medieval centuries, religious institutions of all denominations, Śaiva, Vaishṇava and Jaina, flourished in South India, either as a result of royal patronage or supported by private benefactions. They appear to have been primarily intended as seminaries for the imparting of religious education and incidentally for the dissemination of secular knowledge as well. The extensive properties granted from time to time to temples and to such religious establishments were left in charge of the heads of these *maṭhas* called *Maṭhādhipatis*, *Mudaliyārs* or *Jīyars*, on whom devolved the duty of supervising the proper conduct of the services for which the endowments had been intended, and who, in turn, enjoyed some privileges as remuneration for their services. Then there were also the *Ghaṭikāsthānas* (i.e.) 'establishments for holy and learned men', and smaller educational institutions of which there were many in the land, which were responsible for the intellectual well-being of the community. The munificent donations made for the

¹ Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma has kindly brought to my notice a reference from Mr. M. Doraswamayya's article in the *Tirumalai Śrī-Veṅkaṭēśvara*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 51 ff., wherein Śiṅgabhūpāla, the author, has been assigned to a period before A. D. 1370, on the strength of the fact that the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* has been quoted from by the *Chamatkāra-chandrikā* of Viśvēśvara, which latter is referred to in the *Alaṅkārasudhānūlī* of Bhōganātha of about. A.D. 1370.

² The Sanskrit verses engraved in the Śrīraṅgam temple eulogising the restoration of the Raṅganātha image by Gōpaṇārya, are stated in the *Guruparamparā* to have been composed by Dēśika himself. If so he must have passed away soon after this incident.

³ *Ante*, Vol. XIV, p. 84 and *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1913, pp. 129-30.

⁴ *Life and Literary Writings of Dēśika*, by M. K. Tātāchārya, where the following is quoted—

इदमिति निगमान्दक्षिणं प्रति समदिश्यत माधवात्मजस्य ।

maintenance of these institutions are recorded in several inscriptions;¹ but though no specific references to libraries as such, are found in them, it is, however, reasonable to infer that when these *maṭhas*, *ghaṭikās* and *pāṭhaśālās* were functioning properly, they must have been maintaining well-stocked libraries, for the use of the teachers as well as the taught.

The numerous collections of manuscripts which have been found in *maṭhas* and other places in South India, bear ample testimony to the fact that the library was a fairly well-recognised institution of medieval religious and student life. But specific references to libraries as such are, as stated already, rather rare in inscriptions. A record of the Western Chālukya king Trailōkya-malla-Āhavamalla dated in Śaka 980 (=A.D. 1058) from Nāgai² in the Hyderabad State mentions that *Daṇḍanātha-Triṇētra* Madhusūdana, a general of the king, received from his master among many other endowments, a gift of land for the maintenance of six Curators called *Sarasvatī-Bhaṇḍārīgas* who were placed in charge of the library attached to the college (*Ghaṭikāśālā*) at Nāgavāvi-agrahāra, which had several hundred students on its rolls. Another interesting reference to a *Sarasvatī-bhaṇḍāra* or library is found in a fragmentary epigraph³ engraved on the east wall of the third *prākāra* in the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam in the Trichinopoly District. It is but natural to expect that this temple which is classified as belonging to the *uttamōṭṭama* type, should have been provided with a library as well.⁴ The record states that in an auxiliary *maṇḍapa* which accommodated this library, provision was appropriately made for the installation and worship of the images of the three presiding deities of learning—viz., Hayagrīva, Sarasvatī and Vyāsa-Bhagavān, by Pālappalli Nīlakaṇṭha-Nāyaka. As this person was a contemporary of Hoysala Vīra-Rāmanātha, in whose 14th year inscription⁵ (A.D. 1269) he is mentioned, the library of the Śrīraṅgam temple was in existence from the middle of the 13th century A.D. A *pustaka-bhaṇḍāra* as an adjunct to the Advaitic Śāṅkara-*maṭha* at Śrīṅgēri in the Mysore State is mentioned in two epigraphs⁶ from Vanṭyāla near Perdūru in the South Kanara District, which belong to the early Vijayanagara period. One of them is dated in Śaka 1328 in the reign of king Bukka II and registers a gift of land for the maintenance of a certain Purāṇika Kavi-Kṛishṇa-Bhaṭṭa, who was the Curator in charge of this library, while the other dated a few years later in Śaka 1354 in the reign of king Dēvarāya II, relates to another gift of land made to the Curator's son Kavi-Śāṅkara-Bhaṭṭa, who evidently succeeded his father in his office.

TEXT.

- 1 Tirumugappaḍi⁷ [[*] Svasti śrī[*]] Ētat=sur-āsura-ādhiśa-mauli-ratna-prabh-āruṇam [[*]
Śrīmat-Hastigiriśasya dēvadēvasya śāsanam ॐ[[]] Vikāri-samvatsarattu
Mēsha-nāyaru pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Velli-kkiḷamaiyum
- 2 perṇa Aśvati-nā] abhishēka-maṇḍapattu Vīra-Vallāḷa-sinhāsanattu Ariyeṇavallāṇ-pandal-
kiḷ nāmum nam peṇḍugaḷuḍaṇ Śaṭakōpaṇ-pāṭṭu-kkōḷāṇiṇka nam viḍu⁸ karumam
kēṭkum

¹ Several inscriptions relate to the provision made for the maintenance of such educational institutions, notable among them being those copied from Eṇṇāyiram in the South Arcot District (No. 333 of 1917 of the Madras Epigraphical collection), Kāvaṇūr (*An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1933, Part II, para. 35), etc.

² The Inscriptions of Nagai (*Hyderabad Archl. Series*, No. 8), p. 7.

³ No. 139 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1938-39.

⁴ In this connection it may be mentioned that the *Paushkara-Samhitā* (published at Mēlkōṭe, Mysore, 1934), one of the three authoritative works of the Pāṇcharātra school, has a chapter entitled 'Jñāna-pratishṭhānam', giving rules for the formation of a library in a temple. This reference was brought to my notice by Mr. S. Parthasarathi Ayyangar of the Dēvasthānam Library at Śrīraṅgam.

⁵ No. 4 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1937-38.

⁶ Nos. 283 and 284 of the same collection for 1936-37.

⁷ This word is written below 'Svasti śrī' in slightly smaller characters.

⁸ *Svasti śrī* and several other Sanskrit words are engraved in Grantha characters.

⁹ May also be corrected into *nam viṭṭu karumam*.

- 3 Perumāltātaṇum nam bhaṭṭa[r*]kaḷum śolla-kkēṭṭu **Brahma-tantra-svatantra-jīyaṇ**¹ eṇṇu nām pēr-kuḍutta Vaishṇavadāsaṇukku nām kuḍuttapaḍi [l*] Ivaṇukku uṇḍāna maṭhamum maṭhattai nōkki
- 4 varum kshētramum samārādhanaṇum adukku vēṇḍum muṭṭukkaḷum ivaṇ tēḍiṇa posta-kaṇḡaḷum idukku vēṇḍum upakaraṇaṇḡaḷum nam Rāmānujaṇ-darśanam naḍak-kaikkāga ivaṇukku
- 5 piṇbum ivaṇ niyamitta ivaṇuḍaiya śiṣhyarḡaḷ paramparaiy=āga ivaiyirṇai-kkaikkonḍu naḍatti-ppōdakkāḍavargal=āgavum [l*] Ivaṇai nam Rāmānujaṇ-uḍaiyārum nam samayattil uḷḷārum² kai-
- 6 kkonḍu naḍatti-ppōda-chchoṇṇōm [l*] I-chcheydiyai-kkallilum śembilum vēṭṭikkollumbaḍi ivaṇukku nām muḍittapaḍiyum uḍuttapaḍiyum pūṣipapaḍiyum kuḍuttōm ௨ Ippaḍikku-
- 7 ttiruvāy-malarnd=aruṇapaḍikku kōyil-kkaṇakku Pēraruḷālapriyaṇ eḷuttu ௨ I-ttirumugam eḷudina Śakābdam āyirattu iru-nūṇṇu eṇbattu-iraṇḍ=āvaḍu ௨

TRANSLATION.

This is according to the sacred order.

Hail ! Prosperity !

This is the order of the glorious Lord of Hastigiri, the god of gods, which is red with the brilliance of the gems in the diadems of the (*supplicating*) lords of the celestials and of the *Asuras*:

“In the month of Mēsha of the (*cyclic*) year **Vikārin**, on a Friday with prathamā-tithi of the first fortnight and Āsvati-nakshatra, while We, in company with Our consorts, were listening to the songs of Śaṭhakōpa, seated on the throne (*named*) Vīravallāḷaṇ under the canopy (*called*) Ariyeṇavallāṇ in the *abhishēka-maṇḍapa* (*of the temple*)—

on the representation (*made*) by Perumāltātaṇ, who supervises the (*sacred*) business of Our temple (*nam viḍu*), and by Our *Bhaṭṭas*, We were pleased to assign to a *Vaishṇavadāsa* on whom we had bestowed the name of **Brahmā-tantra-svatantra-jīyaṇ**, the *maṭha* which had been set apart for him, the lands belonging thereto, the worship to be conducted therein and the expenses therefor, the books which he had accumulated and the accessories required for them (*i.e.*, their maintenance), so that he may propagate Our Rāmānuja-darśanam, and after him, the disciples selected by him may, in succession, take possession of these and continue (*the work*).

We directed that the followers of Rāmānuja (Rāmānujaṇ-uḍaiyār) and those of our Vaishṇava *samayaṇ* shall accept him (*i.e.*, his pontificate) and carry on (*the work*).

We also ordered that this information be engraved on stone and copper, and We presented him (*in token of Our regard*) what had been used (*as garlands*), what had been worn (*as clothes*), and what had been anointed (*as unguents*) by Us.”

As thus graciously commanded (*by the god*), this is the writing (*or signature*) of the temple-accountant Pēraruḷālapriyaṇ.

The Śaka year in which this sacred order was written (engraved) is **One thousand two hundred and eighty-two**.

¹ Read *-svatantra-jīyaṇ*.

² Engraved below the line.

No. 35.—KASYAPA IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM SILAO.

By B. CH. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (LUGD.), OOTACAMUND.

It was early in the year 1935 that the late Babu Puran Chand Nahar of Calcutta, a well-known Jain antiquarian, kindly placed at my disposal a couple of inked estampages of the subjoined inscription for decipherment and publication. He informed me that the inscription appears on a stone pedestal which is in the possession of Babu Bhagwan Das of Silao¹ in the Bihar subdivision of the Patna District. This gentleman, I understand, owns a collection of antiquities. He could not tell the exact provenance of the present piece, as the collection had existed in the family from before his time and is apparently not properly enlisted. Considering, however, that Silao is situated between the famous archaeological sites of Nālandā and Rājagriha, it is probable that the find hailed from one of these two places. But, as will be shown below,² it is more likely that the piece belonged to Silao itself.

From the estampages supplied by Babu Puran Chand, I could read a considerable part of the epigraph. For its complete decipherment, however, an examination of the original or, at least, a set of better impressions was essential. During the summer of that very year, I had occasion to visit Silao, but unfortunately I then missed Babu Bhagwan Das there. Consequently I had to go disappointed without seeing either his collection or the inscribed pedestal in question.

About two years later, Mr. J. K. Roy, the then Custodian of Nalanda Museum and Monuments, at my request, got a fresh set of impressions prepared, which he kindly sent to me along with his description of the sculptured piece. In December 1939, Mr. Amalananda Ghosh, Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna, further obliged me by furnishing me with two photographs of the damaged sculpture and three impressions, on thin paper, of its inscription. The new material enabled me to read the inscription almost entirely.

As may be seen from the accompanying photographic reproduction, the pedestal is elliptical in shape and has, in its centre, a remnant of the kneeling statue, carved in the round, which once surmounted it. The pedestal stands 9" high, and measures 20" at its longest and 14½" at its broadest. The extant portion of the figure shows that it represented a person seated in the attitude that is technically called *ālīḍhāsana*. The symmetrical lines seen on its right leg suggest folds of the *dhōṭī* or the lower garment. Further, the pedestal has, at its bottom, a tenon, about 6" long and 4" wide, which shows that the present sculpture was placed on a larger pedestal by the side of some other statue or statues. This is borne out also by the posture of the present image, as judged from its surviving portion. The posture recalls to one's mind certain representations of Garuḍa, Viṣṇu's *vāhana*, depicted as offering worship with folded hands or waiting on his master. In the present instance, however, the figure represented, as is disclosed by the inscription, not Garuḍa but **Kāśyapa** who, as will presently be shown, was a famous disciple of the Buddha. We may thus conclude that the present image, representing Kāśyapa in worshipful attitude, was originally installed next to the statue of his teacher, Gautama Buddha, in a shrine or a sanctuary somewhere near the modern village of Silao.

The pedestal is partitioned into two by an inward curve. The inscription runs along the upper band and consists of three lines, each measuring about 21" in length. It is

¹ Silao is a railway station on the Bukhtiarpur-Bihar Light Railway section of East Indian Railway.

² See below p. 331.

slightly weather-worn, especially on the right-hand extremity where a few letters in the first line I have not been able to make out. Again, due to erosion, parts of letters and signs of superscript *rēpha* have, at certain places, been rendered obscure. In most cases, however, they can be made out from the moulds on the back of an estampage. The average size of the letters is $\frac{3}{8}$ ".

The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets. Kielhorn described this type as "the Magadha variety of the Nāgarī alphabet"¹, while some other scholars more appropriately call it "the Eastern variety of Nāgarī"². The script of the present record bears a close resemblance to that used in the Ghōsrāwā inscription³ of the time of the Pāla king Dēvapāladēva who reigned from c. A.D. 801 to c. A.D. 840⁴. In view of this consideration, the present inscription, which neither bears a date nor mentions any ruler's name, may be placed in the first half of the ninth century A.D.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and its composition is entirely in verse, all the three stanzas forming but one sentence. The following points are worthy of note in respect of **orthography**, a consonant followed by a *r* is very often reduplicated, *s* is used for *ś* in *yas=cha*, l. 2 and *gītas=cha*, l. 3, and *v* is used for *b* in *Vauddha*, l. 3. The sign of *avagraha* appears twice. Grammatically, the form *amit-ardhau*, l. 1, is wrong. As an adjective of *kulē*, it ought to be *amit-ardhina*. Similarly the use of the feminine gender in the word *ādi* in *svīya saṃhātīk-ādir*, l. 3, is incorrect. In a compound like the present one, it should ordinarily be treated in the neuter gender. The exact sense of the expression *yānti dvaidham*, l. 2, in the given context is not clear to me, though I have rendered it as 'vie with one another'⁵. Of lexicographical interest are the terms *purasa*, l. 2, and *saṃhātīkā*, l. 3. The former in all probability is meant to be an equivalent of *purāṣa* which is equally of rare occurrence and means 'gold'. The latter appears here as a synonym of *saṃghāṭī* or *saṃghātīkā* which is peculiar to Buddhist terminology and denotes 'one of the three robes of a monk' (*tri-chivara*)⁶.

As regards **contents**, the inscription is virtually a label to the image which once surmounted the pedestal, giving in a compendious form a laudatory account of the deity represented. The deity or the deified personage, as is disclosed by the inscription, was Kāśyapa.

This Kāśyapa is no other than the Buddha's favourite disciple Kāśyapa or Mahā-Kāśyapa who is reputed to have convened the First Buddhist Council⁷ at Rājagṛiha three months after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Master. Even during the Buddha's lifetime Kāśyapa had become a foremost Arhat. It is perhaps on account of his playing such a prominent part in preserving and expounding the Lord's teachings that he has been accorded such an exalted rank as to be deified. In the Mahāyāna Buddhist iconography he has been confused with a previous Buddha, called Kāśyapa. There he figures as the sixth Mānushi-Buddha of the group of seven.⁸ There is hardly any Buddhist treatise wherein some

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 244.

² Compare, for instance, the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar's remarks in *Monographs of the Varendra Research Society* No. 1 (Nālandā copper-plate of Dēvapāladēva), p. 2.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 307 ff. and plate.

⁴ H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 379.

⁵ See below p. 334, n. 1.

⁶ Childers, *Dictionary of the Pālī Language*, under the word *saṃghāṭī*.

⁷ Jean Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛiha*, pp. 8, 30, etc.; R. C. Majumdar *Buddhist Councils in Buddhist Studies* edited by B. C. Law, pp. 26 ff.

⁸ Alice Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism* p. 15; Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 10.

account of Kāśyapa may not be met with. We have, however, certain references in literature, which are of great value to us inasmuch as they not only bear out the information imparted by our inscription but also supplement it. It will, therefore, be interesting to cite them here.

The events narrated in the inscription evidently follow the order of their sequence. It may further be observed that each of the nine attributive clauses refers to one distinct happening connected with Kāśyapa's life. To sum up the whole, Kāśyapa (1) occupied the position of Surapati for seven times successively in some of his former births, (2) was born on this earth in a wealthy family, (3)¹?, (4) renounced the world, forsaking his wife Kāpilēyā, (5) showed sympathy with the wretched, so much so that it excited the admiration of the gods, (6) worshipped the Lord with intense piety, (7) received the Lord's robe at the time of the latter's *nirvāṇa*, (8) expounded the Law² and finally (9) attained *nirvāṇa* on the mount Gurupāda.

In literature, it is the later Pāli works like various *Aṭṭhakathās* that furnish us with a somewhat detailed narrative of Kāśyapa's³ early life, which may be summarised as follows: "His boyhood's name was Pippali Māṇavaka". He was born to a wealthy Brāhmaṇa of the Kapila *gōtra* at the village of Mahātittha (Mahātīrtha) in Magadha. From the very beginning he was averse to worldly life. He would look after his parents so long as they lived and afterwards turn a monk. But when he came of age, his parents exhorted him to marry. He refused to do so. However, when his mother persistently remonstrated with him on this point, he devised means by which, he thought, he would have his way and, at the same time, would not incur his mother's displeasure. He got an image of a young lady of supernatural beauty fashioned of pure gold, bedecked with glittering jewels and daintily clad in red. He presented the image to his mother, declaring that if he were to have a bride of that form, he would fain go in for wedlock. He had fancied that neither would such a paragon of beauty be forthcoming, nor would he marry. This, however, did not dishearten his mother. She rather imagined that her son was very fortunate and that he must have done meritorious deeds in his former births, not alone but in company with a lady of golden hue (*suvarṇa-varṇā*). She, therefore, at once called in a council of eight Brāhmaṇas, handed over the gold idol to them and charged them with the duty of finding out a damsel of the requisite beauty to be the bride of her son. The Brāhmaṇas mounted the idol on a chariot and set out on their mission. They travelled far and wide until at last they reached the city of Sāgala⁴ in the Madra *dēśa*, where they found a girl who in grace and charm far excelled the gold image, not to speak of resembling

¹ Owing to the portion left unread here, it is not clear what event was described in this sentence.

² This obviously adverts to the occasion of the First Buddhist Council which was held at Rājagriha, convened and presided over by Kāśyapa.

³ It will be clear from Dr. G. P. Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* that the Buddhist literature knows of numerous personages bearing the name Kāśyapa or Mahā-Kāśyapa. A fairly exhaustive description of the Kāśyapa of our record is given in that work under *Mahā Kassapa Thera* (Vol. II, pp. 476-483), which winds up with the remark that "Mahā Kassapa was so called to distinguish him from other Kassapas, and also because he was possessed of great virtues".

⁴ Sāgala or Śākala has been identified with Sialkot in the Punjab. See Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, edited by S. Majumdar Sastri (1924), pp. 686 f.; N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, pp. 173 f.; B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. 53 f. The country of the Madras lay between the Ravi and the Chinab; see N. L. Dey, *op. cit.* p. 116.

it. She was Bhadrā Kāpilāyanī,¹ daughter of an equally well-to-do Brāhmaṇa of the Kauśika gōtra. She shared the propensities of Pippali Mānavaka, like him not caring for connubial felicity. Finally, however, their marriage was settled in spite of them. They married, but did not lead a married life. An opportunity offered itself and they forsook each other, renounced all and turned ascetics.

"Pippali Mānavaka, with a single robe on and a bowl in hand, left home in quest of the Buddha. He saw the Lord seated under a *bōdhi* tree called Bahuputraka somewhere between Rājagriha and Nālandā. It was there that he received his ordination (*upasaṃpadā*) from the Lord. Later on Pippali Mānavaka, now Kāśyapa, presented his silken *saṃghāṭi* to the Master and accepted with alacrity from the latter his coarse and threadbare robe in exchange. So ardent was Kāśyapa's faith that he attained the position of an Arhat only a week after his ordination."²

Aśvaghoṣha has also left us a brief sketch of Kāśyapa.³ Therein Kāśyapa is said to be *Rāj-ādi-gēh-ākhya-dēhī* which Cowell translates as 'an inhabitant of Rājagēha'.⁴ We have just learnt from the *Aṭṭhakathā*s that Kāśyapa hailed from a village called Mahātittha in Magadha. In the light of this information we may explain the above expression more precisely as 'an inhabitant of the country named Rājagēha'. We know that Rājagriha was then the capital of Magadha. And in the present instance the country is denoted simply by the name of its capital, which practice has not been uncommon.⁵ In this way Aśvaghoṣha's statement on the point of Kāśyapa's native land is not at variance with the information contained in the *Aṭṭhakathā*s. Again, according to Aśvaghoṣha's description, Kāśyapa had performed six years' hard penance before he met the Master.

Aśvaghoṣha does not allude to Kāśyapa's marriage with Bhadrā Kāpilāyanī, which event is, however, confirmed by references in certain stories of the Buddha's former births. Thus in the *Asātamanta Jātaka*,⁶ the Lord identifies the characters of that story in the following manner: "Kāpilānī was the mother of those days, Mahā-Kassapa was the father, Ānanda the pupil, and I myself the teacher".⁷ Similarly in the *Haṭṭhipāla Jātaka*, the chaplain was Kassapa and his wife was Bhaddakāpilānī.⁸ Again, in the *Sāma Jātaka*, the father was Kassapa and the mother Bhaddakāpilānī.⁹

¹ The name *Kāpilāyanī* (or *Kāpilānī* or *Kāpilāyā* as we shall have it later) is apparently derived from *Kapila*, which, as we know from the *Apadāna* (P. T. S. edition, p. 583, verse 57), was Bhadrā's father's name. The same source gives her mother's name as Suchimatī. A detailed account of her also is found in Dr. G. P. Mahabaccokera's *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* under *Bhaddā Kāpilānī Therī* (Vol. II, pp. 354-55).

² This summary is extracted from an account of *Kāśyapa-mahāyāna*, which is given by Mahāpandita Tripiṭakācārya Rāhula Sāṃkṛityāyana in his *Buddhacharyā* (Hindi), pp. 41 ff., and which in its turn is based upon the following works: *Theragāthā-Aṭṭhakathā* 30; *Saṃyutta-Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā*, 15, 1, 11; *Aṅguttara-Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā* 1, 1, 4.

³ E. B. Cowell's edition of Aśvaghoṣha's *Buddhacharita*, XVII, 12.

विजः काश्यपाख्यी धने यत्तरात्री गुरुर्देवियाम् राजादिनेष्टाकृष्टी

सुचिनः (सुचिनः ?) पटं वैकुण्ठस्य समादाय सर्वान् विद्यादानमन्त्रादने (० सं ?) बोधिसत्त्वः ।

यदा बोधिसत्त्वो यदीदृसी कुमारस्यः प्रातरनुकुरत् तत् पञ्चमं महारामा

ततोऽत्रान् बोधिं मुनीन्द्रं समर्था (समर्था) भवत्काश्यपाख्यो यतीशोऽर्चयामदगच्छः ॥

⁴ *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLIX, part i, p. 103 f.

⁵ Compare such cases as *Avanti* and *Kāśchā*.

⁶ V. Fausbøll's edition of *The Jātaka*, No. 61.

⁷ Translation of *The Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 150.

⁸ *The Jātaka*, No. 509. Translation, Vol. IV, p. 304.

⁹ *The Jātaka*, No. 540. Translation, Vol. VI, p. 52.

It may at once be recognised that *Kāpilānī* and *Bhaddakāpilānī* of the *Jātakas* and the *Aṭṭhakathās*, and *Kāpilēyā* of the present inscription are but variants of one and the same name and refer likewise to one and the same person, namely Kāśyapa's wife.

It may parenthetically be pointed out that according to the *Aṭṭhakathās* it was, as noted above, somewhere between Rājagṛīha and Nālandā that Kāśyapa's first meeting with the Lord took place. That position almost corresponds to the modern village of Silao. May we then suppose that the statue of Kāśyapa was set up there in order to sanctify the spot and thereby to commemorate the first meeting? In that case, the find-spot of the inscribed pedestal under discussion, as has already been hinted, must be Silao.

Now if we compare the above descriptions with the account given in our inscription, we shall find that most of the details do agree. There are, however, certain points which it has not been possible for me to corroborate by literary references. In the first place, Kāśyapa is stated to have acted as Indra for seven terms on end. He must have attained such a distinction as a reward for highly meritorious deeds on his part; but I have not been able to find any mention of this fact in literature. We are told that Gautama Buddha himself was Śakra in twenty of his antecedent births, that there is a Śakra in every *chakravāla* and that the office of Śakra, which is in fact the sovereignty of the *Tāvātimsa* angels, is held only for a limited period by the same individual.¹ It is said of Kāśyapa that 'he bestowed his favours only on the poor',² which sentiment is echoed in *dān-ānāth-ānugata-manasaḥ* of our inscription, l. 2.

We further learn from the inscription that the Buddha, while entering *nirvāṇa*, gave away his *saṃghāṭī* and other things to Kāśyapa. I could not find this event related in any of the Buddhist canonical works. All that we know in this connection is this, as we have noticed above, that the Lord and Kāśyapa exchanged their *saṃghāṭīs* shortly after their first meeting. However, the information from the Chinese sources in this regard is in perfect agreement with the account of our inscription. According to that, Tahtāgata, on the point of attaining *nirvāṇa*, addressed Kāśyapa and said *inter alia*: "The golden-tissued *Kashāya* robe given me by my foster-mother I bid you keep and deliver to Maitrēya when he has completed the condition of Buddha."³

Finally we come to the *nirvāṇa* of Kāśyapa himself, which is stated to have taken place on the mount Gurupāda. Here, too, the Chinese record is in full concord.⁴ In the *Dīvyāvalānamālā*,⁵ the name of the mountain is given as Gurupādaka, while elsewhere it is also called Kukkuṭapāda.⁶ The identification of this hill had long been a subject of keen controversy among such eminent scholars as Cunningham, Beal and Stein until at last the late Mr. R. D. Banerji brought the issue to a successful close by offering a thoroughly satisfactory solution. Cunningham contended that three bare and rugged hills in the vicinity of Kurkihār, 16 miles to the east of Gayā, represent the Kukkuṭapādagiri, taking the name *Kurkihār* to be a contraction of *Kukkuṭa-vihāra* or *Kukkuṭapāda-vihāra* and, at the same time, presuming a connection between this last and the Kukkuṭapāda-giri.⁷ Beal had his objections to this identification, for, to him

¹ See R. C. Childers' *Dictionary of the Pāli Language* under the word *SAKKO* (Sakra), p. 319.

² G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Vol. II, p. 481.

³ S. Beal, *Sī-Yu-Ki* (Buddhist Records of the Western World), Vol. II, 143. The Tibetan version records that Mahākāśyapa 'changed the garments which enshrouded the Blessed one for others from his store'. W. W. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 144.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

⁵ Cowell's edition, p. 61; and Rājendralāla Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p. 303.

⁶ Beal, *op. cit.* p. 142; Beal, *Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yün*, p. 132; H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 89; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 161.

⁷ *Reports A. S. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 14-16, Vol. XV, pp. 4-6.

the location did not agree with the accounts of the Chinese travellers. Moreover, he has emphatically pointed out that the Kukkuṭārāma or Kukkuṭa-vihāra must not be confounded with the Kukkuṭapāda-giri.¹ Stein had occasion to visit this part of the country in the winter of 1899, and, with a view to arriving at a definite opinion regarding the identification, he made a thorough survey. After a close examination he came to the conclusion that the Kukkuṭapāda-giri or Gurupāda-giri is represented by the Sōbhānāth hill, a part of the Maher hill, in the district of Gayā.² Stein's identification met Beal's objections to some extent, but was not totally convincing. Finally Banerji investigated the matter further, and conclusively proved that the modern representative of the Gurupāda-giri is to be found in the Gulpā hill in the district of Gayā.³ This identification is warranted not only by the name *Gulpā* being phonetically a corrupt form of the *Gurupāda* itself, but also because it satisfies all other considerations, as detailed by the author.⁴ Nevertheless, some scholars even now, knowingly or unknowingly, adhere to Cunningham's discarded identification of the Kukkuṭapāda mountain with Kurkihar.⁵

Judging from the description of the pedestal as well as from the nature of the inscription on it, the statue of Kāśyapa in question must have been one of considerable artistic merit, typifying the art of the Pāla period. It is greatly to be regretted that the major portion of the statue itself is not forthcoming. It would have been a unique specimen inasmuch as the known sculptural representations of Kāśyapa are few. In fact, so far as I know, we do not have a single entire piece of this kind. At Bishanpur in the Gayā district, Beglar noticed one image of Kāśyapa. "On a small bas-relief", so runs his description, "representing a figure seated cross-legged in Buddha fashion is inscribed *Ye Dharma Rāsi Mahā Kāśyapa* (sic.); this statue is clearly therefore one, of the venerable president of the first synod, and is the only one I have seen or heard of, of one of Buddha's disciples."⁶ The present whereabouts of this statue are not known. Even in 1899, when Stein visited Bishanpur, he found it missing, for he writes: "I was, however, unable to trace the small bas-relief, which is mentioned by Mr. Beglar as bearing a short inscription with the name of Mahākāśyapa."⁷ It may in passing be pointed out that plastic representations even of the Kāśyapa Buddha, who, as has been shown above, is sometimes mixed up with the Mahā-Kāśyapa, are equally rare. The Curzon Museum of Archaeology at Muttra has recently acquired an image of the Kāśyapa Buddha, carved in the round, standing on an inscribed pedestal; but the upper half of it is missing. It belongs to the Kushāna period. The preserved part, from the girdle downwards, shows it wearing a *dhōṭī*, a *māṅghalā* and a scarf.⁸

¹ See his *Travels of Fah-Hien and Sung-Yun*, p. 132 n.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 327 f., and his *Si-Yu-Ki* (Buddhist Records of the Western World), Vol. II, p. 95 and n. 32, p. 142 and n. 14.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 88.

³ *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. II (1902), pp. 77-83.

⁴ With regard to the identification of the Gurupāda-giri, the reader is also referred to Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, edited by S. Majumdar Sastri (1924), pp. 626 ff. and pp. 720 f.; and to N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, under Gurupāda-giri, Kukkuṭapāda-giri, Gulpā-Hill, Kurkihar and Sōbhānāth Hill.

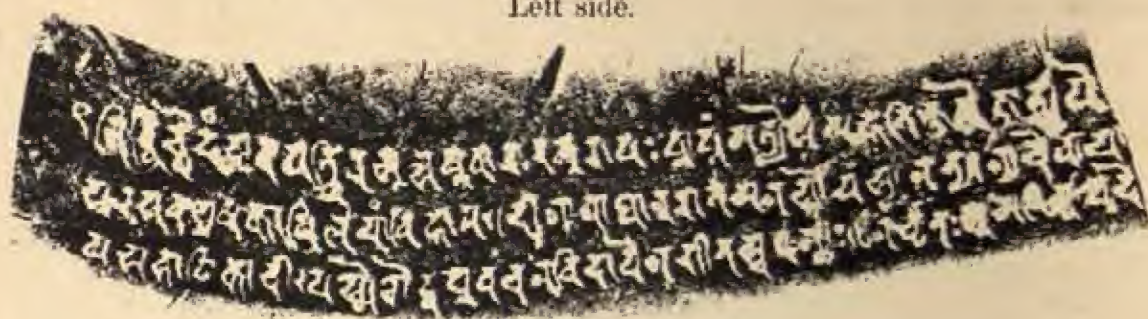
⁵ See for instance B. C. Law's *Rājagṛiha in Ancient Literature* (Memoirs of the A. S. I., No. 53), p. 17.

⁶ Cunningham's *Reports A. S. I.*, Vol. VII, p. 105.

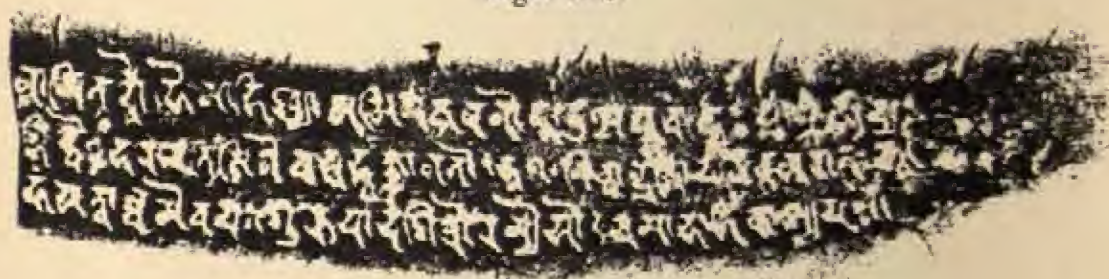
⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 90.

⁸ The image is fully described and the inscription is edited by Mr. V. S. Agrawala in the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, December 1937, pp. 35-38 with Plates; and in the *Annual Report on the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra*, for the year ending 31st March 1938, pp. 2, 6, 9, with Plate.

Left side.



Right side.



SCALE: ABOUT ONE-HALF.



Hiuen Tsiang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, informs us of the existence of an image of the Kāśyapa Buddha enshrined in a *vihāra* to the north-west of the Bōdhi tree at Bōdh-Gayā. "It is noted for its miraculous and sacred qualities. From time to time it emits a glorious light."¹ There is presumably a reference to this representation of Kāśyapa in the Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, wherein homage is paid, in the beginning², first to Śākyaikabandhu (i.e. Gautama Buddha) and then to Mahā-Kāśyapa, assuming that Hiuen Tsiang, too, meant 'an image of Mahā-Kāśyapa' when he said 'an image of the Kāśyapa Buddha'. Among the ruins at Bōdh-Gayā, Cunningham has identified the remains of the aforesaid *vihāra*³, while the image is not to be found at all.

There are, however, a good few sculptures which represent the group of seven or eight⁴ Mortal Buddhas, wherein the Kāśyapa Buddha figures as the sixth⁵. In the Indian Museum at Calcutta we have a stone pillar from Bharaut, depicting his distinguishing *bōdhi* tree⁶, which is *nyagrōdha* (*Ficus Indica*).

Here I may gratefully record that to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti I owe some useful references and suggestions, especially with regard to the identity of Kāśyapa.

TEXT⁷.

[Metres: vv. 1,2 *Mandākrantā*; v. 3 *Anushubh.*]

- 1 सिद्धम्⁸ [*] निर्व्विच्छेदं सुरपतिरभूत्सप्त वारान्⁹ पुरा यः प्राप्तं मर्त्ये¹⁰ सुमहति
कुले जन्म येनामितर्ही¹¹ । हेमाभिख्याममितजवनो — — — —
प्रात्राजीयः
- 2 पुरसवपुषं कापिलेयां विहाय ॥१॥* दीनानाथानुगतमनसो यस्य नत्थान्यदेवा
यान्ति हैधं भगवति जिने यस्च(ख) भक्त्या नतोऽभूत् । निर्व्विग्नादादपि च
सुगतः स्त्री-
- 3 यसंहाटिकादीर यस्मै वौ(वौ)दप्रवचनविदा येन गीतस्च(ख) धर्मः ॥२॥* निर्व्वृतः
स्वमधिष्ठाय देहं सत्वा(त्त्वा)र्यमेव यः । गुरुपादे गिरौ रम्ये¹² सोऽयमाभाति
काश्यपः ॥३॥*

¹ Beal's *Si-Fu-Ki*, Vol. II, p. 124.

² Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* (C. I. I., Vol. III), pp. 276 f.

³ Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, p. 36.

⁴ These are: Vipasyin, Sikhi, Viśvabhū, Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa, Śākyasimha and Maitrēya. The last one does not usually appear in this group. B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 10.

⁵ *Ibid.* and J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, I, 7 and I. 37, and pp. 135 and 139.

⁶ Lüders, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 760.

⁷ From inked estampages.

⁸ Expressed by a symbol. This may also indicate *siddhir-astu*. The same symbol is explained to represent *om* which would be less appropriate in a Buddhistic record like the present one. The various interpretation of this sign is discussed above, Vol. XVII, p. 352.

⁹ This sign cannot but be a mute *n*, though it looks more like a final *r* as found in *-ādīr* in l. 3 below.

¹⁰ The superscript *r* here is not well marked.

¹¹ The grammatically correct form should be *amit-arddhini*, unless the word *kula*, which it qualifies, be taken here to be in the masculine gender.

¹² This adverbial clause *Gurupāde girau ramyē* apparently goes with the following words *sō-ayam=* *abhati Kāśyapah*, but in reality it is connected with the preceding portion *nirvritah*, etc.

TRANSLATION.

Success !

(V.1) **Who** had formerly remained the Lord of Gods for seven terms without intermission; **who** attained birth in a highly noble and immensely prosperous family of mortals; **who**, being possessed of unbounded speed, the brilliancy of gold; **who** turned a recluse, forsaking (*his wife*) Kāpilēyā of golden form;

(V.2) Other deities in paying reverence to **whom**—his heart going out to the distressed and the desolate—vie with one another¹; and **who** revered Lord Jina (the Buddha) with devotion; and further, on **whom** Sugata (the Buddha), while entering *nirvāṇa*, bestowed his *saṃhātikā* and the rest; and **who**, being an exponent of the Buddhist doctrines, expounded the Law;

(V.3) **Who**, after having assumed his (*human*) form solely for the sake of (*delivering the mortal*) beings, entered *nirvāṇa* on the charming hill of Gurupāda; the **very same** Kāśyapa shines forth here.

No. 36.—A BRONZE IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM NALANDA.

By A. GHOSH, M.A., PATNA.

The following inscription is engraved on the back of a bronze image of Balarāma, excavated in 1917-18 out of the northern verandah of Monastery Site No. 1 at Nālandā. The image is now in the Archaeological Museum at Nālandā and bears the register number S. 1-442.

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the eastern variety and may be ascribed to the **ninth century A.D.**; they have much similarity with those of the Nālandā copper-plate of Dēvapāla.² In fact, the **inscription may well belong to the reign of the Pāla king Dēvapāla** (c. A.D. 815-854), who is mentioned in the text of the inscription. As is common in the inscriptions of this age, the medial *ē* is written both as a superscript oblique line and as a short stroke attached to the left limb of the respective letter. The medial *ō* is denoted by a combination of both these signs. There are some obvious **grammatical and orthographical** mistakes in the inscription.

The inscription **records** the dedication of the image at Nālandā in the Dēvapāladēva-*haṭṭa*, or 'the mart of Dēvapāladēva', by Nisīṅgha(?)kā, the wife (?) of Śōujjēka. There is epigraphic evidence of the existence of other *haṭṭas* at Nālandā; for example, the inscription on a stone image of Avalōkitēśvara, now housed in the modern Sūrya temple at Baṛgāon near the excavated site of Nālandā, contains a reference to a *tala-haṭṭa*, the meaning of which is not clear.³

¹ This rendering may now be accepted as exact. After I had prepared this essay, I chanced to read a passage, in a similar context, in Mahā Kassapa's account given by Dr. G. P. Malalasekera in his *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (Vol. II, p. 481), which has confirmed the above explanation. The passage in question reads: 'Owing to his great saintliness, even the gods vied with each other to give alms to Kassapa.'

² Above, Vol. XVII, p. 310.

³ The inscription, which is still unpublished, seems to read as follows:—*siādham* (expressed by a symbol) *śrī-Nālandā-talahatake dē[ya*]dharmō=yam śaudāmūkē śrī(?)-Va-putrēṇaḥ* ||

The inscription shows that a *haṭṭa* was founded at Nālandā by Dēvapāla, or, at any rate, was named after him. The connexions of Dēvapāla with Nālandā are attested to by other inscriptions as well. Thus, the Nālandā copper-plate referred to above records the munificence of that king in favour of Nālandā at the request of the *mahārāja* Bālaputradēva of Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra). Further, the Ghosrāwān¹ inscription acquaints us with the fact that Dēvapāla appointed a monk named Viradēva to look after Nālandā.

Another word in the inscription worthy of notice is *Malapōrasya*, occurring at the beginning of the second line; neither its meaning nor its proper position in the syntax is clear. It is interesting to note, however, that a similar word *Mallapōrasya* occurs in a dedicatory inscription on a bronze image found at Kurkihār (District Gayā), also belonging to the reign of Dēvapāla.² It is tempting no doubt to regard the word as an incorrect derivative of *Mallapura*, and to take it to mean 'a resident of Mallapura'.³ But this meaning is hardly possible in the Kurkihār inscription, though it may suit the present record.

TEXT.

- 1 Siddham⁴ śrī-Nālandāya śrī-Dēvapāladēva-haṭṭe
- 2 Malapōrasya Śōujjēkasya⁵ vadū(dhū?)-Nisīṅgha(?)
- 3 kāya dēva-dharmmaya pratipāditaḥ⁶ ||

No. 37.—A NOTE ON THE PANCHADHARALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KING VISVESVARA.

By M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA, WALT AIR

In *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, pp. 164 ff., the Dharmalingēśvara temple inscription at Pañchadhārāla was ably edited by Dr. J. Nobel of the Berlin University. This inscription belongs to the Eastern Chālukya king Viśvēśvara, who ruled the territory around Pañchadhārāla in the Yellamanchili taluk of the Vizagapatam District. Vinnakōṭa Peddāna was his court-poet. He dedicated his *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra-chūḍāmaṇi*, a poetical work on rhetoric in Telugu, to his patron. Both the date of king Viśvēśvara and the date of composition of the *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra-chūḍāmaṇi* had not been known definitely, so far. The inscription under discussion settles these dates satisfactorily.

The inscription records the construction of a *maṇḍapa* in the Dharmalingēśvara temple at Pañchadhārāpurī in Śaka 1329 (*Śākābdē Nava-Bhānu-Rāma-Śasi-saṅkhyātē*) or A. D. 1407,

¹ Maitra, *Gauḍalēkhamālā*, p. 45.

² This image, along with the other antiquities found at Kurkihār, is now in the Patna Museum. The full meaning of the inscription is not clear, but the relevant portion may be quoted here:—*śrī-Dēvapāladēva-rājyē samvat 19:.....malla-chchhandakam Mallapōrasya pratipāditaḥ*.

³ Mallapura or Mallapura is given in the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*, Vol. V, pp. 802-3, as a place-name. Cf. *Malla*, the name of a well-known tribe.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Is the word to be corrected to *Sauryyakasya*? [The reading seems to be *Śōhājje-kasya*.—B. C. C.]

⁶ Read *Nisīṅgha(?)kāya dēva-dharmma-yaṇi pratipāditaḥ*.

by king Viśvēśvara. As has been pointed out by the editor, there is a covert allusion to the date of a battle fought by Viśvēśvara in the text of the inscription, in the verse quoted below :

Gati-bāhu-śakti-bhū-mitim=api gaṇayat-Sarvasiddhi(dddhi)-patha-bhagnam |
sati Chitrabhānu-sākshīni Dharaṇīvarāhād=adā(dhā)vad=Andhra(dhra)-balam ||

Dr. Nobel discloses the pun contained in the verse and brings to light the historical fact, namely, that king Viśvēśvara defeated the Andhra army, near Sarvasiddhi, in the cyclic year Chitrabhānu, represented by the Śaka year *gati* (5), *bāhu* (2), *śakti* (3), and *bhū* (1), i.e., 1325.

An exact Telugu rendering of the above verse is found in canto vii of the Telugu work *Kāvya-lāṅkāra-chūḍāmaṇi*, without, in any way, spoiling the *ślēsha*. It is as follows :

Chatur-upāya-bāhu-śakti-kṣam-āvali bāraṇiḍichi Chitrabhānu sākshī
bāre Sarvasiddhi-padam-ēdi Dharaṇīvarāhamunakun-ōḍi Rācha-kadupu ||

For the expressions *gati* and *bhū* in the Sanskrit verse the words *chatur-upāya* and *kṣamā* were used respectively in Telugu. These are the only differences that could be found between the Sanskrit verse and the corresponding Telugu verse. The occurrence in *Kāvya-lāṅkāra-chūḍāmaṇi*, of a faithful rendering of the verse occurring in the inscription, leads us to surmise that the composer of the Pañchadhārāla inscription might be Vinnakōṭa Peddana. He would not have incorporated in his work the exact Telugu version of the Sanskrit verse, if he were not the composer of the inscription as well. Hence, it may be concluded that the author of the Pañchadhārāla inscription could be no other than Peddana, the court-poet of king Viśvēśvara.

The editor of the inscription deserves great praise for discovering the real import of the verse when many Telugu pandits and Sanskrit scholars who printed and edited the *Kāvya-lāṅkāra-chūḍāmaṇi* were not able to disclose this fact, just because their outlook was more literary than historical. When, however, the verse in the *Kāvya-lāṅkāra-chūḍāmaṇi* and the corresponding verse of the Pañchadhārāla inscription are closely examined, we find that there is a small discrepancy in the date of the battle, arrived at by the editor of the inscription. He has taken *gati* to represent the numeral 'five'. But, that its value is 'four', is now ascertained by the Telugu verse, wherein the term *chatur-upāya* denoting the number 'four' was expressly used in the place of *gati* of the Sanskrit verse. Hence, the date given by Dr. Nobel should be corrected to Śaka 1324.

San̄khyārthanāmāprakāśikā written by the erudite scholar, Kanuparti Venkatarāma Śrī-Vidyānandanātha, assigns the value 'four' to the term *gati* and enumerates four *gatis*, namely *Dēva-gati*, *Manushya-gati*, *Jantu-gati* and *Naraka-gati*.

The value given to *gati* even in epigraphical literature is four as is evidenced by an inscription¹ from Simhachalam, Vizagapatam District. The date of this inscription is given in the Telugu portion as Śaka-varshambulu 1294 and in the Sanskrit portion as 'Śākābdē gati-randhra-Bhānu-gaṇitē' etc. Another inscription² in Telugu from Yenamadala (Guntur District) which gives the date in chronogram 'gaṇa-bāṇa-gati-chandra' in verse and in figures in prose, equates *gati* with four. Thus, we find that *gati* represents four.

The existence in the *Kāvya-lāṅkāra-chūḍāmaṇi* of the Telugu version of the verse mentioned above proves, beyond doubt, that this work had been composed after Śaka 1324, the date of the battle referred to therein.

¹ S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 742.

² S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 936.

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By

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, B.Sc.

[The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure to footnotes and *add* to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used:—*ca.*=capital; *ch.*=chief; *Chron.*=Chronicle; *ci.*=city; *co.*=country; *com.*=composer; *dt.*=district; *dn.*=division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *engr.*=engraver; *ep.*=epithet; *f.*=female; *feud.*=feudatory; *gen.*=general; *Hist.*=Historical; *k.*=king; *l.*=locality; *l.m.*=linear measure or land measure; *m.*=male; *min.*=minister; *mo.*=mountain; *myth.*=mythological; *n.*=name; *N.*=Northern; *off.*=office or officer; *pr.*=prince; *q.*=queen; *rel.*=religious; *ri.*=river; *S.*=Southern; *s.a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *t.d.*=territorial division; *tit.*=title; *tn.*=town; *tg.*=taluk; *vi.*=village; *W.*=Western; *wk.*=work.]

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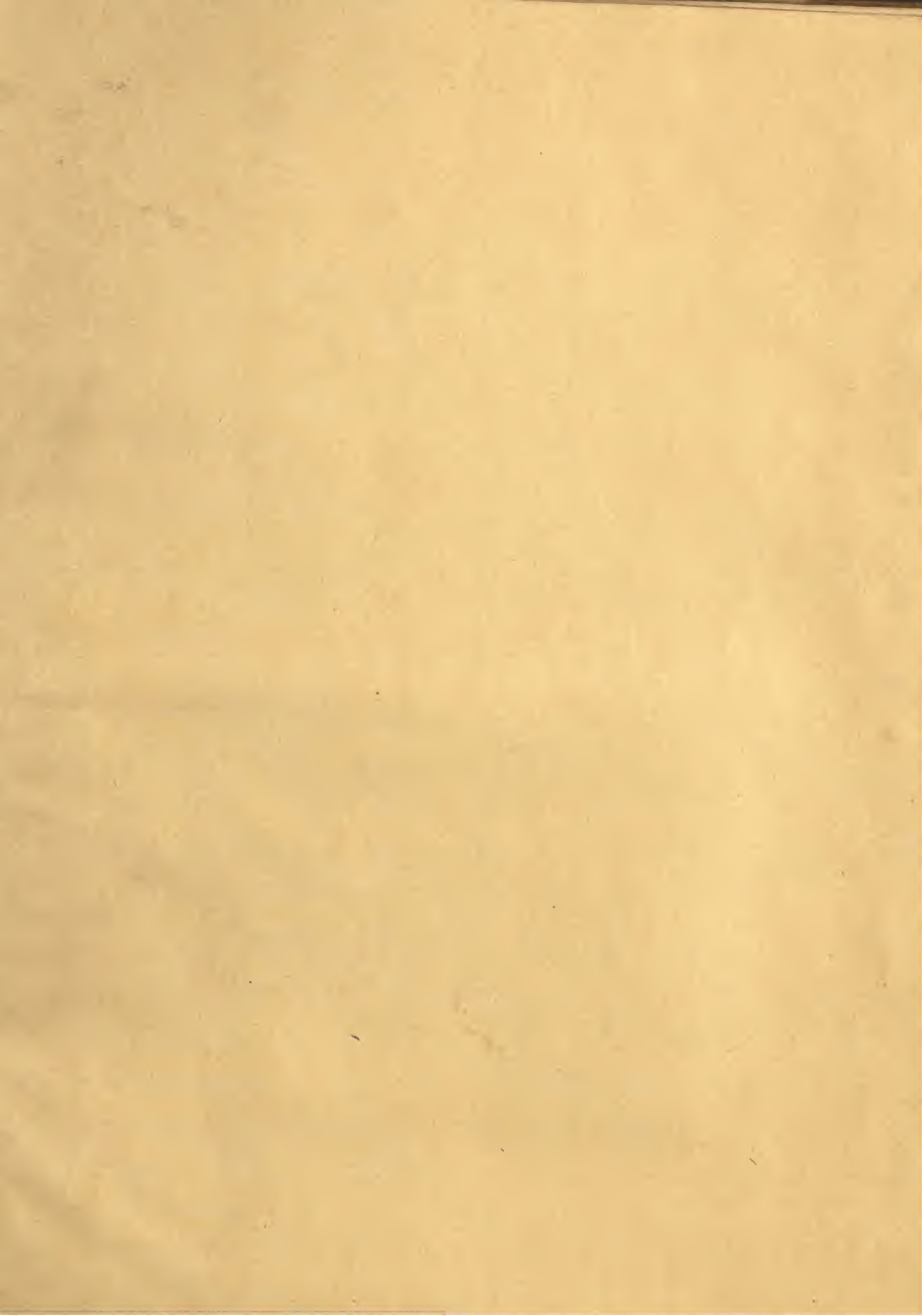
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